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HANDBOOK
OF
ENGLISH LITERATURE.

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THE
HANDBOOK
OF
ENGLISH LITERATURE.

BY
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EXAMINER IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE, LITERATURE, AND HISTORY TO THE
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON.

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P R E F A C E.

It promises well for education that largely increased attention has been given of late years to the Language and Literature of England. The study may be made a most valuable discipline, and it will yield results rich in thought, in taste, and in practical usefulness.

It is partly a cause of this increased study, and partly a fruit of it, that English literature now occupies an important place in the examinations of the Civil Service and in the University of London; and that professorships of English have been founded in so many of our colleges and universities.

To meet the demand which this increased study creates, the following pages have been written. They are meant as a photograph of our literature, with sufficient minuteness of detail to supply the curious inquirer with facts that may serve his purpose or guide him to further inquiry, and with such fulness and breadth of treatment of the more important eras and writers—the great centres of literary influence—as shall secure a vivid and just conception of the whole.

In two particulars this volume is peculiar. It is arranged on the plan of giving a complete history of each subject: Anglo-Saxon Literature, Anglo-Norman Literature, as it has been called, Language, Poets, Dramatists, Prose-writers, and Novelists. And yet the whole may be read in centuries, reigns, or literary periods, at the option of the student. Practically, *English* literature extends over five hundred years, from Edward III. and Chaucer to Victoria and Tennyson; or including Anglo-Norman and Anglo-Saxon—the English of the second and of the first period—over a thousand years. For the Language, the writers of the whole period deserve to be studied. For the Literature, the most important writers are those of the last three hundred years.

The works of *living* writers are not included in this volume, though occasionally they are named to complete the history of *subjects*.

Besides this peculiarity, the reader will notice another. The author has sought to form a fair estimate of the moral tendency of many of the works he has described. This process, carried through in a spirit at once generous and faithful, he deems of great importance. Literature claims to be and is one of the mightiest influences of the age. Histories of literature direct attention to the genius and taste of the works which they chronicle: and surely the moral quality of such works is deserving of some regard. Of course such judgments require blended candour and truth.

The subjects of this volume have long occupied the thoughts of the writer. It is now more than thirty years since many of the books here mentioned were first read by him, and he has more than once suggested a literary history of this kind. This fact and the two-fold peculiarity to which he has referred may perhaps justify the publication of a new book on this theme. Several useful histories have been published within the last fifteen years; and yet this history is believed to be sufficiently distinctive to occupy a place of its own.

On the history of the language, the writer is largely indebted to the admirable *Lectures* of Mr. Marsh; and in other departments to the Histories of Hallam, Chambers, Arnold, Shaw, Craik, Spalding; and to the *Christian Classics* of Dr. Hamilton. The proof-sheets have also had the great advantage of suggestions from J. G. FITCH, Esq., late Examiner in English Literature to the University of London.

In addition to this volume of **AUTHORS AND HISTORY**, it is intended to publish a companion volume of **SPECIMENS**. Each will be complete in itself; but the two, it is thought, will give the student advantages that cannot be gained by one alone. The **SPECIMENS** will contain some of the masterpieces of our literature, and will illustrate the principles of criticism which are found in this volume.

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ARRANGEMENT OF SUBJECTS IN PERIODS.

The chapters of this book are so arranged as to treat of *subjects*:—the Language; the Poets; the Prose-writers; etc. It may be desirable, however, to study our literature in centuries or eras: and for this purpose the following arrangement will be found convenient. For the paragraphs in which the history of *each* writer is given, see *Index* at the end.

Anglo-Saxon Period, A.D. 446–1066.

The Prose of the first half of this period consists of the writings of British Historians, and of part of the Saxon Chronicle: the poetry begins with Beowulf and Cædmon. The latter half includes in prose, the Anglo-Saxon Charters, Laws and Chronicle, various Theological and Scientific Treatises, and Poetic Compositions. The themes treated in the poetry are war and religion—never love.

Historical Events:—

Commencement of Anglo-Saxon Invasions	.	.	.	A.D. 450
The Union of the Anglo-Saxons under Egbert	.	.	.	827
Danes under Canute	.	.	.	1016
Edward the Confessor	.	.	.	1042
The Norman Conquest	.	.	.	1066

The names of authors and chief events may be seen in par. II.

LITERATURE: POETRY AND PROSE, par. I–II	.	.	page	I–15
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Anglo-Norman Period, A.D. 1066–1350.

This Period is the period of Scholastic Philosophy and Theology—Anselm (1109). Scotus and Occam (1293),—and of incipient Science, Bacon (b. 1219). The prose writers are chiefly historians who write in Latin. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries form the era of metrical romances, borrowed largely from the French, of metrical chronicles, of Provençal poetry, and ballads. The works of Oim, and of Robert of Gloucester, show that English is already beginning to be a distinct speech. Towards

the close of the period romances are given in prose. Italian poetry attains its highest point in Boccaccio (1313), in Dante (1321), and in Petrarch (1375), and begins to influence thought in England.

William I., William II. (1087), Henry I. (1100)	. . .	1066-1135
Stephen, Henry II. (1154), Richard I. (1189)	. . .	1135-1199
John, Henry III. (1216), Edward I. (1272)	. . .	1199-1307
Edward II. (1307-1327), Edward III.	. . .	1327-1377

For Authors and Events, see par. 30.

LITERATURE: POETRY, HISTORY, THEOLOGY, SCIENCE,

par. 12-30	. . . . .	page 16-35
LANGUAGE, par. 34-38	. . . . .	41-47

English Literature, A.D. 1350-1600.

From EDWARD III. to ELIZABETH: from CHAUCER to SHAKESPEARE.

The FOURTEENTH CENTURY is the era of the beginning of the Reformation under Wycliffe, of Crecy (1346), of the Great Plagues (1349, 1361, 1369), of Jack Straw (1381), of the victories of Halidon Hill (1333), and of Neville's Cross (1346).

ENGLISH KINGS.	POETS.	PROSE WRITERS.	SCOTCH KINGS.
Edw. II. 1307-1327	1328-1400 Chaucer. 1343 Manning.	Chaucer. fl. 1379 Wykeham.	Robt. Bruce 1306-1329
Edw. III. 1327-1377	1360 Langlande. 1316-1396 T. Barbour.	1324-1384 Wycliffe. fl. 1377 Fordun.	David II. 1329-1370
Richd. II. 1377-1395	1320-1402 Gower. 1327, etc. Chester Myster- ies.	fl. 1356 Mandeville. fl. 1360 Higden.	Robt. II. 1370-1390
	1360 Minot and Rolle	fl. 1385 Trevisa.	

FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

LANGUAGE, par. 39-48	. . . . .	page 48-60
POETRY, introduction, par. 96-110, par. 111-115	. . . . .	97-120
PROSE, introduction, par. 289-291, pars. 292, 299, 300	. . . . .	333-344

The FIFTEENTH CENTURY contains few English poets of eminence; though rich in Scotch. The wars with France, and the wars of the Roses explain this blank. Towards the close of the century, classic learning revives, and printing is introduced by Caxton (1471). The prose is rude but full of promise. It is the age of Owen Glendower (1400), of Lollardism, of Agincourt (1415), of Jack Cade (1450), of the Wars of the Roses (1455-1485), and of the discovery of America by Columbus (1492).

ENGLISH KINGS.	POETS.	PROSE WRITERS.	SCOTCH KINGS.
Henry IV. 1399.	1350-1420 Wytoun	1412-1492 Caxton.	Robert III. 139c.
Henry V. 1413.	fl. 1420 Occleve.	1430-1470 Fortescue.	James I. 1406.
Henry VI. 1422.	1375-1430 Lydgate.	fl. 1450 Pecoek.	James II. 1437.
Edw. IV. 1461.	1394-1437 James I. (Scot.)	1450-1535 Fisher.	James III. 1460.
Edw. V. 1483.	fl. 1460 Blind Harry.	fl. 1485 Mallorye.	James IV. 1488-1513
Rich. III. 1483.	fl. 1470 Hardyng.	1460-82 Paston Letters	
Henry VII. 1485-1509.	d. 1506 Hawes.	fl. 1500 Colet.	
	d. 1508 Henryson.	fl. 1509 Barclay.	
	fl. 1509 Barclay.		

The SIXTEENTH CENTURY is distinguished in the earlier half of it by the extended progress of the revival of learning, the completion of the structure of the English language, the increased influence of Italian literature, and the commencement of the regular drama. It is the age of the Reformation in England, of Luther (d. 1546), and of the Marian persecutions. It is also remarkable for the personal character of the principal European sovereigns: in England, Henry VIII. (1509-1547); in Scotland, James V. (1513-1515); in Germany, Charles V. (1519-1556); in France, Francis I. (1515-1547); and at Rome, Leo X. (1513-1521). The latter half of the century is distinguished by the perfection of the drama, and the works of some of our greatest poets and prose-writers: Elizabeth 1558 1603.

[The date after the name marks the year of death.]

BIRTH.	POETS AND DRAMATISTS.	HISTORIANS.	THEOLOGICALS.	MISCELLANEOUS.
1460	Dunbar, 1520?	? Fabian, 1512		
1474	G. Douglas, 1522			
1475	Skelton	. .	Tyndale, 1536 Latimer, 1555 Ridley, 1555	More, 1535
1480	. .	. .	Coverdale, 1568	
1487	. .	. .	Cranmer, 1555	
1490	Lyndsay, 1557	. .	Bale, 1563	
1495	Bale, 1563	. .		
1496	Maitland, 1586		Pole, 1558	
1500	. .	? Hall, 1547	P. Martyr, 1562	
1503	Wyatt, 1541	Leland, 1552		
1504	. .	. .	Parker, 1575	
1506	Buchanan, 1582	Buchanan Fabyan	Knox, 1572	
1512	. .	. .	A. Nowell, 1601	
1514	. .	. .	Becon, 1570	
1515	. .	. .	. .	Cheke, 1557 Ascham, 1568

BIRTH.	POETS AND DRAMATISTS.	HISTORIANS.	THEOLOGICALS.	MISCELLANEOUS.
1516 fl. 1520	Surrey, 1547	.	Foxe, 1587	Gilpin, 1583
1520	Vaux	.	Grindal, 1583	
1521	Grimoald, 1563	Stowe, 1605	Jewel, 1571	
1522	.	.	.	
fl. 1530	Hunnis, 1568	.	.	{ Berners Bellenden Elyot
1523 {	Edwards, 1566	{ . .	Bradford, 1555	
1526 {	Tusser, 1580	{ . .	Translators of E. Bible, 1526-1611	
1529 {	.	{ . .		
1530	Turberville, 1594	{ . .	Calfhill, 1570	
1533	.	Hakluyt, 1616	Whitgift, 1603	
1534 {	J. Harrington, 1582	{ ? Purchas fl. 1577	Dering, d. 1576	
1535	.	.	Cartwright, 1603	
d. 1536	Rocheport	Holinshead fl. 1580	Whitaker, 1595	
1536	Sackville, 1603	{	Dod, 1645	
1540	Gascolgne, 1577			
1549	.	J. Rainolds, 1607	Broughton, 1611	{ Napier of Mer- chiston Gentilis, 1611
fl. 1550	Udall			
1551	.	Camden, 1623	.	{ Golding North fl. 1567
1552	Raleigh {	Raleigh, 1618 {	? Bilson, 1616	
1553 {	E. Spenser, 1599	Speed, 1629 {	Donne, 1631	
1554 {	J. Lyly, 1600	.	Hooker, 1600	
1555 {	Lord Brooke, 1628	.	Rollock, 1598	
1555	Sidney, 1586	.	Andrewes, 1625	
d. 1556	R. Carew.	.	.	Wilson, 1581
1556 {	Heywood	.		
d. 1557	Lodge (Heli- con), 1625	Melville, 1614		
p. 1557		Cavendish		
fl. 1558	Tottel's Miscel. Phaer	.	Perkins, 1602	Holland { fl. 1500
1558 {	Nash, 1601	.	Overall 1619	Florio {
1560	Warner, 1609	.		
1561	Greene, 1592			
1562 {	Southwell, 1595	Bacon, 1626	? P. Bayne, 1617	Bacon, 1626
fl. 1562 {	Str J. Harrington, 1612			
1562	A. Brooke			
1562	Sternhold			
1562	'Gorboduc'			
1562	Daniel, 1619 {	Daniel, 1619	Willett, 1621	
1563 {	Marlowe, 1593	Spelman, 1641	Albott, 1633	
1563	Sylvester, 1618	{ ? Leslie, 1596 {	Hildersham, 1631	
1564	Drayton, 1631		R. Parsons, 1610	
1565	Shakespeare, 1616			
1565	'Gammer Gurton'	Spottiswoode, 1633	Bp. Cowper, 1619	

The FIFTEENTH and SIXTEENTH CENTURIES.

LANGUAGE, par. 49-93	page 60-91
POETRY, par. 116-145	120-149
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English Literature: The Seventeenth Century, A.D. 1600-1700.

The SEVENTEENTH CENTURY is naturally divided into three parts: the first, the age of general literature, including the reign of James I. (1603-1625); the second, the age of theology, of political and ethical disquisitions, and of poetry as represented by Milton, the reign of Charles I. (1625-1649), and the Commonwealth (1649-1660); and the third, the age of the Restoration (1660), and of the Revolution (1688). The century is also remarkable as the era of the commencement in England of science, of ethics, and of newspapers. It was a time of great learning and of prodigious mental activity.

BIRTH.	POETS AND DRAMATISTS.	HISTORIANS.	THEOLOGIANS.	MISCELLANEOUS.
1568 1568	H. Wotton, 1639	Baker, 1645 ? Knolles, 1610	R. Bernard, 1641 J. Welch, 1622	H. Wotton
1570 {	Davies, 1626 Middleton, 1627 Ayton, 1638	. . . .	Bedell, 1641 Boys, 1625	
1572 {	? Peele, 1590	Cotton, 1631		
1573 {	Donne, 1631	. .	Laud, 1645	
1574 {	Bp. Hall, 1656 B. Jonson, 1637	. . . .	Gataker, 1654 } Bp. Hall, 1656 }	B. Jonson, 1637
1575	F. Davison, 1616	Calderwood, 1650		S. Crook, 1649
1576 {	J. Fletcher, 1625 'Paradise of Dainty Devises.'	. .	J. Robinson, 1625	Burton, 1640.
1577			Sibbes, 1635	
1580 {	Earl of Stirling, 1640	Ld. Herbert, 1648	Cameron, 1625 } J. Jackson, 1640 }	Overbury, 1613
1580	F. Rous, 1659			
1581		Usher, 1656		
1582 {	Corbet, 1635 J. Beaumont, 1628			
1584 {	Massinger, 1640 } P. Fletcher, 1650 }	Selden, 1654 }	Dickson, 1662 Featley, 1645 Hales, 1656	
1585 {	W. Drummond, } 1649 }	. .	Cotton, 1652	
fl. 1585		. .	. .	Puttenham
1586 {	F. Beaumont, 1615 Ford, 1639 G. Fletcher, 1623	. . . .	Mede, 1637	
1587	? Webster, 1624	Godwyn, 1643	Preston, 1625	
1588	G. Wither, 1667	Hobbes, 1679	Sanderson, 1663	

BIRTH.	POETS AND DRAMATISTS.	HISTORIANS.	THEOLOGICALS.	MISCELLANEOUS.
1590	W. Browne, 1645			
1591 {	Herrick, 1674			
1591 {	H. King, 1669			
1592	F. Quarles, 1644		Hacket, 1670	
1593	G. Herbert, 1632	I. Walton, 1683	J. Goodwin, 1665	
1594	Shirley, 1630			
1595	.	May, 1650	Farindon, 1658	
1599	Chalkhill, 1679	Twysden, 1672 {	Burroughes, 1646	
			E. Reynolds, 1667	
			Calamy, 1666	
1600 {	? Fairfax, 1632	P. Heylyn, 1662 {	B. Walton, 1661	Prynne, 1669
1600 {	Dekker, 1638		Bridges, 1670	
			Goodwin, 1679	
1600	Carew, 1639	.	S. Marshall, 1655	
1602 {	Marston, 1634	Marsham, 1685 {	Rutherford, 1661	Chillingworth, 1644
1602 {	? Crashaw, 1650		Lightfoot, 1675	
			Trapp, 1669	
			Caryl, 1673	
1604	.	.	Pococke, 1691	
	Randolph, 1634	.		
	Habington, 1654	Whitelocke, 1676		
1605 {	Sir W. Davenant, 1668	T. Sheppard, 1649	Hammond, {	Filmer
	Waller, 1627	Dugdale, 1690	1660	T. Browne, 1682
1606	Fanshawe	Rushworth, 1690	Bolton, 1654	
1607	Milton, 1674	T. Fuller, 1661	T. Fuller, 1661	Milton, 1674
1608	.	Clarendon, 1674	.	Hale, 1676
1609	.	Bp. Wisheart, 1671	.	F. Roberts, 1675
1610	.	.	Whichcote, 1683	
1611	R. Cartwright, 1643	.	Jenkyn, 1683	Harrington, 1677
1612	S. Butler, 1680	.	Pearson, 1687	? Feltham, 1678
1612	Suckling, 1641	.	Leighton, 1684	
1613 {	Cleveland, 1658	.	J. Taylor, 1667	
	.	.	More, 1687	
1614	Denham, 1668	.	Baxter, 1691	Wilkins, 1672
1615	.	.	Owen, 1683 {	Wallis, 1703
1616	.	.	Cudworth, 1688	L'Estrange, 1704
1617	H. Vaughan, 1695	Ashmole, 1692	J. Smith, 1652	Cowley, 1677
1618 {	Cowley, 1677	.		
1618 {	Lovelace, 1658			
1620 {	Brown, 1666	Evelyn, 1706 {	Cradock, 1706	
1620 {	Marvel, 1678		Manton, 1706	
1621	.	A. Sydney, 1684	Cross, 1705	
1622	.		Clarkson, 1686	
1623	.	Grammont, 1720		
1624	.	G. Fox	M. Poole	Sydenham, 1689
1625	Stanley, 1678	Stanley, 1678	Bates, 1699	Patrick, 1707
1626	.	Aubrey, 1700	.	Boyle
1627	.	Bp. Lloyd, 1717	Flavel, 1691	Dalgarno, 1687
fl. 1628	.	.	Earle	
	.	.	Charnock, 1680	Temple, 1698
1628	.	.	Bunyan, 1688	Ray, 1705
	.	.	O. Heywood, 1702	Grew, 1711
	.	.	Barrow, 1677	
1630 {	C. Cotton, 1687	Spencer, 1695 {	Tillotson, 1694	? Filmer, 1688
1630 {	E. Phillips, 1686		Howe, 1705	
1631	Dryden, 1700	.	P. Henry	Dryden, 1700

ARRANGEMENT OF SUBJECTS IN PERIODS.

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BIRTH.	POETS AND DRAMATISTS.	HISTORIANS.	THEOLOGICALS.	MISCELLANEOUS.
1632	. . {	Wood, 1695 Pepys, 1703 }	Cumberland, 1718 Alleline, 1668 Hopkins, 1690 South, 1716 G. Bull, 1710 T. Burnet, 1715 Stillingfleet, 1699	Locke, 1704 Sprat, 1713 Cave, 1713 Eachard, 1697
1633	. .	. . {	. . {
1634	Roscommon, 1684	. . {	. . {	
1635	. .	. . {	. . {
1636	. .	G. Mackenzie, 1691	. . {	
1637	Dorset, 1705	. . {	Beveridge, 1708 Ken, 1710 }	
1638 {	T. Etheredge, fl. 1670			
1639	Sedley, 1701			
d. 1640	T. Haywood			
1640 {	Wycherley } Shadwell, 1692 }	J. Parker, 1687	Keach, 1704 W. Sherlock, 1707 Traill, 1716	Dodwell, 1711 Newton, 1727
1641	. .	. .
1642	. .	. .
1643	. . {	G. Burnet, 1715 Strype, 1737 Comber, 1699	Penn, 1718 W. Wall, 1733 W. Stanley, 1731 G. Barclay Kidder, 1703 Culverwell	Aldrich, 1710 Abp. King, 1729 Collier, 1726
1644	. .	. .	. .
1646	. .	. .	. .
1647	Rochester, 1680	. .	. .
1648	Settle, 1724	Prideaux, 1724	. .	
1649	Sheffield, 1720	. .	. .
1650	. .	. .	. .
1650	. .	C. Leslie, 1722	H. Scougal, 1678	
1651	Otway, 1685	. .	. .
1656	. .	. .	Nelson, 1715 Norris, 1711 Tyndal, 1733 G. Stanhope, 1728	
1657	. . {	Thoresby, 1725 W. Kennet, 1728	. . {	
1660	. .	. .	. .
1661	Cleland, 1689 {	Halifax, 1715 } Rapin, 1725 }	. . {	De Foe, 1731
1662	. .	. .	M. Henry, 1704 } Atterbury, 1732 }	Bentley, 1742
1663	. .	. .	T. Wilson, 1753	
1664	Prior, 1721	. .		
1665	Garth, 1718	. .		
1667 {	Swift, 1745 } Pomfret, 1703 }	. .	Swift, 1745	Whiston, 1752
1668	. .	Maundrell	Bingham, 1723 Bp. Gibson, 1748 }	Drake, 1707
1669	Congreve, 1728	. . {	Toland, 1722 }	P. King, 1733

The SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

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English Literature; The Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries.

Not including living Writers.

This period of one hundred and fifty years may be divided into four: the age of Anne and of George I. (1702-1727); the age of George II. (1727-1760); the age of George III. to the end of the century (1760-1800); and the first fifty years of the present century. The first division is distinguished in prose by the greater correctness of the language and the vivacity and naturalness of the style. The poetry is highly polished and vigorous; but degenerates in the middle of the century into tame common place. The second division is remarkable for the large increase of readers and of writers. It is the age of novels, as the third is the age of great historians. Prose, which in Queen Anne's day is remarkably easy and idiomatic, becomes in Johnson's hand stiff and elaborate. Poetry, towards the close of the century, combines polish with nature and feeling, and prose becomes at once vigorous and easy. The Eighteenth Century is the era of the commencement of periodical literature, and of political science. In the Nineteenth Century, all the good tendencies of the literature of the preceding are strengthened—both in poetry and in prose.

A fuller list of Theologians will be seen in par. 488, and of Ethical writers in par. 438.

BIRTH.	POETS AND DRAMATISTS.	HISTORIANS.	THEOLOGIANS.	MISCELLANEOUS.
1670	. .	. .	Daubuz, 1740	Mandeville, 1733
1671	Cibber, 1757	Echard, 1730	Calamy, 1732	R. Steele, 1729
1672	Addison, 1719	R. North, 1733	. .	Shaftesbury, 1713
1673	Vanbrugh, 1726	B. Kennett, 1714	Bennett, 1728	Addison, 1719
1674	Rowe, 1718	Potter, 1747	Hutchinson, 1737	
1675	Watts, 1748	Oldmixon, 1742	W. Harris, 1740	Arbuthnot, 1735
1676	A. Phillips, 1749	. .	Hoadley, 1761	C. Boyle, 1729
1676	J. Phillips, 1708	Bolingbroke, 1751		
1678	Farquhar, 1707	Neal, 1743	Bp. Sherlock, 1761	Hearne, 1735
1679		Wodrow, 1734		
1681	Parnell, 1716	. .	Waterland, 1740	
1681	Young, 1765	. .	Middleton, 1750	
1683	Fenton, 1730	. .	Lardner, 1768	Berkeley, 1753
1684	. .	. .	R. Erskine, 1752	
1685	A. Hill, 1750	. .	W. Law, 1761	A. Baxter, 1750
1686	Tickell, 1740	Carte, 1754	Delany, 1768	
1686	Ramsay, 1757	Stukeley, 1765		
1687	. .	. .	W. Berriman, 1749	Gay, 1732
1688	Pope, 1744	. .	T. Berriman, 1768	Pope, 1744
1688	Gay, 1732	. .	Bp. Butler, 1752	S. Richardson, 1761
1689	Somerville, 1742	. .	J. Maclaurin, 1754	Amory, 1789
1692	. .	Chesterfield, 1773		Hutcheson, 1747
1694	. .			

BIRTH.	POETS AND DRAMATISTS.	HISTORIANS.	THEOLOGIANS.	MISCELLANEOUS.
1696	Savage, 1743	. .	Glas, 1773	Ld. Kames, 1782
1697	Green, 1734	Anson, 1762	J. Gill, 1771	
1699	Blair, 1746	. .	Warburton, 1779	C. Maclaurin, 1746
	J. Dyer, 1758	. .	Secker, 1768	E. Law, 1787
1700	Thomson, 1748	. .	Towgood, 1792	Doddridge, 1751
	Mallet, 1765	. .	Doddridge, 1751	Jenyns, 1787
1702	. .	J. Edwards, 1758	Wesley, 1791	
1703	. .			
1706	G. West, 1756	Birch, 1766	. .	Franklin, 1790
	Browne, 1766		. .	Hartley, 1757
	Brooke, 1783	Chatham, 1778	J. Harris, 1780	Johnson, 1784
1708	Johnson, 1784	Ld. Lyttelton		Reid, 1790
1709	Armstrong, 1779	1773	Lowth, 1787	Tytler, 1792
1710	. .	D. Hume, 1776	Wallin, 1782	
1711	. .	? N. Hooke, 1763		
1712	E. More, 1757	. .		Sterne, 1768
	Glover, 1785	. .	Romaine, 1795	Monboddo, 1799
1713	. .	. .	Farmer, 1787	
1714	Shenstone, 1763	Hawkesworth,	Bryant, 1804	Bryant, 1804
	. .	1773	Harmer, 1788	
1715	. .			
1716	Gray, 1771	H. Walpole, 1797	Orton, 1783	
1717	. .	Blair, 1800	Kennicott, 1783	
1718	. .	R. Henry, 1790	Hurd, 1808	W. Harris, 1770
		. .		G. White, 1793
1720	Merrick, 1769			
	Collins, 1759			
	Akenside, 1770			
1721	Grainger, 1766	Robertson, 1793	Macknight, 1806	Smollett, 1771
	Blacklock, 1791			
	Foote, 1777			
1722	Smart, 1770	. .	J. Brown, 1787	J. Warton, 1800
	J. Warton, 1800	Blackstone, 1780	Sandeman, 1771	Reynolds, 1792
1723	. .	R. Price, 1791		A. Smith, 1790
1724	Armstrong, 1805	Gilpin, 1804	J. Newton, 1807	Ferguson, 1816
1725	W. Mason, 1797	Kipps, 1795	H. Venn, 1797	C. Reeve, 1803
1726	. .	. .		Murphy, 1805
				Ld. Hailes, 1792
1728	Goldsmith, 1774	Goldsmith, 1774	Parkhurst, 1797	
	Percy, 1811	Orme, 1801	Gerard, 1795	
	T. Warton, 1790			
	Scott of Amwell,	Burke, 1797	Bp. Horne, 1792	Home, 1792
1730	1783	Bruce, 1794		
	Falconer, 1769			
1731	Cowper, 1800	Grose, 1800	Porteus, 1803	Cowper, 1800
	Churchill, 1764	. .		G. Sharp, 1813
1732	Darwin, 1802	. .	Horsley, 1806	Priestley, 1804
1733	. .	. .	Hallifax, 1790	
			Priestley, 1804	
1734	Mickle, 1788	. .	Booth, 1806	
1735	Langhorne, 1779	. .		Beattie, 1803
	Beattie, 1803	. .		H. Tooke, 1812
1736	. .	. .		T. Paine 1809
1737	. .	Gibbon, 1794	Bp. Watson, 1816	
			Geddes, 1802	

BIRTH.	POETS AND DRAMATISTS.	HISTORIANS.	THEOLOGIANS.	MISCELLANEOUS.
1738 {	Macpherson, 1796			
1740 .	Wolcot, 1819	Junius (Sir P. Francis), 1818	. .	Boswell, 1795
1743 . .		Mitford, 1827	Paley, 1805 {	B. Edwards, 1800
		Malone, 1812		Paley, 1805
1745 {	Roberts, 1791	Dibdin, 1814	R. Hill, 1833	H. Mackenzie, 1831
	Dibdin, 1814	De Lolme, 1807		
	Hayley, 1825	J. Nichols, 1826		
1746 {	Sir W. Jones, 1792	Grattan, 1820	. .	Sir W. Jones, 1792
		W. Russell, 1794		
1747 . .		Coxe, 1829	Jos. Milner, 1797	U. Price, 1829
1748 Logan, 1728			Scott, 1821	Playfair, 1819
1749 . .			Parr, 1825	Bentham, 1832
1750 Fergusson, 1774		C. J. Fox, 1806	Is. Milner, 1820	T. Erskine, 1823
1751 Sheridan, 1817		. .	. .	Sheridan, 1816
1752 Chatterton, 1770		F. Burney, 1840		
1753 . .		Roscoe, 1831 {	Ryland, 1825 {	W. Belsham, 1828
1754 Crabbe, 1832		Maurice, 1824	Blayney, 1801 {	G. Ellis, 1815
1756 Gifford, 1826		Gifford, 1826	Kirwan, 1805	D. Stewart, 1828
1757 Sotheby, 1833		. .	Marsh, 1839 {	W. Godwin, 1836
1758 . .		Pinkerton, 1825	Alison, 1839 {	A. Alison, 1839
1759 Burns, 1796 {		A. Chalmers, 1834	Simeon, 1836	T. Gisborne, 1825
1762 Bowles, 1850		. .	Wilberforce, 1833	W. Pitt, 1806
1763 {	Rogers, 1855	S. Palmer.	. .	Porson, 1808
1764 {	Hurdis, 1801			W. Cobbett, 1835
1764 Grahame, 1811		Mackintosh, 1832	R. Hall, 1831	A. Radcliffe, 1823
1765 Bloomfield, 1823		. .	Magee, 1831	Mackintosh, 1832
1766 . .		. .	. .	Malthus, 1836
1767 . .		. .	. .	Edgeworth, 1849
1768 . .		S. Turner, 1847	Boothroyd, 1836	T. Hope, 1831
1769 {	Kelly, 1855	. .	. .	Mrs. Opie, 1853
1769 {	Mrs. Opie, 1853			
1770 {	Hogg, 1835	Fosbroke, 1842	J. Foster, 1843	
1770 {	Wordsworth, 1850			
1771 {	W. Scott, 1832	M. Park, 1805	. .	S. Smith, 1845
1771 {	Montgomery, 1854	Lingard, 1851		
1772 Coleridge, 1834		Coleridge, 1834 {	Richmond, 1827	M'Crie, 1835
1772 Cary, 1844		J. Mill, 1836	T. M'Crie, 1835	Ricardo, 1823
1773 Mrs. Tighe, 1810		Southey, 1843	Pye Smith, 1851	F. Jeffrey, 1850
1774 Southey, 1843		. .		
1774 Leyden, 1811				
1775 H. Smith, 1839			J. Jebb, 1833 {	Miss Austen, 1817
1775 L. E. L., 1838				C. Lamb, 1835
1775 C. Lamb, 1835				W. S. Landor, 1864
1775 Landor, 1864				
1777 T. Campbell, 1844		. .	J. Davison, 1834	
1778 . .		(Hallam, 1859)	. .	Dr. T. Brown, 1829
		(Hazlitt, 1830)		

BIRTH.	POETS AND DRAMATISTS.	HISTORIANS.	THEOLOGICALS.	MISCELLANEOUS.
1779 {	J. Smith, 1844	. .	Wardlaw, 1853	T. Chalmers, 1847 M. Russell, 1848
1780 {	Moore, 1852		Chalmers, 1847	
1781 {	Croly, 1860		R. Watson	
1783 {	E. Elliott, 1849	. .		
1783 {	R. Heber, 1826			
1784 {	Cunningham, 1842	. .	. .	L. Hunt, 1859
1785 {	L. Hunt, 1859	. .	Dr. J. Brown, 1859	Prof. Wilson, 1854
1785 {	Wilson, 1854			
1788 {	K. White, 1806	Sir W. Hamilton, 1856		
1788 {	Pringle, 1854			
1789 {	Byron, 1824			
1789 {	Conder, 1855			
1791 {	C Wolfe, 1823	. .	. .	Marryatt, 1848
1792 {	Shelley, 1822	. .		
1793 {	Mrs. Hemans, 1835	. .	A. W. Hare, 1834	Lockhart, 1854
1793 {	Clare, 1864	. .	E. Burton, 1836	
1794 {	Keats, 1821	Arnold, 1842	J. C. Hare, 1848	
1795 {	H. Coleridge, 1849			
1796 {	H. Bayley, 1839			
1797 {	Moir, 1851			
1798 {	Hood, 1845			
1799 {	A. Watts, 1864	Macaulay, 1859		
1800 {	Macaulay, 1859			

The EIGHTEENTH and NINETEENTH CENTURIES,—not including living writers.

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„ Nineteenth Century, par. 221-239	240-283
DRAMA, Eighteenth Century, par. 277-285	323-329
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Lords and Commons of England! Consider what nation it is whereof ye are, and whereof ye are the governors: a nation not slow and dull, but of a quick, ingenuous, and piercing spirit; acute to invent; subtle and sinewy to discourse; not beneath the reach of any point the highest that human capacity can soar to. . . . Yet that which is above all this, the favour and the love of Heaven, we have great argument to think in a peculiar manner propitious and propending to us.

'When there is much desire to learn, there of necessity will be much arguing, much writing, many opinions: for opinion in good men is but knowledge in the making.'—MILTON, *Areopagitica*.

'Time was when it was praise and boast enough
In every clime, and travel where we might,
That we were born her children. Praise enough
To fill the ambition of a private man,
That Chatham's language was his mother tongue.'

COWPER, *Task*.

Man is a thinking being, whether he will or no: all he can do is to turn his thoughts the best way.'—SIR W. TEMPLE, *Miscellanies*.

'It seems little to be perceived how much of the great scriptural idea of the *worldly* and the *unworldly* is found to emerge in literature as well as in life.'—DE QUINCEY.

'We must be free or die, who speak the tongue
That Shakespeare spake: the faith and morals hold
Which Milton held.—In everything we are sprung
Of earth's first blood, have titles manifold.'

WORDSWORTH, *Sonnets*.

'Polite literature will continue—will necessarily continue—to be the grand school of intellectual and moral cultivation. The evils, therefore, which it may contain will as certainly affect in some degree the minds of the successive students as the hurtful influence of the climate or the seasons will affect their bodies. To be thus affected, is a part of the destiny under which we are born in a civilized country. It is indispensable to acquire the advantage; it is lamentable to incur the evil. . . . All that I can do is to urge on the reader of taste the very serious duty of continually recalling to his mind the real character of the religion of the New Testament and the reasons which command an inviolable adherence to it.'—FOSTER, *Essays*.

THE HANDBOOK OF ENGLISH LITERATURE.

CHAPTER I.

ANGLO-SAXON LITERATURE, A.D. 449-1066.

1. INTRODUCTORY :—Literature: its Influence and Suggestiveness.
 2. English Literature most influential and suggestive.
 3. Divisions of: Anglo-Saxon: Anglo-Norman: English.
 4. The Kelts, or British, and their Literature.
 5. Anglo-Saxon Settlers: their Language and Religion.
 6. Their Poets and Poetry. 7. Beowulf, Cædmon, etc.
 8. Prose: Alfred, Ælfric.
 9. The Literature of the Anglo-Saxon Tongue. 10. Illustrations.
 11. Table of Anglo-Saxon Writers.
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‘The study of our ancient mother-tongue is an important, I may say an essential, part of a complete English education; and although it is neither possible, nor in any way desirable, to reject the alien constituents of the language, yet there is reason to hope that we may recover and re-incorporate into the English language many a gem of rich poetic wealth that now lies buried in more forgotten depths than even those of Chaucer’s “well of English undefiled.”’—MARSH’S *Lectures on the English Language*.

1. THE literature of a people is the collection of its thoughts and sentiments; the record of all it has done and taught. These thoughts and sentiments express character, and they mould it. They are the outward sign of the genius of one generation, and they become the inward life of the following. Literature, therefore, in itself a

Literature,
what: its in-
fluence.

noble inheritance, is an expression of the state of society, and it is also its soul. It is the outcome of the mental life, and that life it quickens and regenerates; or that life it weakens and destroys. Homer, to take one example, is not only rich in poetic thought, but he is the type of the heroic greatness of Greece, and to him we learn to trace much of her subsequent civilization. All great books—to formulate facts that belong to every nation and age—are precious in themselves, while they throw a double light on the times out of which they spring, and on the times they help to form.

2. Of all literature, that of England is one of the richest, and to an Englishman the most suggestive. It is the English literature: its influence. literature of a language which Jacob Grimm has pronounced one of the noblest in the world; a language with which none of our day can compete; a language that is at once a harmonious organ of reason and of imagination, of poetry and of philosophy. It is the literature of a people which combines, as no other nation in Europe has combined, the qualities of the Gothic and Romance minds, the sober thought and profound views of the one with the humour, the wit, the clearness, the geniality of the other. It is the literature of a people among whom, ever since the days of Piers Ploughman and Wycliffe, and for five hundred years, men have been taught to think and speak freely; and every one knows how freedom is conducive to originality and vigour. It is the literature of a people, above all, who have studied and written amid the light and blessings of evangelical truth and of the highest civilization. And, *in fact*, it is a literature unsurpassed, and perhaps unequalled, by that of any other nation on earth. There is no literature that embodies nobler sentiments and sublimer truths, or that expresses them in more beautiful forms; nor is there any that better illustrates the great principles that underlie all true progress, and that tend to promote it.

‘Any that better illustrates the principles of progress,’—say rather, that illustrates them so well. More than any other, English literature is the expression of the character of the nation and of its history. The insular position of our country, and her early separation from Normandy,—facts to which Macaulay ascribes her nationality and independence,—have freed us from

those complications which have influenced the destiny and moulded the institutions of most continental nations. But for these advantages, we should have had our 'schools' and 'styles' modifying from without, not only our language or the works of particular authors, but the entire thought and utterance of the nation; whereas now our literature is our own, and has always maintained a self-originated and self-guided existence. Hence it is that English literature is so often a comment on English history. It represents the tastes of the times, the changes the country has undergone, its advance in knowledge, its achievements in art, its triumphs over physical nature, its whole social being. It is, in short, the reflection of the national life, an exhibition of the principles to which we owe our freedom and progress: a voice of experience speaking for all time, to any who are willing to hear. No nation could have originated it but in circumstances like those of England; and no nation can receive and welcome it without reproducing in its life the image of our own.

3. The close connection between the literature and the history of our country suggests a natural division of its literary annals. They may be arranged under three distinct periods:

The **ANGLO-SAXON** period, beginning with the Anglo-Saxon
Divisions. invasions of the fifth century, and ending six hundred
 and fifty years later in the Norman Conquest; a
 period that answers to the Dark Ages in the general history of
 Europe:

The **SEMI-SAXON** and **NORMAN-ENGLISH** period, beginning
 with the Conquest in 1066, and extending through four and a
 half centuries to the accession of Henry VIII., or to the time of
 the Reformation; a period that answers to the Middle Ages in
 the history of Europe: and

The **ENGLISH** period, from the time of the Reformation to our
 own day; a period of three and a half centuries: the modern
 times of all Christendom.

It must be carefully noted, however, that if the historical
 epoch is created by forces acting on the national mind rather
 than by forces that spring out of it, the corresponding literary
 epoch is later than the historical. The true Anglo-Saxon period
 in literature, and the true Anglo-Norman period, for example,

date really a century, or even two centuries, subsequent to the great invasions to which they owe their name and their origin. On the other hand, if the historical epoch is the result of internal change, as was the case largely with the Reformation, the literary epoch is contemporary with the historical, or it even *precedes* it. Hence, the Anglo-Saxon literature extends far into the Anglo-Norman period; while we have much of the freedom and vigour that belong to the sixteenth century—the Reformation era—in the writings and institutions of the fourteenth or fifteenth. In fact for literature, the English period begins with Chaucer and the close of the fourteenth century, and may be reckoned up to our own age, as extending over about four hundred and fifty years.

4. The occupants of Britain before the invasion of the Anglo-Saxons were Kelts. Tribes of the same great race occupied the whole Western shores of Europe. On the Continent the Roman conquerors entered into close relations with the vanquished, diffusing among them their customs and speech. Hence it is that there the Latin tongue, though in its later forms grafted on the native Keltic, formed Spanish, French, and Portuguese, while in England there was no such change. The Keltic language remained uninfluenced by the presence of the invaders; and a few productions of the bards of this race are said to have come down to our times, though the genuineness of them is a matter of dispute.*

* Among these writers are Gildas, mentioned by Bede, and said to be the author of a tract, *De Excidio Britannia*, and the Welsh or British authors, Taliesin, Merdhin, Tysilio, and others. The history of the first is discussed by Wright, *Biog. Brit. Lit.*, p. 115; the genuineness of the works ascribed to the last, by Turner, *Anglo-Saxons*, vol. iii. The authenticity of the history of Arthur is connected with the genuineness of these writings; for though Arthur's history is given most fully in Geoffrey of Monmouth (see par. 17), it is from these earlier documents it professes to be taken. Mr. Whitaker has attempted, in his *History of Manchester*,

to discriminate between the real and fabulous deeds of this British worthy. See Hallam, *Introduction to the Literature of Europe*, i. 35. King Arthur is said to have died in 542, aged 41.

Among the writings of Irish Kelts are bardic songs and historical legends. Some of these are as old at least as the 9th century, the date of the legendary collection called *The Psalter of Cashel*. It is said also that in the *Annals of Tigernach*, in the *Annals of the Five Masters*, and in such local records as the *Annals of Innisfallen* and *Ulster*, we have the facts and the words of chronicles that date from the fifth century

5. The Anglo-Saxons came not as invaders only, but as settlers. For a hundred years they poured into the country, and occupied a large proportion of the island, as far northward as the shores of the Forth.

In a few generations their language and customs had become as prevalent as the modern English tongue became, a thousand years later, in the United States.

A form of Saxon, called Anglo-Saxon, was the language they spoke, and was soon known to them by the name of English only. It is really an amalgamated double form of the old Gothic, as developed and spoken by them in these islands. Everywhere throughout England it was substantially the same language, though modified by the circumstances of the country, and the successive invasions of various Saxon and Danish tribes. Some^a have supposed that the language had various dialects, and that these dialects belong to different periods of our history, the Britanno-Saxon marking the first three hundred and fifty years of the Saxon occupancy, the Dano-Saxon the last two hundred and fifty, and the Normanno-Dano-Saxon the time from the Conquest to the death of Henry II., when the language became Semi-Saxon. But in fact two of these three divisions are contemporaneous, and each is distinct from pure Anglo-Saxon. This last is the language of King Alfred, who had an intense fondness for Anglo-Saxon writings; and it was used throughout the southern and western parts of England. The Dano-Saxon, or Dano-Anglo-Saxon rather, was the language of those districts which the Danes invaded, especially of the north of England and the south of Scotland. The Britanno-Saxon has left no fragment. That the two former prevailed in different districts, rather than at different times, is clear from the fact that we find traces of the Danish element in the MSS. of one convent, and not in the contemporary or later MSS. of another. This Anglo-Saxon was our language for six or seven hundred years.^b

^a Dr. Hickea.

^b The dialects of the Anglo-Saxon are rather geographical than chronological. There are marked traces of an Anglian-Saxon spoken in the north and on the east coast of England, and of a Southern, and West Saxon. The standard dialect would be naturally found

in the ancient Mercia, where the two dialects blend. The purest modern English is found in the same district—part of the Midland Counties: the district least influenced by Celtic and Danish influences on the one side, or, later, by Norman influences on the other. See GARNETT'S *Philological Essays*. 1859.

When the Saxons landed in England, an ancient British Church already existed there. They were themselves pagans; warlike and wild, with blue eyes and flowing hair. Within two centuries of their landing, they were nominally converted to Christianity: the northern settlers, Bede tells us, by missionaries from Iona; the southern, by Augustine. Ælfric states in his homily on the birthday of Gregory, that the new religion found a hearty response among them, and that they were an illiterate but thoughtful people. 'The life of man,' said an Ealdorman summoned by Edwin, king of Northumberland, to a 'meeting of the Wise,' to consider the propriety of receiving the Christian faith, 'is like a sparrow that in the winter flieth into a great hall. Out of the winter it cometh to return unto the winter eftsoons. What goeth before it, and what cometh after, we know not. Wherefore if this new rule bring aught more certain and more advantageous, then is it worthy we should know it.'

And so without much intelligence, but with practical good sense, they embraced the new faith. They built monasteries and went on pilgrimages. Their priests sang psalms, copied evangels, and illuminated manuscripts—drinking the while somewhat freely out of wooden goblets and buffalo horns. Two kings at least, Hardicanute and Edmund, died in a drinking revel; and priests and people seem to have indulged in the same excesses. Nor is it surprising that Alfred, looking on these evils should exclaim, 'Oh, Maker of all, Creator; help now the miserable mankind!'

6. What remains of their literature is but scanty. We hear their poets. voices, but only half understand them; we spell out fragments, and find they end abruptly, as if the strains had died upon the poet's lips. Between two fragments in the same volume a century will sometimes elapse and leave no trace. This literature, in short, is no modern palace of story or of song, but a weather-stained ruin with mouldering walls, and here and there a roofless chamber; yet it contains beautiful pillars, honourable names, and precious inscriptions, deserving not only scrutiny, but admiration.

Some of the early poets of the Anglo-Saxons must have been, like the wandering minstrels of France, of no high character for ability or for virtue. King Edgar blames the clergy of his day

for entertaining 'glee-men' in their monasteries, where they kept up singing and drinking till midnight; and he warns them not to become what he calls 'ale-poets.' Those, however, whose works remain must have been of a better order. They are *sceopas*, shapers, makers, poets in the highest sense. They sang of heroes, of death-struggles, and moral truth, or in their cloisters turned Scripture itself, or Scripture story, into fitting rhymes and song.

In looking into their poetry, the first thing we notice is the structure of the verse. The rhythm depends on initial alliteration in emphatic syllables, sometimes with rhyme, oftener without it. The lines are most of them exclamatory, and made the more vigorous by the absence of particles. 'The verses ring,' as Longfellow has expressed it, 'like the sharp blows of the hammer upon the anvil;' and the impression is deepened by the metaphorical language and quick transitions of the poetry.

*Flah mah fliteth,
Flan man hwiteth,
Burg sorg biteth,
Bald ald thwiteth,
Wræc-fæc writeth,
Wrath ath smiteth.*

*The strong dart flitteth,
The spear man whetteth,
The town sorrow biteth,
The bold age quelleth,
Wreck suspicion worketh,
Wrath the city smiteth."*

7. One of the oldest relics of Anglo-Saxon literature, and the oldest epic poem in any modern language, is *Beowulf*. It consists of forty-three cantos, with about six thousand lines. It was probably composed in Sleswick, and was brought over about the close of the fifth century. It was first published at Copenhagen, in 1815, and was translated by J. M. Kemble. The style is simple, and generally wanting in metaphor. It is often prosaic, but, as a whole, forms an instructive study. It is the picture of 'an age, brave, generous, and right-principled.'^a

The poem opens with a description of King Hrothgar in his great hall of Heort. Not far off, in the fens of Jutland, dwelt a grim giant, the descendant of Cain. This giant used often to visit the king's palace 'to see how the Danes found themselves after their ale-carouse.' On one of his visits he killed thirty

^a Exeter MSS., published by W. J. Conybeare.

^b *The Anglo-Saxon poems, Beowulf,*

etc., by J. M. Kemble, M.A., Lond., 1833
A Translation of, etc., by J. M. Kemble
M.A., Lond., 1837.

inmates, and ever after the whole land was kept in fear of death. At length Beowulf, the Thane of Higelac, heard of his evil deeds, and resolved to deliver the land of his brother Hrothgar. With fifteen followers he sailed for the court of Heort, fought the giant, tore off one of his arms, and hung it up on the palace walls. Retiring to his cave, 'the grim ghost' died, and thereupon there was great rejoicing. One night, however, there arose a great trouble; the mother of the giant having appeared at Heort, and carried off one of the 'beer-drunken heroes of the ale-wassail,' Beowulf delivered him out of her hands, and after many adventures killed the old woman with a magic sword, and let her heathen soul out of its 'bone-house,' the body. Beowulf then ascended the throne of Heort, and later, died of wounds received while struggling with a 'fire-drake,' or dragon of wondrous powers.

The next and the most important work of this era is Cædmon's paraphrase of portions of Holy Writ. He was a Northumbrian, first a lay brother, then a monk of Whitby, and died in 680. He is sometimes referred to as the father of Anglo-Saxon poetry, because his name stands first on the list of our native poets; sometimes as the Anglo-Saxon Milton, because he sang of Lucifer and of Paradise Lost.

The first part of his poems contains portions of the Old Testament; the second contains scenes from the New, and is chiefly occupied with Christ's 'descent into hell,'—a favourite theme in old times as well as in the Middle Ages, when the 'Harrowing of Hell,' as it was called, became a popular play-miracle.^a The writer is an earnest, simple-minded man. God he calls the 'Blithe-hearted King,'^b the Patriarchs are Earls; Abraham is a 'wise-heedy man,'^c a 'guardian of bracelets' (wealth), and a 'mighty Earl.' The sons of Reuben are Vikings (warriors, or sea-pirates), and the Ethiopians are 'a people brown with the hot coals of heaven.'^d

A third poem is a mere fragment. Judith of the Apocrypha is the heroine, and it describes the death of Holofernes in a very

^a See par. 241.

^b The 'Blessed God' of the New Testament.

^c The 'prudent man' of the New Testament.

^d Cædmon's *Metrical Paraphrases of parts of Holy Scripture in English*. Translated by Benjamin Thorpe F.S.A., Lond., 1832.

spirited and even brilliant style.^a A fourth is *The Death of Byrnoth and the Battle of Maldon*.^b Shorter than this is the old poem of the *Battle of Finnesburh*, a battle of great slaughter that took place at one of the continental settlements of the Anglo-Saxons. Another narrative poem has interest from its connection with Shakespeare's name. It is the chronicle of *King Leir and his Daughters*, and is written in Norman-Saxon. It has small merit as a poem. Cordelia, the gentle daughter, is at last queen over England, though Maglandus, King of Scotland, thinks it a 'mochel same (shame) that a Cwene solde be kinge in thiss land.'—

Besides these poems, there are in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* five odes of dates ranging from A.D. 938 to 1065. The earliest is the *Battle of Brunan Burh*, which has been several times translated. To these must be added the *Poetic Calendar* of King Alfred, a chronicle of saints and martyrs, and the version of the *Metres of Boethius*, ascribed, more or less probably, to him.^c There are also large collections of poems on various subjects, hymns, allegories, and enigmas, in MSS., still preserved in our public libraries. Of these the Exeter MS. is the most remarkable. It was given by Bishop Leofric to the cathedral of Exeter in the eleventh century, and is described as an 'English boc on everything worked in verse.' It was published in 1842 by the Society of Antiquaries, and under the editorship of Benjamin Thorpe.

8. Among Anglo-Saxon prose works, the first place is due to the Anglo-Saxon laws, the Anglo-Saxon charters, and the Anglo-Saxon chronicle. The first and second of these extend from Ethelbert to Canute;^d the Anglo-Saxon chronicle from the middle of the sixth to the middle of the twelfth century, being written by contemporaneous authors, chiefly monks of Winchester, Peterborough, and Canterbury.

There are also the works of King Alfred, the 'Truth-teller,' as they called him. The events of the life of this great king are

^a See the original in *Analecta Anglo-Saxonica*. By B. Thorpe, Lond., 1834.

^b In Thorpe's *Analecta*. A translation may be seen in *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, by J. J. Conybeare, Lond., 1826.

^c See Turner's *Anglo-Saxons*, iii., p. 86, and Wright's *Biog. Brit. Lit.*, p. 400.

^d See *The Ancient Laws and Insti-*

tutes of England, etc., edited by B. Thorpe, and published by the Record Commission, 1840, and the *Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici*, Opere J. M. Kemble, 2 vols., 1839-40. The Laws may be seen also in Lambard's *Archæologia*, Lond., 1568, or in Wilkins' *Leges Anglo-Saxonice*, Lond., 1721.

well known. His battles, his flight into Somerset, his poverty and sufferings, wherein 'he was to be bruised as an ear of corn;' his stay with the swineherd, where his cake-watching was so unsatisfactory and so needful,—for the dame reminded him that he was a great eater,^a—his successful rally of the country, his victories, and his glorious reign, all are known. But his literary character is less known. 'True nobility,' said he, 'is in the mind, not in the flesh. I wish to leave after me when I die my memory in good works.' Among these are his translations of Pope Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, of the *Universal History* of Orosius, of the *Consolations* of Boethius, of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, and of parts of the Bible. Though known chiefly as a translator, Alfred has incorporated with most of his translations reflections of his own. To the soliloquies of St. Augustine he adds prayers; to the *History* of Orosius, an outline of the state of Germany; and to the *Consolations* of Boethius, thoughts 'not unworthy either of the original author or of the theme.'

The literature of the Anglo-Saxons was cultivated chiefly in the North. Beyond the Humber, at Beverley, Wearmouth, Jarrow, and Hexham, were monasteries long celebrated for learning. South of the Thames, Alfred tells us, the Anglo-Saxon tongue was but little known.

Other remains of the Anglo-Saxon age are the *Tale of Apollonius of Tyre*, the *Colloquies* and *Homilies*—eighty of them,—besides other writings of Abbot Ælfric,^b of Canterbury; and a large number of inferior writings, poetical, historical, and religious. A full account of these last may be seen in Wright's *Biographia Brit. Lit.* 1842, and in Turner's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*.

Keeping in mind the number of these authors, Wright enumerating some fifty or sixty, fragments of whose works remain; the diversity of subjects discussed—science by Aldhelm, John of Beverley, and Ethelwold of Glastonbury; dogmatic theology and literature by Bede, Alcuin, and Winfrid (Boniface); practical theology by Ælfric and Wulfstan (Bp. Lupus)—and the eminence which several of them gained on the Continent, Win-

^a 'Tha thu mycel ete eart.' Asser, quoted by Turner and Longfellow.

^b Ælfric, who also wrote a *Latin Grammar*, a *Glossary*, and a *Manual of Astronomy*, is known as a strenuous op-

ponent of many of the innovations of the Church of Rome. Indeed, the writings of the Anglo-Saxons were first examined in modern times for the help they gave to the doctrines of the Reformation.

frid as missionary Alcuin, educated at York, as teacher, and Erigena, the Irishman, as theologian, we must judge highly of the thinking power of the Anglo-Saxon race. Their mind seems to have been Teutonic—slow and solid ; and they were liable to sink into those habits of indolent ease which most writers from Alfred to Scott have ascribed to them. But when they had mingled for some time with the Scandinavians, the Danish tribes that had settled on the northern coast and gained supremacy under Canute, and when, besides, they had acquired somewhat firmer elements of character, they became prepared for greater mental activity and higher literary culture, for political order, and for vigorous self-government. And these elements of national growth the Norman Conquest supplied.

Morally regarded, the Anglo-Saxon literature is very remarkable. Its poetry wants the pathos which inspired the songs of the ancient Cymri, the passion that made the writings of the troubadours so popular, the imagination that revelled in the sagas of the North, the legendary lore that gives interest to the history of the beginning of most nations. Its prose is also eminently sober and practical, now and then rising into sentiment, though generally dealing plainly with facts. But both poetry and prose were evidently the productions of men who sought to raise the character of the people and to improve their social condition. Practical and moral are the epithets that best describe both ; nor is it difficult to believe that their literary men were animated by the very spirit that has ruled among their latest descendants.

9. The study of Anglo-Saxon has increased of late years, but it is still without all the facilities and encouragement it needs. Attention to the language began in the sixteenth century, when MSS. were collected in large numbers by Archbishop Parker and Sir Robert Cotton,—Parker's collections being preserved in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and Cotton's in the British Museum. In 1571, Fox, the martyr-ologist, and Wm. l'Isle, under the auspices of Parker, published the Anglo-Saxon version of the Gospels, and some of the Homilies of Ælfric. Their facilities for study, however, were too few to enable them to make much progress. About the middle of the seventeenth century, the Spelmans (Henry and John), Gibson, Whelock, and Francis Junius, studied the language with greater helps and on better principles. The most important publications

Literature of
the Anglo-
Saxon tongue.

connected with Anglo-Saxon literature, from this period to the close of the last century, were the following :—

- 1639. *Ecclesiastical Laws and Constitutions* (*Concilia Decreta*, etc.), by Sir Henry Spelman;
- 1640. *Anglo-Saxon Psalter*, by the younger Spelman;
- 1645. Alfred's *Bede* and the *Saxon Chronicle*, published at Cambridge;
- 1655. *Cædmon*, by Junius;
- 1659. *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, by William Somner, the first published;
- 1684. The *Anglo-Saxon Four Gospels*, with a Gothic version, edited by Junius;
- 1689. *Anglo-Saxon Grammar*, by Dr. George Hickes, the first that appeared;
- 1692. The *Saxon Chronicle*, by Edmund Gibson, a more accurate text than that of 1645;
- 1698. Alfred's *Boethius*, by Rawlinson;
- 1699. *Heptateuch*, by Thwaites;
- 1701. *Anglo-Saxon Vocabulary*, by Thomas Benson;
- 1705. *Thesaurus of Northern Languages*, by Dr. Hickes;
- 1711. Benson's *Vocabulary* and Hickes, *Thesaurus*, abbreviated, by Thwaites;
- 1715. *Anglo-Saxon Grammar*, by Elizabeth Elstob, a niece of Dr. Hickes
- 1721, 1737. *Anglo-Saxon Laws*, by Wilkins;
- 1722. Alfred's *Bede*, by John Smith;
- 1772. *Dictionary*, by Nye and Manning;
- 1773. Alfred's *Translation of Orosius*, by Daines Barrington.

In 1750 an Anglo-Saxon professorship was founded at Oxford, and in 1795 the first professor was appointed.

The revival of the study of Anglo-Saxon literature in the present century we owe largely to foreign scholars. In 1815, Thorkelin, a Dane, published *Beowulf*. A few years later, Rask and Grimm applied a sounder philology to the study of the language. The former published a *Grammar* (1817), and the latter included the Anglo-Saxon in his *Deutsche Grammatik*, 1822-1831. Meanwhile our own scholars turned their attention to it—Ingram, J. J. Conybeare, and Thorpe. Grammars have been issued by Gwilt, Lisson, Hunter, Bosworth, and Vernon. Thorpe also has prepared an improved translation of Rask (1830), which is now on the whole the best grammar of the tongue. Dr. Bosworth's smaller *Dictionary* (1838) is a portable and accessible volume, while his larger one is very full and valuable. Nor ought the names of Cox, Madden, White, Guest, Fox, Wright and Phillips to be omitted.* There is still room, however, for

* See White's *Ormulum*, preface, p. liv., etc.

further research, and it is generally believed that a more thorough and scholarly examination of Anglo-Saxon literature will throw light both on the etymology and the syntax of our tongue.

SPECIMENS.

10. THE SAILING OF BEOWULF.

Famous was Beowulf;
Wide sprang the blood
Which the heir of the Shylds
Shed on the lands.
His ship they bore out
To the hum of the ocean,
And his comrades sat down
At their oars as he bade:
A word would control
His good fellows the Shyldas.
Then all the people
Cheered their loved lord,
The giver of bracelets.
On the deck of the ship
He stood by the mast.

W. TAYLOR — *Historical Survey of German Poetry*. Three vols., Lond., 1828.

THE FIRST DAY—CÆDMON.

There had not here as yet
Save cavern shade
Aught been;
But this wide abyss
Stood deep and dim
Strange to its lord
Idle and useless;—
Here first shaped
The Lord Eternal,
Chief of all creatures,
Heaven and earth;
The firmament upreared
And this spacious land
Established,
By his strong powers,
The Lord Almighty.

THORPE'S *Cædmon, Metrical Paraphrase*. Lond., 1832.

THE DEATH OF EDGAR—975

Here ended
His earthly dreams.
Edgar, of Angles king,
Chose him other light,
Serene, and lovely.
Spurning this frail abode,
A life that mortals
Here call lean
He quitted with disdain.
July the month,
By all agreed
In this our land,
Whoever were
In chronic lore
Correctly taught.
The day the eighth,
When Edgar young,
Rewarder of heroes,
His life, his throne, resigned.

The Saxon Chronicle, with an English translation, by the Rev. J. Ingram. Lond., 1823.

THE POETIC CALENDAR.

The Creator alone knows
Whither the soul
Shall afterwards roam,
And see the spirits
That depart in God.
After their death-day
They will abide their judgment
In their Father's bosom.
Their future condition
Is hidden and secret—
God only knows it,
The preserving Father.

TURNER'S *History of the Anglo-Saxons*. Lond., 1807.

METRES OF BOETHIUS.

Ascribed to KING ALFRED.

Metre III.

Alas! in how grim
 And how bottomless
 A gulf labours
 The darkling mind,
 When in the strong
 Storm's lash
 Of worldly cares:
 When it, thus contending,
 Its proper light
 Once forsakes,
 And in woe forgets
 The everlasting joy,
 And rushes into the darkness
 Of this world,
 Afflicted with cares!

*King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon Version
 of the Metres of Boethius, etc. By
 Rev. S. Fox. Lond., 1835.*

THE EXILE'S COMPLAINTS.

I set forth this lay
 Concerning myself, full sad,
 And my own journeyings.
 I may declare
 What calamities I have
 Since I grew up.
 Recently or of old
 No man hath experience the like;
 But I reckon the privations
 Of my own exiled wanderings the first.
 My lord departed
 Hence from his people
 Over the expanse of the waves.
 I had some care
 Where my chieftain
 In the land might be;
 Then I departed on my journey,
 A friendless exile's travel.

*Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry.
 By J. J. CONYBEARE. Lond., 1826.
 The original may be seen in Klip-
 stein's Analecta Anglo-Saxonica,
 vol. ii., p. 314.*

THE RUINED WALL-STONE.

Reared and wrought full workmanly
 By earth's old giant progeny,
 The wall-stone proudly stood. It
 fell,
 When bower, and hall, and citadel,
 And lofty roof, and barrier gate,
 And tower and turret bowed to fall,
 And wrapt in flame, and drenched
 in gore,
 The lofty burgh might stand no
 more.
 Beneath the Jutes long vanquish'd
 reign
 Her masters rule the subject plain:
 —But they have mouldred side by
 side,—
 The vassal crowd, the chieftain's
 pride:
 And hard the grasp of earth's em-
 brace
 That shrouds for ever all the race.
 So fade they countless and unknown,
 The generations that are gone.

CONYBEARE.

AN ANGLO-SAXON RIDDLE.

From the Ex. MS., fol. 112.

There sat a man at his wine
 With his two wives
 And his two sons
 And his two daughters,
 Own-sisters,
 And their two sons;
 The father was there
 Of each one
 Of the noble ones,
 With the uncle and the nephew:
 There were five in all,
 Men and women,
 Sitting there.

WRIGHT's *Biog. Brit. Lit.*, p. 80.

TABLE OF BRITISH AND ANGLO-SAXON AUTHORS, A.D. 400-1066.

	CONTINENTAL HISTORY AND LITERATURE.	EVENTS OF ENGLISH HISTORY.	BRITISH HISTORIANS AND POETS. ^a	ANGLO-SAXON LITERATURE. ^a		
				Poetry.	History and Biography.	Theology, Philosophy, and Science.
400-500.	Clovis, 481.	Saxons first land, 449.		Gleeman's Song, 450.		
	Goths in Italy	Ancient Brit. Church.		Beowulf, 450-550.		
	Boethius.	Cerdic. Ida.	Gildas. Aneurin.			
500-600.	Code of Justinian.	Ethelbert, first Christian king.	Taliesin.		Saxon Chro- nicle from 450 to 1160.	
	Franks converted.	Columba founds Iona.	Luwarch- Hen. Merdhin.			
	St. Gregory.	Augustine. Edwin converted.	Meizant.			
600-700.	English Missions in Germany.	York Minster. St. Paul's, London.	Elaeth.	Cædmon, d. 680.	Saxon Charters and Laws from Ethelbert 593 to Canute 1017.	Benedict of Jarrow, d. 690.
	Saracens.	Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury.	Tysilio.	Aldhelm, d. 709.		
	Arabian Philosophy.		Nennius.			
700-800.	Aristotle Winfred (Boniface). Charlemagne. Western Empire	Northmen at Lindisfarne.	Golyddau.	Cuthbert, d. 758.	Albinus. Bede, d. 735. Berctwald.	Aldhelm. Egbert. Ceolfrið. Eadfrith.
		Seminaries of learning in England.	Cuhelyn.	Ethelwulf.	Eddius. Felix. Egwin. Willebad.	John of Beverley. Wilfrid.
800-900.	Boniface. Gottschall. Haroun al Raschid. Feudalism.	Egbert. Danea. Alfred.		Felix, fl. 730.		
	Scandinavian and German Poetry.			Alfred, d. 901.	Alfred.	Alfred. Alcuin. Scotus (Erigena), d. 876.
900-1000.	Gerbert, Decimals. Learning very low.	Dunstan.		The Heliland.	Asser, d. 910.	Werferth, d. 915.
	Capet, King of France.	Athelstan, 940.		Fridegode, fl. 956.	Bricfirth.	Dunstan, d. 988.
	Scholastic Theology.	Edward II., 979.	Llevoad.	Wolstan.	Lantfrid.	Ethelwold (of Glaston- bury), d. 984.
1000-1066.	Normans in Italy. Turks in Asia Minor.	Benedictine rules enforced by Dunstan.				Ælfric. Ælf. Bata. Haymo. Wulfstan (Lupus Episcopus).
	Lanfranc at Bec.	Massacre of Danes. Canute, 1016. Edward the Confessor, 1042.		Cynewulf, d. 1008.	Ethelward, 1090.	

^a For the lives of these authors, and an account of their works, see Wright's *Biog. Brit. Lit. Anglo-Saxon Period*, 8vo., Lond., 1842, also Turner's *Anglo-Saxons*, vol. iii.

CHAPTER II.

ANGLO-NORMAN LITERATURE, A.D. 1066-1350.

12. The Normans: Their character. 13. Their influence on England, Lanfranc. The Clergy. 14. Influences in favour of the Anglo-Saxon, 15. The Provençals, Troubadours, Trouvères.

16. POETRY.—Troubadours. *Tensons*. *Romances*. 17. Alexander, Arthur, Havelok, King Horn, etc., Charlemagne, Richard. 18. *Fabliaux*. 19. *Satires*. 20. *Historical Poetry*: Layamon, Wace, Robert of Gloucester, Manning. 21. *Miscellaneous Poems*: Ormulum, The Owl. 22. *Latin Hymns*. Other Latin Poems.

23. PROSE.—*History*: Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. 24. Other writers: William of Malmesbury, Geoffrey, Matthew Paris, etc. 25. *Gesta Romanorum*. 26. *Theology*: Lanfranc, Anselm, Abelard, Bernard, Peter Lombard, Hales, Scotus, Occam, Bradwardine 27. *Natural Science*: Roger Bacon. 28. *Law*: Glanville.

29. UNIVERSITIES.—Oxford, Cambridge. 30. Reign of Edward II. 31. Table of Authors and Events.

12. AT the era we have reached, the Normans were the foremost race in Christendom. Upwards of a century before, one of the feeble heirs of Charlemagne had ceded to them part of Neustria, a fertile province of France, watered by a noble river and bordering on the sea. To this they added part of Brittany. Without laying aside the courage which had made them the terror of Europe,^a they soon acquired all the knowledge and refinement of the country in which they had settled. They embraced Christianity, and with Christianity learned most of what the clergy had to teach them. They adopted the French tongue, in which the low rustic Latin was one chief element, and added to it some of the vigour of their own. Their new language they raised to a dignity which even the Southern French had not

^a Hence the dismal chant of the clergy of Northern France: 'A furore Normannorum libera nos, Domine!'

yet reached. They fixed it in writing, and used it in legislation, in poetry, and in romance; 'so that in the opinion of French philologists the earliest specimens of French speech in the proper sense must be surrendered to the Normans.'^a

The prowess of this race was equalled by their refinement. The brutal intemperance to which the Saxon was so prone, the Norman was free from. His magnificence he displayed, not in coarse feasting or in strong drink, but in buildings, and armour, and horses, and literature. He specially cultivated oratory, and was as much distinguished by natural eloquence as by the general politeness of his manners and the renown of his military exploits.

Long before the Conquest, the near neighbourhood of Normandy had influenced the English people. Canute had married a Norman wife, as had more than one of his predecessors. At the Norman court, Edward the Confessor received his education. When he came to the throne, the English primacy and some of the finest of the English estates he bestowed upon Normans; and meanwhile at Westminster the French language had become familiar as the only language fit for legislation or song.

13. These influences would no doubt have continued and extended if there had been no Conquest. But the ^{their influence.} Conquest certainly precipitated the result to which they were all tending. Nor were other influences wanting. The fervour and discipline of the Saxon clergy had been for many years on the decline. There was much laxity of manners among them, and so much ignorance that many of the priests were not able to chant the Latin prayers of the public service with readiness or accuracy. William, with all his wilfulness, hated pretension and inefficiency: and by the nomination of Lanfranc, a scholar, to the see of Canterbury, he startled the clergy, and commenced a practical reformation in the state of the Church. A few Saxon bishops were retained, as Wulfstan at Worcester, and Agelric at Chichester; but most of them had to give place to Normans. The discontent moreover of the Saxon population, and their repeated insurrections, exasperated the fiery temper of the conquerors, till at length it was resolved, 'that no monk or clergyman of the Saxon nation should be suffered to aspire to

^a Palgrave, *Normandy and England*, i. 703.

any dignity.'* Disgraced in this way, the Saxon clergy naturally relinquished study, gave up, except in rare instances, the use of their native tongue, and hastened to master French, or contented themselves with somewhat improved Latin. Necessity confirmed this tendency. The old Saxon ceasing to be studied in schools or to be spoken in higher life, its grammar destroyed, first by the influence of the non-inflectional Danish, and now by the more popular Norman-French, seemed as an instrument fast crumbling away in the hands of those that used it. Necessity and interest therefore combined to give the new language favour. Hence it is that, in the Saxon Chronicle, the latest writer, having continued his entries down to 1154, the first year of Henry II., in very mixed Saxon, abruptly breaks off, as if he had grown disgusted with his work. Hence it is too that his successors, the historians of that age, write history only in Latin, and hence also the poets write sometimes in Latin, sometimes in French, sometimes in Semi-Saxon, and sometimes, even in the same piece, in all three.

14. And yet there was another influence at work in the opposite direction. The very rigour and oppression of the Normans made the old speech more dear to the people; and it soon became the interest of the ruling powers to conciliate them. Macaulay has noted that the prospects of England as a country brightened when John began his reign. England was saved from becoming a province of France by the follies of a trifler and a coward. Driven from Normandy, the Normans gradually came to regard England as their country and the English as their countrymen. The two races had for the first time common interests. The first result of their reconciliation was the Great Charter. Neither the last nor the least was the preservation of the old English tongue.

15. Nor was the Norman influence the only French influence felt in England. The south of France was, in the twelfth century, one of the most flourishing and civilized districts of Europe. The people had a distinct political existence, being independent of the house of Capet, who then ruled over their Northern neighbours, and were subject only to the Counts

Influences in
favour of the
Anglo-Saxon.

The Proven-
çals.

* William of Malmesbury's *Chronicle*, p. 237.

of Toulouse. Their usages and language bespeak a mixed origin. Traces might be found among them of a Gothic element, and history tells us that many of the Visi-Goths had settled in their vicinity. Still more numerous were the traces of a Roman influence; their very language taking one of its names (the Romance) from the prevalence in it of forms and expressions of the Latin tongue: not indeed of classical Latin, but of a later and ruder speech. There was some trace also of Greek, derived probably from intercourse with the city of Marseilles, which had been, centuries before, occupied by a Greek colony. The soil of this region was remarkably fruitful. Amidst vineyards and corn-fields arose many noble cities and stately castles, tenanted by a generous-spirited people. Here the rude warlike genius of the Middle Ages first took a graceful form. A literature rich in song sprang up, and amused the leisure of knights and ladies whose mansions adorned the banks of the Rhone. Professors of the gay science from Languedoc and Provence won golden opinions from the courtly Saladin and the lion-hearted Richard in Palestine; and nearly every court in Europe did honour to their skill. These were the Troubadours of mediæval history. They reckoned among their disciples Richard I.; and more than one of our kings found a wife among the princely daughters of this region.

One of the earliest importations from both districts of France was poetry. It was divided, as we have just seen, into Norman and Provençal. The poets of the former were called Trouvères, and of the latter Troubadours, words that are evidently only dialectic forms of the same name. Both wrote substantially the same language but different dialects,—the *langue d'oyl* and the *langue d'oc*, the languages of Northern and Southern France:—the two divided geographically by an imaginary line running from the Gironde to Savoy.

16. The poetry of the Trouvères is mostly epic, with historical and romantic themes; the poetry of the Troubadours is chiefly lyric, with love as its chief inspiration. The Troubadour lyrics were known as *Tensons*, dialogues or contentions on some point of amatory metaphysics, which was generally decided by a Court of Love. Others of them had as their themes war, politics, or satire. In the fierce struggles of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries this form of com-

position died out in France, though it may be traced in the love romances of Chaucer and our earlier writers.

The poetry of the Trouvères had a more lasting influence. It contains Romances, Fabliaux or metrical, humorous, and amusing tales descriptive of common life, satires, historical poetry, and miscellaneous poems.

17. Their romances generally treat of four chief themes—the ancient world and its great hero Alexander, the British hero Arthur and the Round Table, the French hero Charlemagne, and the European heroes—the Crusaders. Of the first set the *Alexandreis* is the most important. It is a joint work of two authors, and was published in 1184. The metre in which it is written (the twelve-syllabled rhyming couplet) is known by the name of Alexandrine. It is the heroic metre of the French language, and was very common in German compositions during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is the metre of Drayton's *Polyolbion*, but has never been popular in English. The poems on Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table are of double origin. They are founded sometimes on the national songs of Wales and sometimes on those of Brittany. During the long struggle between the Saxons and Britons, the Welsh bards gradually wove into a tissue of romantic song the history of the deeds of their countrymen, and placed Arthur as the centre figure of the group. This poetry passed into Brittany, where the self-exiled Britons were settling in large numbers, and where they found among other Keltic tribes a welcome home. From Brittany it passed into Normandy. A little later the British History of Geoffrey of Monmouth (1150), avowedly a translation of a Breton work, was published in Latin. It became exceedingly popular, and, giving still fuller information about Arthur, was a secondary source of new tales, some in prose and others in verse. These stories of King Arthur have been more or less popular from the twelfth century down to our own time, the *Morte d'Arthur* and the *Idylls of the King* being among Tennyson's latest pieces.

This series of tales is so numerous, and the adventures of the

* There is a life of Alexander attributed by Warton to the end of the thirteenth century, and other similar

compositions are assigned by him to the same century. See Marsh's *Origin and History of the English Language*, Lect. 5

heroes are so complicated, that many pages might be taken up with mere abstracts of them. Generally the writers regard all the heroes as contemporaries of their own, and never scruple to insert new characters or incidents from any source. It is enough to say that there are in all six principal tales. The first is the romance of *San Greal*, the cup our Lord used in the supper, and in which Joseph of Arimathæa caught the blood (sang-real) shed on the cross. Joseph is said to have brought it to Britain, and the loss of it is the great misfortune of the nation. Of this cup this first romance gives the history. *Merlin* is the second tale. It describes the fiend-prophet himself, and the birth and exploits of Arthur. The third—the romance of *Sir Lancelot*, is the history of one who is a pattern of knighthood and yet lives in deadly sin. The fourth, *The Quest of the San Greal*, describes the wanderings of the Knights of the Round Table, and the successful search by one of them, for the Holy Vessel, though amid so much sinfulness that the discovery is fruitless. The fifth, the *Morte d'Arthur*, gives the history of the death of Arthur amid wild and supernatural horrors, and tells of the retirement of the surviving knights to convents, where they mourn over the sin and ruin of their race. The sixth and supplemental romance, is *Tristan* (the *Sir Tristram* of Sir Walter Scott), which gives a repetition of some previous tales with added beauties. The writers of these romances are all Englishmen; *San Greal* being ascribed to Robert Borron, *Tristan* to Lucas de Gast (1170), and the rest to *Walter Mapes* or *Map*. Nearly the whole of these romances are in prose, and were compiled at the suggestion of Henry II., who was a great admirer of this kind of composition. They were most of them translated into English before the fifteenth century.

Besides these early romances we have others. *Havelok* describes the adventures of the orphan child of a Danish king espoused to an English princess. The *Geste of Kyng Horn** is a Saxon story of somewhat similar import, and extends to sixteen hundred lines. *Guy of Warwick* and *Bevis of Southampton*, though of English name and on English subjects,

* Alle beon he blithe,
That to my song tythe:
A sang the schal you singe
Of Murry the kinge.

Godh!d het¹ his quen; (was called)
Faire ne mighte non ben.
He hadde a sone, that het Horn;
Fairer ne mighte non beo born.

The Geste of Kyng Horn. The opening lines given in Marsh, p. 212.

are romances of chivalry, and were all written by Englishmen who had received their literary culture from France.

The metre, it may be added, of most of these metrical romances is either the ten-syllabled rhyme; or, more generally, the eight-syllabled rhyme, each line consisting of four accented syllables, the metre so familiar to readers of Scott's historical poems.

A full account of all these pieces may be found in Warton's *History of English Poetry* or in the Essay prefixed to Percy's *Reliques*, and specimens may be seen in Ellis's *Metrical Romances*, in Warton, or in Guest's *English Rhythms*, vol. ii.

Of the romances that refer to Charlemagne, one of the oldest is Charlemagne. the *Chanson de Roland*,^a a history of the death of the brave Roland at the battle of Roncesvalles. This piece was sung by the Norman minstrels and by Taillefer at the battle of Hastings.

Of the cycle of the crusades, the romance entitled *Richard Cœur du Lion*^b is one of the most celebrated. It was translated from French into English about the time of Edward I.

- ^a But tho' he was not caught,
 Scarce better fate that gallant fight unto bold Reoulf brought;
 For there he died, heart-broke, I ween, with shame and mickle woe,
 And his corse was after in the Seine (do not all that story know?)
 Found floating on the rising tide. So the victory was won,
 And far and wide was the story spread of the deeds the duke had done.

Wace's *Roman du Rou* (Rollo): 'Duke William at Rouen,' from *Fabliaux or Tales*, *Selected and Translated by G. L. Way*, 3 vols., Lond., 1815. In seven-accent metre.

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------|
| ^b Par foie, now I woll you rede, | Lordynges, herkens beforne, |
| Off a kyng, doughty in dede; | How Kyng Richard was i-borne. |
| Kyng Richard, the werryor best | Hys fadyr hyghte kyng Henry. |
| That men fynde in ony gest. | In hys tyme, sykyrly, |
| Now alle that hereth this talkyng | Als I fynde in my sawe |
| God give hem allè good endyng. | Seynt Thomas was i-slawe. |

Richard Cœur de Lion. Given in Weber's *Metrical Romances of the 13th, 14th, and 15th Centuries*. Edin., 1810.

The following is from a modern version of the same poem:—

No captive knight whom chains confine
 Can tell his fate and not repine
 Yet with a song he cheers the gloom
 That hangs around his living tomb.
 Shame to his friends—the king remains
 Two years unransom'd and in chains.

Richard Cœur de Lion. Translated in Longfellow's *Poets and Poetry of Europe*, Lond., 1855.

18. The *Fabliaux* of the old Trouvères were humorous tales descriptive of actual life. They paint not a hero but phases of character or of society, and have generally a dash of satire and always of humour in their composition. The *Seven Wise Masters** in Ellis's *Specimens of English Metrical Romances* is an example. Many of the tales of Boccaccio's *Decameron* are taken from this source, and the general spirit and character of them may be learned from Chaucer. Among these *Fabliaux* may be reckoned the *Laye of Marie of France*,^b a poetess who probably wrote in Brittany, and who mixes with her romances a serious and imaginative element that rises sometimes into beauty. They celebrate the marvels of the Round Table, and are remarkable for the fact that she professes to have translated them from the English tongue. She is supposed to have lived in the reign of Henry III.

19. Among satirical pieces are the *Roman de la Rose*, begun by de Lorris and completed by de Meun (d. 1320), and the tale of *Reynard the Fox*. Both are full of attacks upon men in high places, and especially upon the clergy. The last is probably of German origin; but it certainly existed in Norman-French at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and has been traced back two centuries earlier. 'Reynard,' as the name of a fox, superseded the old French word (Goupil-vulpes) in the fourteenth century.^c A translation of this book was among the earliest of Caxton's publications (1481). Framed after the same model is the *Land of Cokayne*,^d an attack upon the monastic

* It is really the Indian romance *Sindabad*, and has been translated into every living language of Europe.

^b When lays resound, 'twould ill beseem,
Bisclaveret were not a theme;
Such is the name by Bretons sung,
And Garwal* in the Norman tongue;

A man of whom our poets tell—
To many men the lot befell—
Who in the forest secret's gloom
A wolf was destin'd to become.

From the *Lays of Marie de France*. Given in *Specimens of the Early Poetry of France*, by L. S. Costello, London, 1835.

^c Hallam, i., 134.

^d List, for now my tale begins,
How to rid me of my sins,
Once I journey'd far from home,
To the gate of holy Rome.

There the Pope for my offence,
Bade me straight in penance, thence,
Wandering onward to attain
The wondrous land that hight Cokaigne.

The Land of Cokaigne. By G. L. Way.

* i. e., Were-wolf or Man-wolf.

orders, and ascribed among others to Michael of Kildare, the first Irishman who is known to have written verses in English. He flourished in the thirteenth century. A century later appeared the *Visions of Piers Ploughman* (1360) by Robert Langlande, a secular priest. The author falls asleep on the Malvern Hills, and has a series of visions. In describing these he exposes the corruptions of society, and particularly of the religious orders. This book, like the *Ormulum*, is a popular representative of the doctrines which were bringing about the Reformation, and is remarkable for the freedom of its utterance, its pure English compared even with Chaucer's, and for the revival of Anglo-Saxon alliteration in place of Norman rhymes.

20. The historical poems of Norman origin that influenced English literature are also numerous.

In the twelfth century two metrical romances were written by Frenchmen residing in England, *The History of the English* (L'Estorie des Engles) by Geoffrey Gaimar, the translator or composer of *Havelok*, and the *Brut of England*, by Richard Wace, a native of Jersey. The former is taken chiefly from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. The latter is from the History of Geoffrey of Monmouth. It gives the records of the English nation, from the landing of the Trojans under Brutus, the grandson of Æneas, to the death of Cadwallader, son of Cadwallo, in 689. This volume is the true origin in England of the Romance of King Arthur. It was translated by Robert Brunne, and had immense popularity.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century, Layamon (1190), a priest living in Worcestershire, produced an English imitation of Wace's *Brut*. This work is the earliest poem of great magnitude in the English language, and extends to about fourteen thousand lines of four accents each. It has both alliteration and rhyme, though often of a very rude description. So far it is both French and Saxon. The language is much purer Saxon than the latter part of the Saxon Chronicle, and it is said that not more than sixty non-Saxon words have been found in it.* Its purity in this respect is owing probably to the fact that the author resided in a country district and had little intercourse with the Norman conquerors.

One hundred years later (1290) Robert of Gloucester wrote *The History of England from Brutus to the death of Henry the Third* (1272). It is founded on the histories of Robert of Gloucester. Geoffrey of Monmouth and William of Malmesbury, and is written in lines of fourteen syllables or of seven accents, the 'Common Metre' of our hymns. It displays but little literary skill, though the writer had much more intelligence than Layamon. The style is so English that some regard his *Chronicle* as commencing an era in our language.

To Robert of Gloucester succeeds Robert Manning, a monk of Brunne or Bourne in Lincolnshire. For the earlier part of his history he translates Wace's *Brut*, and for the latter part a French metrical chronicle written by Peter Langtoft, canon of Bridlington in Yorkshire. The history ends with the death of Edward I. in 1307, and was completed in 1338. The author adopts Wace's eight-syllable couplets and Langtoft's Alexandrines, and shows a great command of rhymes (par. 42). Manning also translated a French book, the *Manuel des Péchés*, *The Handling of Sins*, in which the seven deadly sins are illustrated by legendary tales.

21. Among miscellaneous poems may be mentioned the *Ormulum* (1190), a production of a canon named Orm, of some priory in the north-east of England. It is a metrical harmony of part of the Gospels, and, though deficient in metrical merit, has been praised for its ingenuity and for the purity of its doctrine. It is second only to Layamon as a specimen of the Semi-Saxon stage of the English tongue. It is written in seven-accent metre, unrhymed, and with but imperfect alliteration. To the reign of Edward I. belongs also the fable of *The Owl and the Nightingale*. It consists of a description of a contest between those two birds for superiority of merit. The poem consists of about eighteen hundred lines, is natural and lively, and is written in four-accent lines. It is interesting as the earliest-known narrative poem of an imaginative character not of foreign origin. There are also belonging to the same century several didactic and devotional poems on the *Crucifixion*, *Mary at the Cross*, etc.; specimens of which may be found in Warton. Some of these contain passages of no small beauty and pathos.

Among the poems given at length by Warton is one composed after the battle of Lewes (1264) by a follower of Simon de Montfort. It contains a great number of French words expressive of ideas which England owed to the Norman invasion; but it is in sentiment thoroughly English, and shows how completely by that time the Saxon and Norman elements of the nation had combined.

22. It has been seen already that the poetry of the Norman romances was accentual as well as rhyming. It was also written almost entirely by laymen, as the prose writing of the Latin Hymns. period came almost entirely from churchmen. Besides influencing the poetry of the English vernacular, these Norman compositions had no small influence on the Latin poetry of the same age. They induced authors to give up classic metres, and to adopt accent and rhymes. Hymns written in this style are, indeed, found at a much earlier period,^a and they did not therefore originate, as some have supposed,^b with Norman, Arabian, or Keltic models; but they were greatly multiplied in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Among the most popular were those of Anselm, Bernard, Thomas Aquinas, and Innocent III. None can be grander than the 'Dies iræ, dies illa,'^c ascribed to Celano (1250), the friend of Francis of Assisi.

In England these Latin rhymes, leonine verses as some were called, were never widely used for religious purposes, though for Other Latin purposes of humour and satire they were very common. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, especially, poems. they abounded, and were generally pasquinades upon the popular side. Some of the severest and most humorous are written against King John and in favour of the barons. In a few years the Norman-French superseded the Latin, and a little later English became the common medium of this satirical minstrelsy.

Among the Englishmen who wrote Latin poetry may be mentioned Joseph of Exeter (died 1200), whose *Antiocheis* gives a history of the third Crusade, though only a few verses are now extant, and whose poem on the *Trojan War*, composed with great purity, has been ascribed to Cornelius Nepos, and is often appended to early editions of that author. *The Mirror of Fools* by

^a Hallam.

^b Matthew Arnold.

^c See Trench's *Sacred Latin Poetry*, preface, 1864.

N. Wireker (fl. 1200), a monk of Canterbury, gives a history of his ass, Brunellus, who studied at Paris, and entered in succession all the monastic orders, but was content with none of them. He was about to form a new order when his master caught him and sent him back to his old occupation!

23. The great mental activity which the Conquest created in England showed itself not only in poetry but in history.

PROSE: His-
tory. Anglo-
Saxon Chron-
icle. Chroniclers sprang up in great numbers. They were chiefly monks, and most of them wrote in Latin. *The Saxon Chronicle* indeed was still carried on in more than one of the monasteries. The annalists,

full of despondency, set down many facts, but record with evident satisfaction omens which seemed to betoken evil to the oppressors of their nation. They tell how blood gushed out of the earth in Berkshire near the birth-place of Alfred, and how at Peterborough, then placed under a Norman abbot, horns were heard at dead of night, and spectral huntsmen were seen to ride through the woods. Meanwhile French words so press upon the writer's brain, and the old syntax becomes so mixed with the grammar of the invading speech, that the chronicler is obliged to cease, and ends his work abruptly in the first year of Henry II.

24. Most of the Chroniclers take Bede as their model; so, too, do William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon. Others, as Geoffrey of Monmouth, are evidently bent on hon-
Other histo-
rians. nouring their own nation while recording the progress of the conquerors. They may be thus arranged in chronological order:—

Down to the twelfth century we have, among the chief, William of Malmesbury (to 1142), Geoffrey of Monmouth (1152), Henry of Huntingdon (1154), and others. For the thirteenth we have Roger of Wendover (1235), Matthew Paris (to 1259), and William Rishanger (to 1273); for the fourteenth, Matthew of Westminster (1307), Peter of Blois, Trivet (d. 1328), and Higden. These writers were all ecclesiastics, and the series extends nearly throughout the Middle Ages. One or two from each of these centuries may be taken to throw light upon the nature of their chronicles.

William of Malmesbury was a monk of Malmesbury, a monas-

tery celebrated in the Middle Ages, and founded by the Irish Maidulf in the seventh century. He was of Norman descent by one parent, of Saxon by the other, and therefore so far qualified to write of both races impartially. He is the first, as he tells us, who, since Bede, has arranged a continuous history of the English. He traces the progress of events from Hengist to the year 1142, and dedicates his work, which he calls the *Historia Regum Angliæ*, to Robert, Earl of Gloucester, a son of Henry I., and the chief patron of letters in that day. William's life has been written by the Saxon Eadmer, his disciple.

Geoffrey of Monmouth, the author of the *Historia Britonum*, was raised to the see of St. Asaph in 1152. 'For centuries Europe had been supplied with tales and fables from Bretagne, as it is now with music from Italy, or with metaphysics from Germany.' These tales Walter Calenius, Archdeacon of Oxford, collected, probably in 'the form of a book' as Geoffrey states, and presented them to the historian. What the book was is not known. The history based upon it will not stand criticism, but the student finds it hard to quarrel with the preserver of the story of *King Arthur*, and of *Lear*, and of *Cymbeline*. It is from this volume that Sackville takes the *Ferrex and Porrex*. Drayton reproduces a large part of it in his *Polyolbion*. Milton frequently alludes to it in poetry, though he has questioned part of its history; and Pope deemed the *Brutus* of Geoffrey a fine theme for a national epic.

Matthew Paris, a Benedictine monk of St. Albans, wrote, under the title of *Historia Major* a history of England from 1066 to 1259, the year of his death. The earlier part of his history (from 1066 to 1235) belongs really to Roger of Wendover, who was also a monk of St. Albans, and afterwards prior of Belvoir. Roger wrote, also, a history of England from the year 447 to 1066, taken chiefly from other documents, and specially valuable for its extracts from lost works. William Rishanger continues this series of histories down to 1273. The whole of them are often cited under the name of *Matthew Paris*. The freedom of his treatment of church questions made the volume a favourite with the early Reformers.

Nicholas Trivet, a Dominican monk, composed a series of *Annals* extending from 1135 to 1307, and Ranulph Higden a work entitled *Polychronicon*, extending to 1357. The English

translation of this last by Trevisa was a popular book in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

It will be noted that there was as yet no historian to write the records of his country in Semi-Saxon or in English.

25. To these histories may be added a large collection of stories written in Latin, and known in literature as the *Gesta Romanorum*, 'The Deeds of the Romans.' These are fables

Gesta Romanorum, after the manner of Æsop, scraps of Greek history extending from the days of Argus and Mercury to Alexander, and of Roman history from the days of Æneas to the later years of the empire. Between these histories are moral tales and satires, sketches of social life, and monkish legends with moral and religious lessons. The origin of these pieces is various. They were written chiefly by the monks to relieve the weariness of an inactive life, partly for amusement, and partly for instruction. In England they were current, both in French and in Latin, before the close of the thirteenth century. Many of the romances of the minstrels are to be found in these tales, nor is it always certain whether the minstrel borrowed from the monk, or the monk from the minstrel: *Guy of Warwick* appears in both. Chaucer borrowed from the *Gesta* two at least of his tales, and Gower two. Here is probably the origin of the *Tale of Pericles*, the subject of one of the plays ascribed to Shakespeare; of two of the principal incidents in the *Merchant of Venice*, the casket scene, and the bond of the pound of flesh, with the judgment of the Paduan doctor whereby the bond was evaded. Here is the origin of the story of the *Three Crows*, of the *Hermit of Parnell*, and of the spectre-legend in Scott's *Marmion*. Nor is it difficult to trace to these records many of the stories with which the earlier preachers used to meet the taste and touch the hearts of a rude and half-lettered people.

26. But the Norman Conquest did more for England than influence the study of poetry and history. It influenced no less the progress of science and of theology.

Theology. The origin, on the Continent, of schools for teaching philosophy in modern times is not easily traced. Some have ascribed the honour of their formation to Arabians. It is certain that Haroun al Raschid, the contemporary of Charlemagne, did

assist in the commencement of a brilliant period of literary activity among the tribes of Arabian descent—an activity that lasted from the ninth century to the fourteenth. Nor did any Arabian kingdom enter into this movement with greater earnestness than the Moorish kingdom of Spain. Universities were opened at Cordova, Seville, and Granada. The learning taught in these centres of influence is attested by an immense number of MSS. on almost every subject, still preserved in the Library of the Escorial at Madrid by the hearty acknowledgments of the scholars of Provence, and by the authority of Sylvester II., who himself attended these schools, and introduced into France all he had learned in them. Arithmetic, astronomy, music, mechanical science, and the logic of Aristotle, were among the subjects which were thus popularised in France. Charlemagne had also made a strenuous and independent effort to extend education, and under his direction Alcuin, our countryman, had formed a number of schools throughout his empire. The division of his empire among his sons, and the subsequent wars, suspended this important work, so that Charlemagne cannot do more than claim a small share in this revival of letters.

This much is certain, that at Bec, in Normandy, a school had been established of great celebrity. Among its teachers at the time of the Conquest were Lanfranc and Anselm. Lanfranc, Anselm. Their lectures were attended both by laymen and by ecclesiastics. Lanfranc was removed by William to Canterbury, and on his death he was succeeded in that see by Anselm, his colleague and successor at Bec. Both these eminent men contributed to the diffusion of a respectable amount of learning among the clergy of England, while they themselves acquired and retained a high place as scholars and as theological authors. Lanfranc was one of the best Latinists of his age, and Anselm has been regarded as the founder of the Scholastic philosophy. He is, at all events, the first who put into scientific shape the *à priori* argument for the existence of God; and he discussed with great clearness the doctrines of the Incarnation and Atonement of Christ, Original Sin, and the Trinity, though he has not treated of theology as a connected whole. In his treatise on the existence of God, he intimates that the great business of the theologian is to understand what he believes; an expression which, reverently interpreted, is a happy definition of the aim of all theological

science. The spirit of reverential inquiry into theological truth, a spirit which Anselm largely helped to diffuse, has never left the literature of England; and in that department her literature and language were for ages in advance of her progress in other departments.

Anselm's method of inquiry was taken up by Abelard, who lectured at Paris, Troyes, and Melun. Deficient in the humility and personal consecration that marked Anselm, he rationalized religious truth, and by endless logical distinctions, sophisms, and solutions of sophisms, created a wide-spread disbelief of religion itself. He died at Clugny in 1142. His name and labours have attracted the admiration of both philosophers and poets, Pope and Cousin being among his most illustrious students.

Abelard was answered by St. Bernard, the last, and by no means the least illustrious, of the Fathers. The talent, logical power, and fervent piety, displayed in his addresses to the monks at Clairvaux, in his appeals on behalf of the Crusades, and in his beautiful Latin hymns, are all remarkable; nor is there any writer whose pages are more rich in those materials of fascination which are supplied by blended piety and genius.

Meanwhile Peter Lombard (1164) taught theology at Paris on a somewhat different method, and with great success. The truths of religion he rested upon authority, setting them forth in the form of sentences taken chiefly from the early Fathers. Philosophy he confined to the work of drawing inferences and harmonising apparent discrepancies. His work is called the *Liber Sententiarum*, and is divided into four books on God, Man, the work of Christ and of the Spirit, the Resurrection and Judgment, etc. This volume was for ages the text-book of theological students.

In return for the teachers whom Normandy had given to England, she sent forth in the thirteenth century Hales, Scotus, Occam, and others scarcely less eminent. Alexander de Hales, 'the Doctor Irrefragable,' was a native of Gloucestershire, the master of Bonaventura, and the author of the first important commentary upon the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard. He died at Paris in 1245. John Duns Scotus, 'the Subtle Doctor,' was born in the North of England, and received his education at Oxford. He taught at Oxford, at Paris, and at Cologne, dying at the latter

place in 1308. He is the chief advocate of Realism, as Occam is of Nominalism; and both were Englishmen. The Nominalists held that our abstract ideas have nothing real corresponding to them, but are either mere conceptions of the human mind, or like class names in language are generalised and therefore inadequate expressions of particular things. The Realist held on the other hand that abstract ideas are actual things or qualities existing prior to all human thought, and independent even of the divine. The first professed to follow Aristotle, the second Plato.

Add to these the name of Middleton, the 'Solid and Copious' (d. 1304), and of Thomas Bradwardine, 'the Doctor Profundus' (d. 1348), both of whom studied and lectured at Oxford, and there is some ground for the boast of Anthony à Wood 'that, if England received Christianity from the Continent, the Continent received her School-divinity from England.'

27. The same century that sent Michael Scott to Germany to prosecute physical science, a study that earned for him the character of a sorcerer, witnessed a like history at Oxford, in the person of Roger Bacon. Born at Ilchester in 1214, he studied at Oxford and at Paris. After entering the order of the Franciscans he returned to Oxford, where he spent a life of unbroken study. His most important work is his *Opus Majus*, or 'The roots of Wisdom.' In this work he discusses the relation of philosophy to religion, and then treats of language, metaphysics, optics, and experimental science. He was one of the most profound and original thinkers of any age, but being before his time he formed no school and left no disciples. His writings were deemed heretical, and for twelve out of the last sixteen years of his life he was kept in prison; nor was it till the reign of James I. that he ceased to be regarded as a sorcerer. Doubting the scholastic reasonings of Anselm, and dissatisfied with the contradictory opinions that were brought together in Lombard's text-book, he proposed to found theology on Scripture alone, thus reviving the method of the primitive church and anticipating that of the Reformers.* He died in 1294.

* His words are: 'All wisdom, as to its principle and source, is contained in the Scriptures; of which canon law and philosophy are the development.' At

tributing the prevailing evils of his time to ignorance of the Scriptures, he exhorted the laity to the diligent reading of the Bible in the original languages.

28. The study of law began in modern times at Bologna. The laws of the Roman Empire, collected and classified by Justinian (534), and thence called his 'Pandects,' were

studied and expounded there by a succession of able teachers, as was the Canon Law, a collection of the canons of Councils and maxims of the Fathers. The fame of these teachers drew students from all parts of Europe, and noted schools of canonists and civilians grew up in that city. English churchmen resorted thither in great numbers, and ultimately they introduced the study of both departments of law into England, partly in defence of our English Law, and partly in hostility to the Canon Law, which was never received with favour amongst our countrymen. Ranulf de Glanville, chief-justice of England (d. 1190), published the earliest extant treatise on English Law, entitling it *On the Laws and Customs of England*.

29. All this study and discussion told on the educational institutions of the country. William I. was a great patron of the monasteries. These belonged, up to 1220, to the order of Benedictines alone,—an order whose devotion to learning is well known. Among the houses specially distinguished were those at St. Albans, Malmesbury, Canterbury, and Peterborough. Most of these William richly endowed, while he and his barons spent large sums on that round-arched Norman architecture of which

so many specimens remain. The universities, William did not himself patronise; but owing to various influences they soon underwent a most marked change. Whether Alfred founded Oxford is very doubtful, but in the twelfth century that university was in vigorous action. In 1229 a large body of students emigrated from Paris, and in the thirteenth century Grosstete, 'Greathead,' teacher at Oxford, and afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, drew many scholars by his eloquence and skill. Besides the study of the universal Latin tongue, he encouraged that of Greek and of Hebrew. Many thousand scholars are said to have been studying there in his time. Colleges for the maintenance of poor students were founded in the latter half of that century, Merton and University being the first instances of such foundations. Cambridge was probably somewhat later; but by the year 1209 that university seems to have been founded on a lasting basis.

30. Thus ends this part of our history. The period reaches really to the middle of the fourteenth century ; but the last fifty years of that time are almost a blank, the reign of Edward II. (1307-1327) being as inglorious in our literature as in our national history. The authors we have mentioned are comparatively few, though their names are taken from a considerable list. Wright mentions nearly two hundred ; but many of their works have perished, a loss less to literature than to the history of literature. We may say of these works as an able writer has said of the works of several of their successors: 'To that fierce reformation which levelled the monasteries and scattered or annihilated their literary accumulations, but sowed living seed wherever it plucked up dry stubble, we owe Spenser and Hooker and Bacon and Shakespeare and Milton ; not one of whom had been possible but for the fresh north wind, which, by sweeping away the swarm of old opinions, old facts, old thoughts, that hung like a darkening cloud over Europe, opened once more the blue sky and the sun and stars of heaven to the vision of men.'*

* Marsh.

TABLE OF WRITERS.

35

PRINCIPAL WRITERS OF SAXON AND ANGLO-NORMAN PERIOD, A.D. 1066-1350.

	EVENTS OF ENGLISH AND OTHER HISTORY.	SCHOLASTIC AND RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS.	POETRY.	HISTORY.	THEOLOGY AND SCIENCE.
1066-1150.	William I. First Crusade, 1095. Peter the Hermit. Henry I., 1100. Stephen, 1135, Second Crusade, 1146.	Oxford Univer- sity founded (?). Cistercians founded, 1098. Carthusians, 1101. Knights Templars, 1120.	Taillerfer. Latin Hymns. Morte d'Arthur. Roman du Rou. Havelok. Bevis. Reynard the Fox. Guy of Warwick.	Anglo-Saxon Chronicle to 1154. Edmer to 1132. Ingulf to 1109. Giraldus, b. 1146.	Wulfstan. Agelric. Osmund. Lanfranc, 1089, Anselm, 1109.
1150-1200.	Henry II., 1154. Constitutions of Clarendon, 1164. Third Crusade, 1188. Richard I. (Cœur de Lion), 1189. Averrhoes, 1198.	Lollards, 1170.	Layamon. Ormulum, 1174. Robert of Gloucester. Gast, 1170. Walter Mapes, d. 1196. Giraldus, 1146. Marie of France. Vinesauf. Wace, 1156. Wireker, 1186. Joseph of Exeter, d. 1200.	Geoffrey to 1152. Caradoc, 1154. Henry of Hunt- ingdon to 1154. William of Malmesbury to 1142. W. Newbury to 1197. Brompton to 1199. Radulf, Gervase to 1200.	Bernard, 1153. Peter Lombard, 1159. John of Salisbury, 1180. Grosstete, 1190. Glanville.
1200-1300.	Aquinas. Bonaventura. John. Magna Charta, 1215. Battle of Lewes, 1264. Edward I., 1273.	Dominicans founded, 1215. Franciscans, 1223. Inquisition, 1229. Cambridge University founded.	The Owl. Battle of Lewes. Translations of Havelok. King Horn. Alexandreis.	Peter of Blois, 1200. De Brakelonde, 1200. Hoveden to 1207. Ralph Wen- dover to 1235. Matthew Paris, 1259. Annals of Burton, 1262-1291, etc. Rishanger, 1273.	Duns Scotus. Roger Bacon, 1219-1294. Marco Polo, 1275. Occam, 1293.
1300-1350.	Edward II., 1307. Edward III., 1327. Creçy, 1346.		Langtoft. Robert Manning. Piers Plough- man. Rolle's Psalms.	Florence of Worcester, 1308. Matthew of Westminster, 1307. Trivet, 1307. Higden, 1357.	Middleton. Bradwardine, d. 1348. Albertus Magnus.

CHAPTER III.

THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE, A.D. 900-1800.

‘Hazlitt’s paradox—‘Words are the only things that last for ever’—is literally true of man and his works on earth.’—MONTGOMERY.

31. Literature partly thought and partly expression: hence the importance of the history of language. 32. The history divided into four periods. Other divisions.

I. To the age of Chaucer, A.D. 900 to 1400.

33. The language of Alfred and Ælfric. 34. The language of the period of the Norman conquest, and the changes it has undergone. 35. The language of Layamon, of the *Ancren Riwe*, and of the *Ormulum*. 36. Results. The vocabulary and the grammar of the language. 37. Proclamation of Henry III. Robert of Gloucester. Robert Manning. Political poetry. 38. Results. 39. New Influences. (1) The union of the two races, and the vigour of the national life in the days of Edward III. (2) The religious excitement of the age. (3) New forms of poetry. Rhyme. Great increase of words. (4) Translations. 40. Mandeville’s *Travels*. 41. Lawrence Minot, Richard Rolle. 42. The earliest English original poem, *Piers Ploughman*: his *Vision and Creed*. 43. Influence of Bible translations, Wycliffe. 44. His peculiarities. 45. Language of Theology richer and purer than that of Secular literature. 46. CHAUCER. 47 Gower. 48. Previous influences largely typical.

II. To the age of Shakespeare, A.D. 1400 to 1600.

49. General character of the fifteenth century. 50. Works of Occleve. 51. Lydgate. 52. Hawes. 53. James I. 54. Ballads. 55. History of English in Scotland. Theories as to the origin of it. 56. Michael Scot. Thomas the Rhymer. 57. Fordun’s *Scoti-Chronicon*. 58. Barbour’s *Bruce*. Wyntoun’s *Cronykil*. 59. The Wallace of Blind Harry. The Howlate, Henryson. 60. Subsequent changes of Scottish English. 61. Pecoek, Fortescue. 62. The Paston Letters, Chatterton’s Thomas Rowley. 63. Translations: their history and influence in enriching the vocabulary of our language, in treasuring up the words of the language, in forming new combinations. 64. Early translations from the French and Italian, and the ancient Classic languages. 65. CAXTON: his works and style.

66. The Ship of Fools. 67. Earliest translations from Classic authors: Douglas, Surrey, Phaer, Golding, Wylson, Cheke, North, Holland, Hill, Chapman, Fairfax, Harrington, Sylvester, Florio, etc. Fardle of Faciouns. Decades of Peter Martyr. Hakluyt. 68. Translations of Theological books, Augustine, Luther, Calvin: their number and influence. 69. Translation of the Bible, Tyndale: The Book of Common Prayer. Influences on the side of innovations. Influences on the side of the Old Saxon. 70. Old Authors and their preference for Saxon English. 71. The acts of the Legislature. 72. English Scriptures, and 73. Ballad Poetry. 74. These translations imply the study of Classic authors. Outline of the history of this study in England. 75. The commencement of separate Colleges at Oxford and Cambridge. Progress of the study of Greek. 76. Foundation of grammar schools. Early editions of Classic authors. 77. English Grammars. 78. General character of the sixteenth century. Latimer, Foxe, Cheke, Ascham, Elyot. 79. *Historians*: Berners. 80. Fabyan, Hall. 81. Holinshed. 82. Sir T. More. 83. *Poets*: Totell, etc. 84. Surrey, Wyatt, Vaux, etc. 85. Tusser. 86. Scottish poets, Dunbar. 87. Lindsay. 88. Ballads: James V. 89. Euphuism. Its origin and character. Lillie. 90. Skelton. Stanihurst. 91. Sidney. 92. Spenser. 93. SHAKESPEARE.

III. The age of Milton, A.D. 1600 to 1688.

94. Euphuistic influence. Fuller, Hall, and Theological writers. The study of Latin and other Classic authors. Taylor, Browne, Scottish poets. French influence of the Restoration. Dryden.

IV. Modern Times, A.D. 1688 to 1800.

95. Addison and the writers of Queen Anne's age. Pope, Bolingbroke, Johnson, Gibbon. Results. Jacob Grimm.

31. Literature consists of matter and form. If prose, it is the result of the exercise of the intellect expressed in words; if poetry, it is the result of imagination set forth in rhythm. Nor must it be supposed that the form is unimportant. At first sight, indeed, a man may suppose that thought is all important, and that expression is of value only as it helps him to assert and display his riches to advantage. The great thing, he may say, is to have wares to sell: to get a window in some front street, whereat to exhibit them, is a secondary one. But the image does not hold. Without affirming with Whately that words are pre-requisites of thought, it may safely be affirmed that expression and

Literature:
expression
and thought.

thought are both essential powers. Mere fluency, indeed, is a poor faculty. But, on the other hand, the thoughts we cannot express are properly not yet ours, nor are they comprehended. The thing we call expression is not really a separable accident of the mind: it is not even a separate quality, it is rather a combination of all qualities. It is to the mind and its thinking powers, what the beams of light are to the sun. Expression is utterance with thought and emotion combined. We may even go farther; of the two, expression is, more than thought, the immortal thing in literature. At all events, good and noble thoughts, expressed without feeling or aptness, without force or beauty, gain scanty currency, and are of use chiefly to those who take them and reissue them from the mint of their own genius, fresh and new.

This principle, which would have force, even if we were writing the history of thought alone, has double force when the subject of investigation is literature, *i.e.* thought as expressed in letters. Between the language of the Anglo-Norman period, as seen in the Saxon Chronicle, and that of Elizabeth, as seen in the writings of Shakespeare, a period say of four hundred years, the mind of England had gathered knowledge, and strength, and feeling to a greater degree, perhaps, than was previously known in the history of any race, and its language had gained affluence, and vigour, and clearness, and polish, to at least an equal degree. When authors had to put forth their mightiest efforts, and were, now bursting into song, now revealing long concealed and abstruse truth, English supplied them with words to give adequate and melodious utterances to whatever was in them. The noblest feeling, the profoundest thought, and the loftiest aspirations had immediate and appropriate expression in a tongue which as yet civilised Europe had either not known or had known only to despise. It is with the history of this growth we are now concerned—the growth of the English language as an instrument of feeling and of thought.*

32. The division of this history does not completely synchronize with the history of our literature. Nor are some other divisions, though convenient for some purposes, available in this case. The Philological Society,

History of
language:
how divided.

* From *Essays*, by Alexander Smith.

for example, divides the history of the English language for lexical purposes into three periods: first, from 1250 to the Reformation, or say till 1526, the date of the publication of Tyndale's New Testament; the second, from 1526 to the death of Milton in 1674; and the third, from the death of Milton to our age. Craik also divides the history for literary purposes into three: the first from 1250 to 1350, the age of Chaucer; the second from the age of Chaucer to the Reformation, 1530; and the third, or modern, from 1530 to our own day. There may be advantages in each of these arrangements; but the fact stated in a previous chapter needs to be kept in mind, that the literary era is always later than the political; and, besides, both these divisions overlook the influence of the invention of printing (1460), and of the revival of classical learning in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; while the second division classes together writers so widely different as Wycliffe and More, Philip Sidney and Walter Scott, Jeremy Taylor and Robert Hall.

Whatever then may be the best division for literature, for language and its capacity of expressing thought we need other eras, and it will be found in fact, that the most convenient periods of are Chaucer's, Shakespeare's, Milton's and our own. Chaucer represents the fusion of the old Saxon and Norman-French. Shakespeare represents the results of the freedom and richness of thought produced by the Reformation and the recovery of the stores of classical learning, and by the immense activity consequent upon the invention of printing. Milton, writing towards the close of his life, represents all the previous elements, together with the influence of the French and Italian *renaissance*: while our own age represents all previous elements as modified by the ease and naturalness which have been more or less welcomed in our literature ever since the age of Queen Anne.

33. To understand the character of Chaucer's English we need to trace the progress of our language down to his time.

A thousand years ago, the language of England was pure Anglo-Saxon: in its declensions, conjugations, and syntax; in the words themselves, and in the arrangement of them in sentences. Nouns, adjectives, articles, pronouns, were all declined and had each a full complement

Language of
Alfred and
Ælfric.

of cases and genders. The arrangement was as rhetorical as in Latin, and the most complex thoughts, both religious and ethical, were expressed in words from Anglo-Saxon roots.^a

Alfred and Ælfric writing in the ninth and tenth centuries, show a strong repugnance to admit into their vocabulary any importations from foreign sources. The Keltic, as the language of a conquered people, seems to have been despised; the only words permanently retained referring to menial service, or to agricultural life. Even when these writers were translating from Latin, they carefully rejected Latin words; so that the number of foreign words used by them in all their works is exceedingly small.

The following passage taken from Alfred's translation of Orosius will illustrate the accident and arrangement of the Anglo-Saxon tongue.^b

Fela spella^c him sædon tha
Beormas ægþer ge of hym
agenum lande, ge of þam lande þe
ymb hy utan wæron : ac he
cyste hwæt þæs soðes wær.

for þam he hit sylf ne ge seah.
Ða Finnas him þuhte and þa Beorma :

spræcon neah an geðeode. Swiðos
he for ðyder to-eacan þæs landes
sceawunge,^d for þam hors-huælum
forþam hi habbað swyðe æðele^e
ban

ou hyra toðum. þa teð hy
brohton sume þam cynincge & hyra
hyd bið swyðe god to scip-rapum.

Many^f tidings (to) him said the
Beormas either (*i. e.* both) of their
own lande and of them lands that
around them about were: but he
wist-not what (of) the sooth (truth)
was,

for that he itself not 'y-saw.^g
The Finns (him thought) and the
Beormas

spoke nigh one language. Greatly^h
he fared thither, ekeⁱ the land's
seeing, for the horse-whales,^k
for that they have very^h noble
bones

in their teeth. These teeth they
brought some to the king; and their
hide is very^h good for ship-ropes.

^a Thus from *hyge* or *hige*, thought or care, Turner notes that the Anglo-Saxons formed upwards of thirty words descriptive of mental acts or states; and from *mod*, mind or passion, some thirty more. For repentance, baptism, etc., the Anglo-Saxons had words of their own long before Augustine introduced corresponding words of Latin origin.

^b From Pauli's *Life of King Alfred*. See Marsh, p. 125.

^c Hence go-spel.

^d Hence showing.

^e Hence *Atheling*.

^f Scotch *feil*.

^g Hence gaze.

^h *i. e.* Very much, chiefly.

ⁱ *i. e.* Besides.

^k *i. e.* Walruses.

Se hwæl bið micle læssa ðonne oðre
hwalas. Ne bið he lengra þonne
syfan

elna long; ac on his agnum lande
is se betsta hwæle-huntað. þa
beoð eahta and feowertiges elna
lange, and þa

mæstan fiftiges elna lange. þara he
sæde þæt he syxa sum ofsloge syxtig
on twam dagum. He was swyðe
spedig

man on þæm æhtum þe
heora speda on beoð, þ is on wild
deorum. He hæfde þa-gyt þa he
þone cyninge sohte tamra deora
unbeohtra syx hund. Ð deor
hi hatað hranas þara wæron syx
stæl-hranas. Ða beoð swyðe dyre
mid Finnum,
forððæm hy fod þa wildan hranas
mid.

This whale is much less than other
whales. Not is he longer than
seven

ells long; but in his own land
is the best whale-hunting. They
are of eight and forty ells
long, and the

most^a fifty ells long. Of these he
said that he (of) six some slew sixty
in two days. He was a very
successful (speedy

man in the ownings that
their wealth in is, t*h*at is in wild-
deer. He had yet, at that (time) he
the king sought of tame deer
unbought six hundred. These deer
They hight reins; of them were six
stale-reins.^b These are very^c dear
with Finns,
for-that they catch the wild reins
with (them).

In this passage there are only six words that are obsolete—*fela*, *ge* (and), *ac* (but), *ymb* (around), *geðeode* (language), and *swiðost*: though there are some others which are no longer used in the old sense. *Spella*, tidings, information, survives in the verb to spell, and in spell, a charm; *spedig* in the verb to speed, or prosper.

34. Two hundred years later, and soon after the Norman Conquest, the language was still Anglo-Saxon. But it had undergone several changes. Cases were less distinctly marked. In consequence the arrangement approached more nearly to the arrangement of modern English, though the number of Anglo-Norman words was still exceedingly small. The following extract from the later part of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, will illustrate these changes.

Language at
the Norman
Conquest.

^a i. e. The largest.

^b i. e. Probably decoy reindeers.

^c i. e. Very much, chiefly.

^d The reader will note that þ is the aspirated form of t as ð is of d.

From the Saxon Chronicle, written after the death of Stephen

[The second column shows what the text would be if written in purer Saxon.]

Hi^a swencten the wrecce men of
the land mid castel-weorces.
Thá the castles waren maked
thá fylden hi mid yvele men.

Thá
namen hi thá men the hi wenden
thæt anⁱ Gód hefðen bathe be
nighes and be dæies. Me
hanged up bi the fet and
smoked
heom mid ful smoke. Me
dide cnotted strenges abutan
here hæved, & writhen to-thæt
it gæde to the hæernes.

Hi swencon tha wreccan menn of
tham lande^b mid castel-weorcum.
Thá tha castel^c wæron gemacod
thá fyldon hi mid yfelon manum.

Thá
namon hi thá menn thá hi wendon
thæt ænig God hæfdon batwa be
nihte^d & be dæge. Menn
hangedon up bi tham fetum &
smucon^e
heom mid fulum smece. Menn
dydon cnotode strenges abutan
heora hæfod, & wrathon to-thæt
hit eode to tham hæernes.^e

In this passage the article, adjective, and noun have all ceased to be declined accurately. Verbs have lost the correct plural endings; and strong preterites (as in *smucon*) show their tendency to end in *d*.

35. The next stage of our language is the semi-Saxon, lasting from about 1100 to 1250, and having as illustrations the later portion of the *Saxon Chronicle*, the writings of Layamon, *Ancoren Riwe*, mon, the *Ancoren Riwele*, and the *Ormulum*. In

Layamon, the chief change is in the accidence and in the consequent arrangement of words. Case endings are dropped or confounded: *of* is used with the genitive, or with the absolute form to indicate the genitive: plural nouns are formed in s

^a They made to labour the wretched men of the land with castle-works. When the castles were made, then filled they them with evil men. Then took they the men whom they thought that any goods had both by night and by day. (Some) men hanged (they) up by the feet and smoked them with foul smoke. (Some) men did (they) knotted strings about their head, and twisted till it went to the brains.

^b Or simply *thas landes*; if 'of' is

retained, the noun follows in the dative.

^c If *castel* is treated as neuter, the plural is the same as the singular. If as masculine, the plural is *castelas*. The *es* confounds it with the genitive.

^d *Nihtes* and *dæges* are genitive forms, and mean by night, by day. If *be* is inserted, it must be followed by a dative.

^e *Hærnes* (*Scottish harms*) is probably not old Saxon.—See Spalding's *History of Engl. Lit.*, p. 114.

rather than *en*: the dual form of pronouns ceases, the gerundial infinitive and the common infinitive forms are confounded: *to* is inserted before the infinitive, and the participle in *ende* is confounded with the infinitive, and both with the verbal noun in *ung*. Changes of spelling are also noticeable, of which *wh* for *hw* is one of the most important. Still foreign words are exceedingly few. Out of thirty-two thousand lines that make up the poem there are not more than sixty words of Latin or Norman origin; nor are there any material changes in the syntax or government of words.^a

The *Ancren Riwe* is a code of monastic rules, drawn up in prose by some writer of the twelfth or thirteenth century, for a small community of anchoresses residing at Tarente in Dorset. It is itself of little value, but it is interesting for its vocabulary. Whether the nunnery for which the code was prepared, was of French origin is not known: but the *Riwe* contains a much larger proportion of Latin and Norman words than any other extant composition of its age.^b

The *Ormulum* belongs to the same date as *Layamon*. The

^a From *Layamon*, vol. ii. p. 384.

þe time cō þ wes icoren,
þa wes Arður iboren.
Sone swa he com an eorðe,
Alven hne ivengen.
Heo bigolen þat child

Mid galdere swið strong;
Heo geuð him mihte
To beon begst alre cnihten.
Heo geuen him an oðer þing,
þat he scolde beon riche king.
Heo geuen him þat þridde,
þat he scolde longe libben.

^b Ye neschulen eten vleschs ne seim,
buten in mucle sekenesse; other
hwoso is euer feble eteth potage blithe-
liche;
and wunieth ou to lutel drunch.
Notheleas, leoue sustren, ower mete
and ower drunch haveth ithuth me
lesse then iche wolde. Ne ueste ye
nenne dei to bread and to watere

The time came that was i-chosen,
Then was Arthur born.
[So] soon as he came on earth,
Elves him seized (*y-fingered*).
They enchanted (galan, to sing) the
child

With enchantment very strong.
They gave him might,
To be best of all knights.
They gave him another thing,
That he should be (a) rich king.
They gave him the third,
That he should long live.

Ye shall not eat flesh nor fat (larç)
but in much sickness; or
whoso is ever feeble may eat potage
blithely,
and accustom you to little drink.
Nevertheless, loved sisters, your mea
and your drink have seemed to me
less than I would. Fast ye not
no day to bread and to water,

fragment of it that remains amounts to twenty thousand lines, and it shows the increasing force of influences already at work among the authors of that century. Case endings have nearly ceased; and in consequence the forms and the arrangement of words do not differ much from modern English. As the writer probably belonged to some monastery in the north-east of England, his poem contains several Danish or Scandinavian terms. There are also a few words from ecclesiastical Latin but scarcely any from the French. The work is of special interest, as it indicates by spelling the pronunciation of the vowels according to what the author deemed the true standard of the English tongue.*

36. It is easy now to estimate pretty accurately the difference between the pure Anglo-Saxon of Alfred's age and the semi-Saxon of the eleventh, twelfth, and thir-

bute ye hebben leave. Sum ancre
maketh hire bord mid hire gistes

withutan. That is to mucche ureond-
shiþe, nor, of alle ordres, theonne is hit
unkuindelukest and mest aȝean ancre

ordre, that is al dead to the worlde.

From the *Ancren Riwele*. Edited and translated for the *Camden Society*, by James Morton, [B.D.] London, 1853. There are four MSS. of this work; three of them in the Cottonian Collection, and one in Christ Church College, Cambridge. The authorship is ascribed by some to Simon, Bishop of Salisbury, who died in 1315; by Mr Morton to Poor, Bishop of Durham, and a native of Tarente, who died in 1237.

* From Orm or Ormin. The *Ormulum*, edited by R. M. White, 2 vols. Oxford, 1852.

Aftterr þatt tatt te Laferd Crist

Wass cumenn off Eȝyppte

Inntill þe land off Galileo

Till Nazaræþess chesstre.

þæreafterr, seȝȝ þe Goddspellboc,

Bilæf he þær well langge

Wiþþ hise frend tatt haſſidenn himin,

To ȝemenn & to ȝætenn,

Wiþþ Marge þatt hiss moderr wass

& magȝdenn þwerret üt clene,

& wiþþ Josæp þatt wass himm sett

To fedenn & to fosstrenn.

but ye have leave. Some anchoresses
make their board with their gistes
(friends)

without. That is too much friend-
ship, for of all orders, then is it
most unnatural and most against an
choress

order, that is all dead to the world.

After that that the Lord Christ

Was come from Egypt

Into the land of Galilee

To Nazareth's town.

Thereafter, says the Gospel-book,

Stayed (be left) he there well long

With his friends that had him,

To take care of and to protect.

With Mary that his mother was

And maiden throughout clean,

& with Joseph that was him set

To feed & to foster.

teenth centuries. Of foreign words there were but few. The entire English vocabulary of the thirteenth century, so far as it can be known from its printed literature, consists of about eight thousand words. Of these not one thousand are of Latin or Romance origin, nor is there any author in whose works such words exceed four or five per cent. Meanwhile many of the most important Saxon words, ethical and mental, had dropped out of use or had become archaisms. The language, therefore, in its substance was still Saxon; but, on the other hand, the vocabulary had diminished, inflections had ceased, and, in consequence, the periodic structure of sentences was changed, the loss of declension being supplied by particles and the conjugation-forms of verbs by auxiliaries.

This last result was natural, and would have occurred even independently of foreign influence, but it was hastened and modified by the Anglo-Norman tongue. It was natural; because in language there is a tendency to reject inflections—a tendency that has operated in the history of all nations whose speech is known to us. It was hastened and modified, however, in the following ways. The genitive was often expressed in the Anglo-Saxon by a case-ending in *s*; the Anglo-Norman expressed it by the preposition *de*. All cases had in Anglo-Saxon case-endings; in Anglo-Norman and in Danish these case-endings were very few. In Anglo-Saxon plural nouns ended in *a*, *e*, *en*, and *s*; in Anglo-Norman in *s* only. The Anglo-Saxons had two forms of the plural for verbs, the indicative in *ath*, and the subjunctive in *en*; the Anglo-Normans could not pronounce *ath*, and the common forms of their first person plural ended in *ons*, pronounced nearly as they pronounced the *en* of the Saxon. The infinitive of the Anglo-Saxon required no preposition, and had distinct forms for the gerund: the Anglo-Normans had but one form, and used a preposition. The Anglo-Saxon participle ended in *ende*, and the Anglo-Norman in *nt*, with a nasal (ng) sound, while the same nasal sound was given by the Normans to the common infinitive and to the gerundial infinitive of the Anglo-Saxon. The comparative and the superlative of adjectives in the Anglo-Saxon were formed by suffixes, *er* and *est*, in Anglo-Norman by adverbs like *more* and *most*. In all these cases, and in several more, the Anglo-Norman assimilated Anglo-Saxon usage to its own, and confounded participial and infinitive endings; while even in

the syntax, a department in which most languages retain their peculiarities, the Anglo-Saxon yielded in some degree.^a

37. The middle of the thirteenth century may be taken as the beginning of the *English* tongue, and to that period belongs what is generally regarded as the earliest specimen of English, the Proclamation of Henry III. It is dated in the year 1258, and is addressed to the people of Huntingdon, copies being sent to all the shires of England and Ireland. It does not differ materially from the language of the *Ormulum*, nor is it on the whole more modern than the *Ancren Riwele*. It is important, however, because its date is known, and because being addressed to all parts of the country it is a specimen of the language that was understood by all. It contains no words of Norman origin except *Duke* and *Marshal*. But in the grammar the breaking down of the Anglo-Saxon inflectional system is clearly seen, and the sense is made to depend upon the sequence of the words alone.^b

The literary productions of this century are really few; the *Chronicles* of Robert of Gloucester and of Robert Manning being

the only historical writings that deserve notice. In the former the proportion of Norman words is still not more than four or five per cent., though in the latter it is considerably larger; nor are the grammatical peculiarities very numerous. In some of the poetry of the period (as in 'The Owl') the Scandinavian form *are* is used instead of *ben* or *beoth*; especially in the north-east of England: and in these *Chronicles* *eth*, the third person singular of verbs, is changed into *s*, probably the Norman pronuncia-

^a What Dr. Johnson conjectured, that the Norman affected the Anglo-Saxon more by influencing the inflections than

by the introduction of new words is now proved to be the fact.

^b From the Proclamation of King Henry III., 1258.

Thæt witen ye wel alle, thæt we willen & unnen thæt thæt ure radesmen alle other the moare dæl of heom, thæt beoth ichosen thurg us, etc. And this wes idon aetforen ure isworene redemen. And al on tho ilche worden is isend in to aeurhce othre shire over all thaere kunerichs on Englene-loande & ek into Irelande.

This know ye well all, that we will and grant, that what our councillors all or the more deal of them, that are chosen by us, etc. And this was done before our sworn councillors. And all in the same words is sent into every other shire over all the kingdom in England and eke into Ireland.

From Marsh, p. 192

tion: *ath*, the plural and imperative form, is changed in some cases into *s* also.

The political poetry of the period is nearly all in Anglo-Norman, though sometimes in Anglo-Norman and Saxon, sometimes even in Anglo-Norman, Latin and Anglo-Saxon.^a In these latter cases the tendency is to corrupt the grammar of all. On the other hand, in the collections of ancient lyrical poetry which the zeal of scholars has recently given to the world, there are many amatory and religious poems in the *English* tongue.^b In several of these pieces, moreover, there are sparks of that humour of which the Anglo-Saxon race knew little, but which is a characteristic of the literature of their descendants.

38. Still with all these examples and tendencies there is, strictly speaking, in this thirteenth century and up to the middle of the fourteenth, no English literature, no national language, and, in short, no national life; though there was a literature, as there were at least three languages, in England. The court and the nobility spoke French. The clergy largely used Latin; and it was only the common people who used, as they had used all along, a dialect of Anglo-Saxon, and that dialect had now an uncertain grammar and a contracted vocabulary.

^a Nostre prince de Engleterre
Par le conseil de sa gent,
At Westminster after the feire,
Made a gret Parliament.

A Poem of the year 1311, on *The Violation of the Great Charter*. See Marsh, p. 244.

Quando quis loquitur, bote resoun reste thereynne
Derisum patitur aut lutel so shall he wyne,
En seynt egliše sunt multi sæpe priores;
Summe beoth wyse, multi sunt inferiores, &c.

Political Songs (temp. Edward II.), published by the Camden Society.

^b Jhesu, that wes milde & fre,
Wes with spere y-stonge
He was nailed to the tre
With scourges y-swongen.
Al for mon he tholede shame
Withouten gult withouten blame,
Bothe day ant other
Mon ful muchel he lovede the
When he wolde make the fre
Ant bicomē thi brother.

Lyric Poetry (temp. Edward I.), published by the Percy Society.

39. Such was the state of our language in the middle of the fourteenth century. Before the close of that century a most marked change had come over it, not only in the grammar, which became more regular, but in the vocabulary and in the general power of expression. This last change is contemporaneous with the following facts, and is largely owing to them.

(1) There was in the days of Edward III. the awakening of national life, and with that awakening there came great mental activity in all departments. For the first time in our history there was a thorough community of feeling between the native and the stranger. Normans and Saxons were alike proud of their country, and both were ready to acknowledge themselves English. This sympathy produced at once hearty co-operation in the improvement of their common tongue. The Saxon, conscious of his intellectual wants, and anxious to meet them, seized and appropriated all knowledge, even when expressed in foreign words, no longer deeming those words a badge of servitude. The Norman, weary of schools where only French and Latin were taught, was anxious to have a language of his own. The two willingly coalesced. Anglo-Saxon syntactical arrangements were revived and regulated; Anglo-Saxon anomalies were corrected, and the whole speech was enriched by an accession of Latin and Norman terms. Whether the mental activity came first, and the expressions afterwards, or whether the words acting upon susceptible minds kindled into new life the sleeping energy of the people is not certain. Probably each helped the other. Here as elsewhere the new thinking power and the new words that shaped its conceptions came together, twin born. The result is that this era is the era of our first great original poem, that poem a satire, the *Vision of Piers Ploughman*; of the first book of travels, by Mandeville; of what was for centuries our greatest poet, Chaucer; and above all, of those translations of Scripture, which, more than anything else, were to carry the new language into the homes and hearts of the people.

It was largely in consequence of this national unity that in the reign of Edward III. all the old rules which compelled students at college to translate classic authors into French, and lawyers to plead in that tongue, were set aside. English became the language of the upper classes as well as of the lower, and in 1362 the first

king's speech in English was addressed to the representatives of the nation in Parliament.

The vigour of the national life showed itself in all departments : Law was organised into a science, and borrowed terms from Latin and French jurisprudence ; Medicine, Geography, Alchemy, Astronomy, were studied ; and the terms used in them were speedily transferred to the intercourse of common business. Edward, the great patron of commerce, encouraged Flemish clothiers to settle in England ; and the numerous handicraftsmen, whom the necessity of foreign oppression, and the luxury of wealthy Englishmen brought to the country, all imported the terms of their trade, and those terms became incorporated in the language of society and of books.

(2) Nor less influential was the religious excitement of the age. For centuries the English people had been struggling to preserve their ecclesiastical independence. From the date of Religious awakening. the visit of Augustin the Anglo-Saxon Church had retained doctrines which were not acceptable to the papal priesthood. Our monarchs, moreover, had always held the right to exercise some control over ecclesiastical appointments, and had therein been supported by the feeling of the nation. The spirit that had showed itself in this form was strengthened by the immorality and idleness of the monastic orders. Hence religious discussion was peculiarly welcome. Devotional poetry, and satirical poetry on religious themes, especially on the manners of the clergy, popular throughout Europe, were specially so in England ; and even books on religious truth found readers among most classes. The influence of this taste on the vocabulary of the language was soon apparent. Anglo-Saxon words expressive of religious and moral thought had been numerous enough in the earlier stages of that tongue, but these had now become obsolete. It was therefore necessary to introduce words of Latin origin—Wycliffe's practice—and by the circulation of such works the words themselves became familiar to a much greater extent than would have been possible with a literature that failed to appeal to popular sympathy. Indeed it has been thought by competent authorities that the wide diffusion of religious inquiry and of religious teaching did more to popularise new words in England during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries than all other causes besides. Of secular poems and secular histories but few copies

seem to have been made, even the *Ormulum* existing so far as we now know in a single MS., while of *Piers Ploughman* and of *Wycliffe's Translation* many scores, and probably hundreds, were circulated among the people.

(3) Now also rhyme and poetry generally began to influence the vocabulary of the nation. For the most part, indeed, poetry **Exigencies of** prefers established and even archaic forms. But **rhyme.** when our old poets began to indulge in rhyme they found the Anglo-Saxon unsuited for their purpose, and were compelled to borrow the rhyme endings of words of French origin. The earliest national poet of this period, Langlande, or whoever was author of *Piers Ploughman*, wrote in Saxon verse. He retained the old forms of alliteration and accent; but there is reason to believe that these hindered its popularity. The metre was monotonous, and it wanted the sweetness of rhyme. The cultivated classes and all the younger men of the age preferred the Norman system of versifying; and the middle classes, admitted for the first time to enjoy literary pleasures, naturally accepted the consecrated speech of the great leaders of song. To meet this taste poets had to multiply French words with accents nearer the end, and therefore better suited for rhyming than were words of Saxon origin. To this necessity the poet was the more likely to yield, when, as in Chaucer's case, he translated from rhyming French, where the rhymes were already made to his hand. Hence it is that in his translation of the first part of the Romance of the Rose, Chaucer has introduced into his verses the French endings of about one hundred and twenty-five pair out of twenty-two hundred pair of lines; or, to express the same fact in another form, we owe to the necessity of rhyme alone the two hundred and fifty words of which these rhymes consist.

Among the words that are thus introduced are adamant, advantage, amorous, anoint, brief, colour, confound, divine, disciples, endure, feeble, glory, languor, meagre, muse, person, reasonable, return, renown, vain, victory, and others.

(4) Nor must we omit to mention the influence of translations (of which more hereafter), and of the increasing intercourse **Translations.** between England and foreign countries; the translation of the *Travels* of Marco Polo and of Sir John Mandeville early adding very largely to the vocabulary of our tongue.

40. Such, in general, were the influences at work in this fourteenth century, modifying our old Saxon speech. But it is important to notice the authors and books that did their part in this history.

The first place is due to Sir John Mandeville (1300-72), the author of the first English book in prose. He was born at St. Albans, and received a liberal education for the profession of medicine. In 1322 he went abroad, and spent some years in travelling, principally in the East. After his return he wrote, (in 1356), an account, in Latin, of what he had seen; and then, to use his own words, 'put this boke out of Latyn into Frensche, and translated it again out of Frensche into Englyssche, that every man of my nacioun may understande it.' His description of foreign life is not of much worth. His name, indeed, became a proverb, and 'traveller's tales' is a phrase that owes to him no small part of its piquancy. But though he records freely what was told him, when he speaks of what he himself saw he is free from exaggeration and embellishment. The chief value of his book, however, is in its connection with the progress of our language. It was evidently very popular. 'Of no book,' says Halliwell, 'with the exception of the Scriptures, can more MSS. be found,' and therefore it must have been much read. It is written in a natural prose style, and yet more words of French and Latin origin are to be found in it than in any poet of that century. In the Prologue, which consists, as Marsh states, of about twelve hundred words, one hundred and thirty, or eleven per cent. are of Latin origin, and of these at least thirty are new. If the same proportion hold throughout the book, we have an addition of fourteen hundred words of the Latin stock to the vocabulary of the previous century, made by one writer alone.*

* 'A dere God, what Love hadde he to us his subyettes, whan he that nevere trespased, wolde for Trespassours suffre dethe! Righte wel oughte us for to love and worschipe, to drede & serven such a Lord; and to worschipe & preyse suche a holy Lord, that broughte forth the suche fruyte, thorghe the whiche every Man is saved, but it be his owne defaute. Wel may that lond be called delytable & a fructuous lond, that was be bledd & moysted with the precyous Blode of our Lord Jesu Crist: the whiche is the same lond, thatoure Lord be highten us

in Heritage. Wherefore every gode Cristene Man that is of Powere and hath whereof, schelde peynur him with all his Strengethe for to conquere oure righte Heritage & chacen out alle the mysbeleevinge Men. For wee ben clept Cristene Men afre Crist our Fadre. And ȝif wee ben righte children of Crist, we oughte for to challenge the Heritage, that our Fadre leftes us & do it out of hethene Mennes bondes.'—*The Voiage & Travaile of Sir John Maundeville*, reprint with Introduction, etc., by Halliwell, 1839. The Prologue

Among the words of this character which Marsh notes are abstain, abundant, benefices, calculation, cause, contrary, convenient, discover, estimate, faithful, inspiration, obstacle, examine, ostrich, purple, quantity, subjection, temporal, testament, vaulted, etc.

41. The next writers are Lawrence Minot (1332-1352) and Richard Rolle. The former composed a series of short pieces on the victories of Edward III., beginning with the battle of Halidon Hill, and ending with the siege of Guisnes Castle. His compositions are remarkable for an attempt to unite the characteristics of Saxon and Norman poetry; the alliteration of the one with the poetic measures and rhymes of the other.^a This compromise, however, did not succeed. Rolle was a hermit of the Augustine order and a Doctor of Divinity. He lived at Hampole, near Doncaster, and, besides paraphrasing Scripture, wrote a poem entitled the *Prikke of Conscience*, and other pieces.^b

42. The first really English poet, however, is Langlande, whose work, *The Vision of Piers Ploughman*, was published about 1365. The authorship is a matter of some uncertainty, and the tradition which ascribes it to Robert Langlande, a secular priest, is not supported by conclusive evidence; but it is probably accurate. This work is the earliest original poem we possess of any great length and pretensions. It is also important on two other grounds. First, it is thoroughly English in doctrine, in tone, in spirit, and in its pictures of social life. Its religious teaching silently prepared the way for the Reformation of the sixteenth century, and doubtless expressed the popular

^a Minot's poems were unknown till late in the last century, when they were discovered in a MS. of the Cottonian Collection, which was supposed to be part of the works of Chaucer. They were discovered by Tyrwhitt, and published by Ritson in 1795.

When Philip the Valas heard this,
Tharat he was ful wroth iwis;
He gert assemble his barounes,
Princes & lordes of many tonnes,
At Pariss toke thai thaire counsaile,

Whilk pointès might tham most avail:
And in all wise thai tham bithought
To stroy Ingland and bring to nought.
Poems of Lawrence Minot, in *Pol
Poems of England*, vol. i.

^b Ther is lyf withoute ony deth,
And ther is youthe without ony elde;
And ther is alle manner welthe to welde
And ther is rest without ony travaille;
And ther is pees without ony strife,
And ther is alle manner lykinge of lyf.
Rolle, *What is in Heaven*.

sentiments on the subject it discusses.^a It is largely querulous, exhibiting herein the tendency of the Englishman to grumble. And yet it is also rich in humour, a quality scarcely known in our earlier literature, and one that must have recommended it to the general reader. Its sketches of social life give a clearer insight into the condition of the people than any contemporary work. It is to this author that John Ball appealed, who is known as one of the few clerical advocates of the rights of man in the Middle Ages, and who was long a popular preacher from the text,

‘ When Adam delled and Evè span,
Where was then the gentleman? ’

But the work is chiefly important as a specimen of our language. In its thirty thousand lines are a large number of foreign words. But it is remarkable for its adherence to Anglo-Saxon forms. The verb is inflected for the most part as in the Anglo-Saxon, *th* distinguishing the plural ending of the present, and *en* of the past; plural nouns generally end in *s*, and adjectives in *e*, while *shall* and *will* are used for the future with general accuracy.

The *Creed of Piers Ploughman* came a few years later, and is directed more exclusively against the corruptions of the Roman Church. Whether this is also by Langlande is more than doubted; but both books ‘ aided the reception of the doctrines of Wycliffe, encouraged the circulation of the new English versions of the Scriptures, and thus planted deep in the English mind the germ of that religious revolution which was so auspiciously begun and perfected in the sixteenth century.’^b

The *Vision of Piers Ploughman* is an allegory, and has been compared with the *Pilgrim’s Progress*, though it wants the simplicity and the dramatic completeness of that matchless work.

^a Repentedestow¹ evere? quod² Repent-
aunce, (1 Repentedst thou. 2 quoth)

Or restitution madest.

Yis ones I was y-herberwed,³ quod he
(³harboured)

With an heep of chapmen,
I roos whan thei were a-reste

And rifled hire males.⁴ (their ‘packs or
boxes, ‘mail-coach’)

‘ That was no restitution,’ quot Repent-
aunce,

But a robberis thefte:

Thow haddest be the bettre worthi
Ben hanged therfore.

‘ I wende⁵ rifynge were restitution,’ quod
he (⁵sweened)

For I lerned nevere rede on boke;
And I kan⁶ no Frensche, in feith, (⁶know)
But of the ferthest ende of Northfolk
(am from.)

*The Vision and Creed of Piers Plough-
man*, edited by T. Wright, 2 vols.
Lond., 1842. The second Vision.

^b Marsh, 305.

Like most of the early allegorical poetry of all languages it is written without plan. As a succession of pictures it scarcely needed one; its excellence depending upon its boldness and vigour, upon the satirical vein that runs through it, upon its sketches of external nature, and upon its bursts of serious feeling. The dreamer fell asleep 'weary and forwandered on a May mornenyng on Malvern hilles.' In a fair meadow before him he sees the gathered inhabitants of the world; he notes their ranks and occupations. A large part of the description he devoted to the different orders of the clergy, and depicts in strong colours their depravity and worldliness. These sketches, with the old story of the Belling of the Cat, form the introduction. In the first section a heavenly messenger, the personification of 'Holi Chirche,' appears and gives the dreamer explanations and warnings. In the second section he perceives 'on his left half' a woman who, Holi Chirche informs him, is Lucre, and who is in 'the Pope's paleis' as familiar as Holi Chirche herself. In the third and fourth sections all classes are seen paying homage to Lucre, who contracts a marriage with Falsehood. She is also taken into favour at court, and is specially caressed by the friars, though their intrigues are somewhat thwarted by Conscience. The King proposes a new marriage of Lucre with Conscience; but Conscience objects, and appeals to the evils which Lucre had wrought in Church and State, and finally leaves her decision to Reason. In the end Reason and Conscience take the same side, and prevail with the King to give up the match, and to rule his kingdom by the advice of Reason alone.

In the second vision the dreamer describes the preaching of Reason, and the different classes of hearers who are convinced by him. A multitude of these repentant hearers set out in search of Truth under the guidance of Palmer, the Pilgrim, who proves but a blind guide; and at length a number of wanderers put themselves under the direction of Piers Ploughman, who now appears for the first time upon the scene. The new guide employs them in productive labour, but they become rebellious, and are at last reduced to submission by the aid of Hunger, whose influence is described among some fine sketches of English social life. The pardons and indulgences of the Pope, the hope of getting to heaven by giving a painted window to the Church are treated. The Ploughman then goes in search of Dowell,

a personification of good works, with little ultimate advantage. Studie, a strong-minded dame, recommends Piers to her cousin Clergie, and Clergie gives a long dissertation, with which the Pilgrim is 'but litle the wiser.' Several sections follow in the same strain. Pleasure, predestination, the divine punishments, the duties of charity and mercy, the great responsibilities of the rich and the learned, the 'coveitise' of the friars—are all discussed. In the eighteenth section the character of Piers Ploughman is identified with that of the Saviour, and the remainder of the section is occupied with Christ's Passion, his descent into Hell, and his final victories. We have then an account of the foundation of the visible Church, of the opposition of worldly men and princes, and an attack upon Anti-Christ. Afterwards the Castle of Unity, the stronghold of the Church, is assailed by an army of priests and monks. Conscience, the governor of the castle, is driven out, and goes in quest of the Ploughman, when the dreamer awakes, and 'behold it is a dream.'

43. In most Protestant countries the national literature has commenced with the translation of the Scriptures into the tongue of the common people, which tongue the translation has fixed and preserved for all aftertime.

Bible translations.
Wycliffe.

This remark is true of Luther's German Bible, of the Danish Bible of 1550, and of the English versions of Wycliffe and Tyndale. The fact is generally admitted; nor is the explanation difficult to find. Most of these versions were made at a time when the vernacular language in each case was characterised by simplicity, both in the words and in the combination of them. That language was therefore a better exponent of the original than more modern speech. They were made, moreover, when the mind of the translator and of the reader were in a state of great religious sensibility, and rejoicing in newly acquired freedom and in newly discovered truth. Add to these causes another,—the translator himself generally felt the responsibility of his office, and girded up his mind to his task. Hence it is not surprising to be told that Wycliffe's New Testament is far superior in its English to his theological writings; superior in simplicity and purity and dignity, in all the elements, in short,

* Taken in brief from Marsh's *Lectures*, p. 314.

that make a translation popular, and fit it to react upon the vocabulary and language of a nation.*

With Wycliffe the religious dialect of this country may be said to have become fixed. For five hundred years it has continued through Tyndale and the authorised version of 1611, to be the language of devotion and of Scriptural translation. In our own day it remains practically unchanged. Any Englishman of common education will understand Wycliffe's New Testament; and if Wycliffe were now to reappear amongst us, it is probable that he would understand our authorised version, and need but few explanations.

44. The grammatical peculiarities of the version are that *th* is confined to the third person singular of verbs, and is never used in the imperative or the plural; that *ye* or *you* is never used as a singular; that participles end generally in *ing* not in *ende*, the old form; and that feminine nouns which in the Anglo-Saxon end in *ster* (danster, stayster), now end in *esse* (daunseresse, devouresse), the classic feminine form. As the version was from the Vulgate, a large number of words of Latin origin are for the first time introduced into our speech.

This volume of Wycliffe's circulated very widely among the people; nor is it unimportant to notice that Langlande, Wycliffe,

* Wycliffe's version of Matthew viii.

Forsothe when Jhesus hadde comen
doun fro the hil many *cumpanyes*
folewididen him. And loo! a *leprouse*
man cummyng worshipide hym, say-
inge;

Lord, gif thou wolt, thou maist make
me cleene.

And Jhesus holdyng forthe the
bond, *touched* hym, sayinge, I wole:
be thou maad cleene. And anon
the *leppe* of hym was cleansid.

And Jhesus saith to hym; See, say thou
to no man; but go, shewe thee to the
prestis; & *offre* that Gifte that Moyses
comaundide, unto witnessing to hem.

The Italic words are of classic origin.

Purvey's revision.

But whanne Jhesus was come
doun fro the hil mych *puple*
suede him. And loo! a *leprouse*
man cam and worshipide him and
seide;

Lord if thou wolt thou maist make me
cleene.

And Jhesus helde forth the
bond, & *touchide* hym, & seide, Y wole:
be thou maad cleene. And anon
the *leppe* of him was clensid.

And Jhesus seide to hym; Se, seie thou
to no man; but go, shewe thee to the
prestis; & *offre* the Gifte that Moyses
comaundide in witnyssing to hem.

From Marsh's *Origin and History of
the English Language*, p. 346.

and Chaucer, all belonged to the same popular party and were known as opponents of the corruptions of the Church.

Though this first version of the Bible into English is commonly described as Wycliffe's, the early part of the Old Testament was really written by Hereford, an English ecclesiastic. The latter part of the Old Testament, however, and the whole of the New, were undoubtedly translated by Wycliffe, and were completed about 1380, and the revision of the New Testament by Purvey, some ten years later.

45. It is worth noticing, by the way, that in England, the language of theology and of religion was for many centuries in a more advanced state of culture than that of secular Language of prose. The vocabulary was more extensive and the theology. diction more polished. This was largely owing to the excellence of Wycliffe's translation. But it was also owing to the fact that the most earnest men of the nation were theologians, even when they were also statesmen. As the time of the Reformation drew on, the study of theology became a necessity. It was to the men of literary culture what the study of political history and of public economy is in our own day. It was the natural completion of education, the preparation of public men for public life. Theological books were read by lawyers and by statesmen of all parties. When the Reformation was established, moreover, many of the public teachers of England were of German, Swiss, and Dutch birth, and many Englishmen visited the Continent, driven sometimes by persecution, drawn sometimes by love. This intercourse largely increased the number of Latinised and foreign words, and preserved to theological language the influence it had already gained. This superiority it retained down to the Restoration of Charles II. From that date theology itself declined in public estimation, and its language lost in a single generation all its earlier pre-eminence over the language of secular life.

46. In Chaucer the tendencies of the age, so far as the English language is concerned, culminated. In him were blended in a happy degree the genius of the Gothic and of the Chaucer. Romance nations. He thought as an Englishman and felt as a Norman. He had *Romance* culture in the widest sense, being intimately acquainted with French, Latin, and

Italian, while he was richly endowed with Saxon good sense. To these he added the sensibility and tact which enabled him, as by instinct, to select from a large number of Saxon, French, and Latin words, that were in use around him, those best suited for the expression of English imagery and sentiments. Up to this time there were still practically two peoples and two dialects, and they were now to combine. To Chaucer it was left to fix what share of the contributions of France should be annexed to the inheritance of Englishmen, while he had nothing but good taste to enforce his decisions.

The *grammar* of the language he could not change: it must be Saxon. All, therefore, he could do was to select from diverse accidents, and from conflicting methods of grammatical combination, the inflections and the syntax best calculated to give unity and consistency to the language of the people. The *vocabulary* was more within his control: and here it was his business, by using his judgment, to ascertain the actual wants of our speech, and to re-stamp with the mint mark of English coinage the French words, which he thought entitled from their own beauty or from our necessities to the rights of citizenship. So carefully and skilfully has he done his work, that his grammar is, with the exception of a few inflections, still current, and though many of the old Saxon words have passed out of use, being superseded in fact by more recent importations, not more than a hundred of his Romance words have become obsolete.

Chaucer's works are, so far as language is concerned, of three kinds—translations, sketches of natural scenery, and tales of social life. In the first, he has introduced a large number of rhyming words of French origin, and in the last we have tales as various in thought and in vocabulary as the characters of the relators. The style is alternately grave and gay, pathetic and humorous, moral and licentious, chivalrous and vulgar; his excellence consisting, as in Shakespeare two hundred years later, not in the number of new words, but in that happy selection and combination of them, which was to secure for each a place in the heart and speech of the people.

The study of Chaucer, it may be added, will amply repay the toil. It needs a little acquaintance with French and Italian to master all his words, a little care in pronunciation—the final *e* and the *ed* of verbs being sounded, and the place of the accent being more varied

than in modern English—to make the verse harmonious.* But he ‘will conduct you,’ to use Milton’s figure, ‘to a hill side, laborious indeed at the first ascent, but else so smooth, so green, so full of goodly prospects and melodious sounds on every side, that the harp of Orpheus was not more charming.’

47. Nor ought John Gower (1325–1408) to be omitted from this list. He was connected with a knightly family of Kent (or of Yorkshire as is sometimes said), and resided chiefly in Gower, London. He studied at Merton College, Oxford, and adopted the profession of the law. His *Speculum Meditantis* he wrote in French, his *Vox Clamentis* in Latin, and his *Confessio Amantis* in English. This last was printed by Caxton, in 1483. It consists of a long dialogue between an unsuccessful lover and an experienced counsellor, the priest of Venus, chiefly on the metaphysics of love. The sententiousness of his style and the general spirit of his writings induced Chaucer and afterwards Lyndsay to speak of him as ‘the moral Gower,’ and in Shakespeare’s play of *Pericles* (supposing it to be his), taken from the story of the Prince of Tyre in the *Confessio*, Gower is introduced as the Chorus. The language of the *Confessio* is older than Chaucer’s, though the work is in all probability of a later date. By its greater simplicity and higher moral tone it had a wider circulation than the poems of his friend, as Gower calls him: and hence while greatly inferior as a poet to Chaucer, he enjoyed a high reputation at a period when Chaucer was almost forgotten.

48. Though we have reached but the first stage of the progress of the English tongue, we have already examples of all the influences that were still further to aid its development during the next three hundred years. The national life grew more vigorous: quickened by the discovery of continents which Englishmen were to visit and to people, by Spanish Armadas, and even by internal civil wars,—which, though unfavourable to literature while they last, always create an increase of national energy. The religious excitement of Langlande’s day ended in the Reformation and the struggles of the Puritans. All the languages of Europe, ancient and modern, were studied for poetic utterances, and their

* On the somewhat vexed question of Chaucer’s metre, see Hallam’s *Lit. of Europe*, i., 427; where there is a summary

of Tyrwhitt’s views on the one side and of Dr. Nott’s on the other.

richest treasures were made accessible to English readers; each adding something to the stores of English speech, while the invention of printing gave tenfold facility and power to these utterances themselves.

49. After the death of Chaucer there is a long blank in our literary annals. During the greater part of the fifteenth century there are few traces of original power, and the names that occur are names of third- or fourth-rate men. The misery of the country, thinly veiled in Shakespeare's pictures; the unwise wars with France, made illustrious for a brief time by the successes of Henry v.; the revolts of the people; the furious and destructive struggles between the two royal houses of York and Lancaster, till they were united in the family of Tudor, are no doubt sufficient to explain this fact. It must be added, however, that, though there were few original writers, more books were copied during the fifteenth century than in any preceding one; while towards its close the invention of printing still more greatly multiplied them and prepared the way for that wide extension of our literature which was soon to change the condition of the people. The poets of the century are Occleve, Lydgate, Hawes, and James I. of Scotland; and later on, Dunbar and Douglas: the prose writers are Fortescue, Pecoek, and Caxton.

50. Thomas Occleve, a lawyer, is supposed to have flourished about 1420. Most of his works are still in manuscript; they are chiefly didactic poems and translations. Among these last may be named a *Treatise on the Art of Government*, taken from the Latin work of Egidius, a Roman writer of the thirteenth century. The final *e* in his verses is generally pronounced, and the *n* of the infinitive and of the third person plural of verbs is omitted. His verse is described by Warton and by Hallam as abounding in pedantry, and as wanting grace and spirit.*

* Hallam, i. 125.

My mayster Chaucer, floure of eloquence,
Mirrour of fructuous entendement,
O universal fadir of science,
Alas, that thou thine excellent prudence
In thy bed mortel mightest not bequethè!
What eyled¹ Death? Alas why would he sle the! * * * (1ailed)
But nathelesse,¹ yet hastowe² no powere (1nevertheless, ²hast thou)
His name to sle.

Occleve's *Lamentation over Chaucer*: given by Warton, ii. p. 263.

51. A little later flourished John Lydgate (b. 1375), a monk of Bury, in Suffolk. He was educated at Oxford, and travelled into France and Italy, where he mastered the language and literature of both countries. On his return home he opened a school at his monastery, and gave instruction in poetry and rhetoric, and even in mathematics and theology. His principal poems are *On the Fall of Princes*, taken from Boccaccio; *On the Story of Thebes*, an additional Canterbury Tale; and *On the Siege of Troy*, a compilation from a variety of sources, strung together with some art, and embellished with inventions of Lydgate's own. Most of his poems are unpublished.

Generally he is very diffuse, sometimes earnest and even enthusiastic, and though not strictly original, 'he often worked up his ideas into exceedingly striking combinations: his descriptions of scenery are often excellent.'^a His style is generally more antique than Chaucer's, and though his verse is generally smooth, it often seems irregular from the fact that the final *e* was sometimes sounded and sometimes silent.^b

52. To the same age in style (or to the following in actual date) belongs Samuel Hawes, who flourished in the days of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. He was the author of the *Pass Tyme of Pleasure*, and of several other poems, all popular in his day, and all now forgotten. The *Pass Tyme of Pleasure* is a long allegorical poem in the same taste as the

^a Spalding's *History of English Literature*, p. 86.

^b Warton thinks the following delineation of a delicious retreat has 'great softness and facility:'

Tyll at the last, among the bowes glade,
Of adventure, I caught a pleasaunt shade;
Ful smoth & playn, & lusty¹ for to sene (pleasant—hence list)
And softe as velvette was the yongè grene:
Where from my hors I did alight as fast,
And on a bowe aloft his reynè cast.

From *The Iystorye, &c., of Troye*, 1513, printed by R. Pinson. Warton ii., p. 296.

'Lydgate comes nearest to Chaucer of any contemporary writer that I am acquainted with. His choice of expression, and the smoothness of his verse, far surpass both Gower and Occleve,' *Gray on Lydgate, Works*, v. p. 304, Pickering. Gray gives in this Essay some

remarks, which Mackintosh deems as beautiful in language, as they are true in philosophy—on the satire of our old writers, 'passages as finely thought and written as any in English prose.'—*Dissertation on the History of Ethical Philosophy*.

Romance of the Rose. It is fanciful and tedious, but graced with more invention than any other work of its time. The *Prince Graunde Amour* relates in it the history of his life and death. Inspired by the report of fame with affection for La Bel Pucell (the fair maiden), he is required to make himself worthy of her by accepting instruction in the Tower of Doctrine. He is there received and taught by the Lady Grammar, and by her sisters, Logic, Rhetoric, Arithmetic, and Music; the poet kindly allowing the reader to partake of the lessons free.^a Music introduces him to La Bel Pucell, from whom he is separated to learn yet more in the Tower of Geometry; he has afterwards to visit the Tower of Chivalry and there be made a knight. . . . At last he is married to his lady, and lives happily with her till he is made prisoner by Age, who gives him Policy and Avarice for companions. At length he is slain by Death, buried by Dame Mercy, and has his epitaph engraved by Remembrance.^b

Hawes's poetry has philological interest from the evidence it gives of the rapid increase of French and Latin words, and from the illustration it supplies of the connection between rhyme and a Romance vocabulary.^c

53. Contemporary with Occleve lived James I. of Scotland who reigned from 1406-1437. He was seized in his youth by Henry IV. of England, in the year 1405, and kept James I. for nearly twenty years a prisoner. The *King's Quair*, or *Book*, is a poem of about fourteen hundred lines, written by him in praise of the Lady Jane Beaufort, whom he afterwards married, and is full of delicacy and feeling.^d The style of

^a And all thys dame Gramer told me every dele,
To whom I herkened wyth all my diligence;
And after thys she taught me ryght well,
Fyrst my Donet & then my accidence.
I set my mynde with Percyng influence
To lerne her scyence, the fyrst famous arte,
Eschewyng ydlenes & layeng all aparte,

From Hawes' *Pass Tyme of Pleasure* (1509). Out of ninety-one lines quoted by Marsh (p. 515), sixty-one end in rhyming words of Latin or French origin.

^b Spalding, p. 89.

^c See Marsh, p. 512.

^d An othir quhile the lytill nyghtingale
That sat upon the twiggis wold I chide,
And say ryt thus, Quhare are thy notis smale,
That thou of love has song this morowe tyde?
Seis thou not hir yt sittis the besyde?

the poem is remarkable for the number of Danish words and forms, and for its freedom from French elements either of vocabulary or of idiom. It is, moreover, English in almost everything but spelling; and yet in the private letters of the same period, notably in one written by King Robert to King Henry on the very subject of the young prince, and preserved by Holinshed, twenty-five per cent. of the words are French or Latin. Their dialect, indeed, has all the pedantry which characterised the compositions of many Scotch writers of the following century.

54. It was in this fifteenth century that the ballad of the Northern minstrels arose. The best indeed of our extant ballads,

both Scottish and English, belong to the time of Mary Queen of Scots and Elizabeth; but the latter half of the fifteenth century was fertile in such compositions. One of the most remarkable was the famous chant, which Sir Philip Sidney said that he never heard without feeling roused as by the blast of a trumpet—*The Chevy Chase*. It relates a fictitious event with all historical particularity, and with real names. The fight is said to have taken place in the reign of Henry IV. The ballad was written some time between the days of Henry VI. and of Henry VIII. Hallam justly deems the Scottish ballads superior to the English; and it may be added, that those which were produced in the border counties of both kingdoms had more fiery energy, and are, through the free use of local superstitions, more imaginative than those of more southern provinces. None of our ballads Hallam thinks is so early as 1440, though the story of some of them, as in the case of Robin Hood, is earlier. They are really, in literary history, the successors of the old Romances.

55. The mention of James I. as a writer of English poetry suggests the remark, that the English of the Scottish nation deserves special notice in any history of the English tongue. How the English language came to be

Ffor Venus' sake, the blissfull goddesse clere
Sing on agane, and mak my Lady chere.

The King's Quair, by James I., from his description of the lady he afterwards married. *The Works of James I.*, Perth, 1786.

spoken in the Scottish Lowlands at all, is a question that has given rise to much discussion. The language of the Lothians, indeed, creates no difficulty. Their territory was early occupied by Anglo-Saxon settlers, and it was not till 1020 that it was annexed to Scotland. Even in the time of David I. (1124-1153) it is spoken of as a distinct part of the kingdom; David addressing his 'faithful subjects of all Scotland *and the Lothians.*' But how the language extended throughout the south of Scotland is not satisfactorily explained.

There are, in brief, two theories. Some hold that the Picts were a Gothic race; and that by a subsequent mixture with French elements, the Scottish language arose independent of the English, though similar from the similarity of its materials. This is Ellis's view.^a Others hold that Scottish is only a migrated English, which gradually superseded the Gaelic; and facts are quoted in support of this theory. Malcolm Canmore, it is well known, married a Saxon princess who brought to Scotland her relations and attendants. Many Saxons also fled into Scotland from the rigour of the Norman conquerors; and later still there is evidence in the successive charters of Edgar, Alexander, and David I., that the Saxons had under these monarchs great power, and had at that time acquired great possessions. Hence, the Scottish poets of the fifteenth century speak of Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate as their masters and models, and praise them as the great improvers of 'our' tongue. To this theory Campbell is disposed to adhere.^b

56. Before the fourteenth century we have no Scottish names of any worth in literature. Michael Scot, a native of Fifeshire, was widely known as a man of science or as a wizard; Scot, etc. but he gained his eminence chiefly in Germany at the court of Frederick II., and his writings give him no claim to our regard such as belongs to his contemporary Roger Bacon. Thomas of Ercildoune or Earlston, called also Thomas the Rhymer, has left us no genuine remains from which to judge of the value of his traditional fame. The *Prophecies* ascribed to him are forgeries; and the judgment of Sir Walter Scott that he wrote the romance of *Sir Tristrem*, is now generally admitted to be founded on mistake.

^a *Specimens of the Early English Poets*, chap. ix.

^b *Essay on English Poetry*, p. 118.

57. The fourteenth century, however, has several names of considerable eminence. Among chroniclers, answering to the authors of early English histories, is John of Fordun, a canon of Aberdeen, whose *Scoti-chronicon* brings down the history of Scotland to the death of David I.; the later history down to the time of James I. being written by Walter Bower of Inchcolm.

58. One of the most remarkable narrative poems of this age is *The Bruce* of John Barbour (1316-1396), Archdeacon of Aberdeen. That Barbour himself was a man of influence is clear, from the fact that he was chosen one of the commissioners when the ransom of David the Second was debated, and that several times he accompanied students of rank to Oxford. His poem contains some thirteen thousand lines, rhymed and octosyllabic, and gives, with great clearness and spirit, the adventures of King Robert. The history is in its outline faithful to historical truth, though the author interweaves with it numerous details of pure invention. It contains also some popular superstitions, though generally it records them with what may be called characteristic Scottish caution. Some of the scenes of war and peril are sketched with a bold and free hand, as, for instance, the story of Bruce defending a pass single-handed against three hundred wild Galloway men; and that of the struggle in which the brooch of Lorn was lost. There is, moreover, much beautiful landscape-painting; love of Nature, being apparently, one of the qualities of this poet, as it is of Chaucer and of Spenser. Several incidents, it may be added, of Scott's *Lord of the Isles* are founded on the story of Bruce.^a

- * A! fredome is a noble thing!
 Fredome mayss¹ man to haiff² liking, (¹ makes, ² have)
 Fredome all solace to man giffis,¹ (¹ gives)
 He levys at ess¹ who frely levys!² (¹ ease, ² lives)
 A noble hart may haiff nane ess,
 Na¹ ellys² nocht³ that may him pless, (¹ nor, ² else, ³ nought)
 Gyff¹ fredome failyhe²; for fre liking (¹ If, ² fail)
 Is yharnyt¹ our² all othir thing. (¹ yearned, ² over)
 Na he, that ay hass levyt fre
 May nocht know weill the properté
 The angyr, na the wrechyt dome¹ (¹ doom)
 That is cowplyt¹ to foule thyrdome.² (¹ coupled, ² thralldom from *thir-*
 [lian, to drill])

From *The Bruce*, as given in Jameson's *Bruce and Wallace*, 1820

The Original Cronykil of Andrew Wyntoun (1350-1420), Juror of St. Serf's, near Lochleven, is a history of Scotland in particular, and of the world in general. His genius is decidedly inferior to Barbour's; but his style is animated, and his poems contain many valuable pictures of ancient Scottish manners.

The language of both these writers is much more purely Saxon than that of their English contemporaries. It shows little or no familiarity with French, a fact that is the more remarkable, as a century later, French and Latin words are found in Scottish writers in great excess. As might be expected, the works of both contain a number of Scandinavian idioms and terms.

59. Another Scottish poem that deserves mention is *The Wallace*, written about 1460 by a wandering minstrel, called 'Blind Harry,' of whom little is known. It is written in ten-syllable lines, a verse belonging rather to a later age, and is not wanting in poetic power. Its statements are probably based on history, and some of them that were long doubted have been confirmed by recent researches; it is, nevertheless, largely legendary. It was a modern paraphrase of this volume, long a favourite with the Scottish peasantry, that first awakened the genius of Robert Burns.

Other poems by Hutcheson and Clerk, based upon the story of King Arthur and his Knights, and the allegorical satirical poem, *The Howlate*, by an author named Holland, and formed after the fashion of *Piers Ploughman*, deserve mention as showing the tendency of the themes of English literature, as well as the tendency of its language to travel northwards. All these appeared in Scotland about an age after the subjects of them had occupied attention in the south.

Robert Henryson (d. 1503), a monk or schoolmaster of Dunfermline, is known as the author of a continuation of *Creseide's History* by Chaucer. It is said to be finely versified, and to contain much poetical imagery. He is better known, however, as the author of *Robin and Makyne*, a beautiful pastoral, and one of the gems of Percy's *Reliques*.

60. Towards the close of the fifteenth century much of the poetic language of Scotland began to differ widely from that of

England : first of all in its spelling, and then, in what would now be called archaic forms and idioms ; but up to this time the two tongues did not differ more, except in spelling, than several of the dialects of England itself.

61. Turning again to England, there are two or three prose writers of this fifteenth century who claim notice ; two of them as among the first to use our language for purposes of philosophic or religious discussion, Pecock and Fortescue.

Bishop Pecock's principal work *The Repressor of the too much blaming of the Clergy*, was published in 1450. It is a defence of the doctrines of the Romish Church against the

Pecock. Lollards. Unhappily for himself, the author admits that General Councils are fallible, and maintains that the Scriptures are the true rule of faith. For these concessions he was degraded from his bishopric, and compelled to recant ; the remainder of his life he passed in a convent. His style is not unlike Hooker's, both in its vocabulary and in the arrangement of its periods. In phraseology he shows a good deal of the antiqueness of Wycliffe, using the older and truer forms of *hem* and *her*, for example, for *them* and *their* ; and is in that respect older than the phraseology of contemporary poets. But he is far superior to most of them in copiousness and force.*

Sir John Fortescue, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, flourished from 1430 to 1470 under Henry VI., to whose fortunes he attached himself with great fidelity. He has written a discourse on *The difference between an absolute and a limited monarchy*, with special reference to the English constitution, in which he contrasts the condition of the French nation and that of his own countrymen, greatly to the advantage of the latter. His style approaches closely to that of modern English. Antiquated words and forms occur ; but it is, on the

* 'What proprietees and condiciours ben requirid to an argument, that he be ful and formal and good, is tauȝt in logik bi ful faire and sme reulis, and may not be tauȝt of me here in this present book. But wolde God it were leerned of at the comen peple in her modiris langage, for thanne ther schulden therbi be putt fro myche ruydnes and

boistosenes which thei han now in re-sonyng ; and thaune thei schulden soone know and perceue whanne a skille and an argument bindith and whanne he not byndith, that is to seie, whanne he concludith and proveth his conclusion and whanne he not, so dooth.—PECOCK'S *Repressor* (1450), chap. ii.

whole, almost as intelligible as that of any writer of our own century. In fact, Hallam reckons it as occupying the next place to More's *History of Edward the Fifth*, written in 1509, and *The Nut Brown Maid*, which last, he thinks, must have been written about 1500; and both of which contain 'a certain modern turn and structure which denotes the commencement of a new era, and the establishment of new rules in polite literature.'^a

62. To this same age belongs the collection of *Paston Letters*, the correspondence of a respectable family during the reigns of Henry VI. and Edward IV. (1422-1483). The *Paston Letters*, volume gives a good impression of the state of learning among families of that class. Several members of it write, not only grammatically, but with evident ease, and without the quaintness which modern novel writers generally use when they introduce into their pages the writing or speech of that period. These letters are unique, and they give a very interesting picture of social life of England in the fifteenth century.^b

It is to this century also that Chatterton ascribes the *Poems of Thomas Rowley*. But these poems are now universally admitted to be forgeries; and in fact, they contain what is known to be the style and the sentiments of a later age.

63. Among the most potent of the influences that have affected the progress of our language is translation. In some respects the influence has been mischievous. Foreign idioms *Translations: their influence.* have been suffered to corrupt our grammar, and words have been torn up and hastily stuck into English soil, where they have never taken root, and consequently have soon perished. But, on the whole, translation has wonderfully enriched our vocabulary with new words, besides preserving those already in use, and teaching new combinations of old ones—a process needed in order to express the complex thoughts which foreign writings often contain. Each of these results deserves mention; and they are discussed here because the influence of them was very great during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

^a Hallam i. 312.

^b See *Paston Letters*, republished by Charles Knight.

The tendency of translation to enrich the vocabulary of a language is obvious enough. In our own case, when these translations from classic and French languages were made, the Anglo-Saxon had practically ceased to be a living tongue, and many of its more important words had passed out of use. To express new ideas, the translators borrowed from their authors the words themselves as well as the thoughts, and in course of time these words became naturalised among all classes of the people. This process we have already seen at work in the writings both of Mandeville and of Chaucer.

The second result was even more important. Before a translator ventured upon the introduction of new words, he felt bound to ascertain how far it was possible to express the thought by means of words already in the language. For this purpose he had to examine old literature and popular speech. Any fair equivalent he would naturally deem better than the transference of Latin or French words, which must have been at first quite unintelligible. Hence it is that our best translations record and preserve for future use the whole vocabulary of the language, as it existed at the time they were made. This remark is specially true of books of wide range of subject or of treatment; such, for example, as Pliny's *Natural History* or Calvin's *Sermons*. The former was intended by the writer as a complete treatise upon all the branches of natural science known to the ancient world. The learning of the Greeks and Romans on this subject was not very inferior to that of England in the days of Elizabeth; and Philemon Holland the translator made it his business to put this learning into English. This single volume, therefore, is a comprehensive collection of old English names of things and their visible qualities, of the processes of nature, their causes and results, as complete as a carefully prepared dictionary of material philosophy. The same is true of the early translations of Calvin and Luther, though in theology the process was less important, because of the large number of native theological writings that already existed in the language.

The third result, the formation of new combinations, may be traced in various examples. Sometimes it is seen in the creation of new compounds. Thus Cheke in his version of part of the Gospels uses *biwordes* for parables, *forsaiers* for prophets, *out-borns* for aliens, *moonced* for lunatic, *again buy* for redeemed, *fore-*

come for anticipate.^a Sometimes it is seen in the arrangement of words in sentences, so as to present the thought more rhetorically or more musically. This is the common effect on Hooker and on most of the translators of his age.^b Both results are seen in Pope; whose version of Homer is said by Johnson to be 'rich in happy combinations of heroic diction such as our language had never previously known.' There is a like verbal felicity in the poems of Chaucer and of Spenser.

64. The translations of earlier English writers were made first from the French, then largely from the Italian, and later from Latin and Greek. By the fourteenth century Early translations. most of the old French romances had been 'traduced' into English, and have been already noticed in the history of the Anglo-Norman period. Lydgate (1375-1430?) translated largely from Boccaccio, Chaucer from Boccaccio and Petrarch, and other writers from Latin, and later still from Greek.

65. Foremost among translators was the first English printer, William Caxton, 'citizen and mercer.' Between 1471 and 1491 he printed upwards of sixty works. Many of these were translated from the French, and a few direct from the Latin. Among the former are *The Recuyell of the Historie of Troye*, printed probably at Cologne in 1471; *The Game of the Chesse* referred to 1474, and probably the first specimen of English typography; *The Dictes and notable Sayenges of the Phylosophers*, translated by Erle Rywyres, 1477; *The Boke callid Cathon*, 1483; the *Subtyl Hystories and Fables of Esope*, 1484, *The Mirror of the World or Ymage of the same*, 1481. From the Latin direct he had translated *The Boke of Tullius de Senecute*, 1481; *The Booke of Taylles of Armes*, 1489; and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: while to his press we are indebted for Malory's *Book of the Noble Historie of Kynge Arthur*, 1485; *The Polychronicon of Higden*, translated by John de Trevisa, modernised and completed' by Caxton to his own day; and the poems of Gower, Lydgate, and Chaucer.

Nor is it chiefly the number of works that make his name

^a See Coleridge's *Glossarial Index*.—
Trübner.

^b 'Dangerous it were for the feeble

braine of man to wade far into the
doings of the Most High.'—Hooker.

eminent: their size and importance deserve notice. His *Golden Legende* (1483) contains between four and five hundred pages of double columns, and is largely illustrated with cuts. Dr. Dibdin affirms that, though Caxton did not begin printing till he was well stricken in years, he translated not fewer than four thousand five hundred closely printed folio pages, and that these, if printed in modern fashion, would extend to nearly twenty-five octavo volumes. It may be added that the art was not suffered to remain idle. Between A.D. 1474 and 1600—Caxton to Hacket—nearly ten thousand distinct works were printed in England alone by some three hundred and fifty printers.^a

Caxton speaks in *The Book of Eneydos*, a compilation translated from the French and published in 1490, of the English tongue as very 'unsteadfast, and as having many rude and curious terms.' In his edition of the *Polychronicon* he alters 'certain words, which in these days be neither used nor understood,' and he calls Chaucer, whose *Canterbury Tales* he took great pains to have correctly printed, 'the worshipful father and first founder and embellisher of ornate eloquence in our English.'^b

Though most of these works indicate a low state of learning in England, they show that the language was becoming more vigorous and more comprehensive.

None of Caxton's works, it will be noticed, are strictly religious, though Caxton speaks as a devout man, and is thought to have had leanings to the reformed faith. His work was carried on after his death by his colleagues and successors, Wynkyn de Worde, Pynson, and others.

Caxton's own style, it may be added, is, in Hallam's opinion, really fluent and good,^c less obsolete than either Fortescue's or Pecoock's; but, as he had spent a large part of his life in Flanders and in France, where he printed both in French and in Latin before he undertook any English work, his language contains many French words and phrases. Indeed, his *Game of Chesse* is stated by Mr. Marsh to contain three times as many French words in proportion as the *Morte d'Arthur* of Malory.

66. Among popular translations, one of the earliest was the

^a *Typographical Antiquities*, quoted by Knight in *The Old Printer and the Modern Press*, pp. 143, 173

^b Knight, 146.

^c Hallam, I, 317.

Narrenschiff, or *Ship of Fools*, of Sebastian Brandt of Strasburg.

The Ship of Fools. This work is a metrical satire on the follies of all classes of the community, and was published about

1494. The first translation into English was made by Barclay, and appeared early in 1509. Like many books of simple diction and plain moral it was long popular, and perhaps suggested to Erasmus his *Praise of Folly*. Warton notes that Barclay's stanza is a good specimen of natural English, abounding in felicities of idiom, perfectly intelligible, but for its black letter, to a modern reader.

67. The earliest translations from classic authors were made by Gavin Douglas, by the Earl of Surrey, and by Phaer, all of whom tried their skill on the *Æneid*. Gavin Douglas was bishop of Dunkeld, and completed his translation in 1513, though it was not published till 1553; the disastrous condition of Scotland after the battle of Flodden Field, giving at that time but little encouragement to learning. The translation is executed, in Warton's opinion, with equal spirit and fidelity. The unfortunate Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey (b. 1516, d. 1547), is known in literary history as the author of a collection of sonnets, and of a translation in blank verse of the second and fourth books of the *Æneid*. His sonnets are formed on the model of Petrarch, and his blank verse is taken from a similar metre which had appeared early in the century in Italy. This metre is handled by him with considerable skill, and with an amount of success that won for it the general patronage of both dramatic and epic writers. He also gave special attention to the accentuation of English verse; and in company with Wyat, made the best version of some of the Psalms that had as yet appeared. Phaer translated the first nine books of the *Æneid* into rhyming verse.

It is worth noticing that the study of Italian influenced English versification, but had little or no influence either on our vocabulary or on our syntax.

One of the most voluminous translators of this period was Golding, probably a Scotchman, and the translator of many of Calvin's works. His translation of Ovid (1567) is very spirited and creditable. Warton bestows special praise upon his version of parts of the *Metamorphoses*.

In 1570 appeared Wylson's translation of the *Orationes* of

Demosthenes. It was undertaken at the suggestion of Queen Elizabeth, who was then at war with Spain; and she was so pleased with it that she rewarded the author with many posts of State. He is also the author of an *Art of Logic* and of an *Art of Rhetorique* (1553), both of which have merit. It is he who censures the pedantry of what he calls *inkhorn* terms, and advises men 'to speak as commonly received.'^a In his preface he warmly praises Maister Cheeke, and thinks translation one of the best means of 'perfiting our tongue and utterance of speach.' In 1581 Sir Henry Savile translated part of Tacitus with annotations which were deemed worthy of being rendered into Latin and reprinted on the Continent. He was one of the most learned Englishmen of the reign of Elizabeth.

Between 1516 and 1578 various philosophic works of Seneca were translated by Wynton, 'Poet Laureate,' and Golding. The ten tragedies of Seneca were translated by Jaspar Heywood and others, and published in 1581. Some of these had been published upwards of twenty years before.

The *Lives of Plutarch* were translated in 1579, by North, as most of his writings had been already translated by Eliot and others. North's translation is based upon the French version of Amyot, a circumstance not favourable perhaps to the accurate rendering of the original, but undoubtedly favourable to the grace and naturalness of the style of the translation; Amyot being the true Master of Montaigne and one of the most naïve writers of the French tongue. This work of North's is of special interest, as it is the 'storehouse of Shakespeare's learning.'

Plutarch's *Morals* were translated later (1603), and were rendered into English by Philemon Holland, M.D. He is also the translator of Plinie's *Natural Historie* (1601), and of Livy's *Roman History* (1600). All these versions are made with great care and skill, and form an inexhaustible mine of linguistic wealth.^b

Other translations that deserve special mention are Hill's *Homer* (1581), and Chapman's; Carew's *Tasso* (1594), and Fairfax's (1600). Chapman's *Homer* was printed in 1600, and is distinguished by what Pope calls 'a free daring spirit often exceedingly Homeric.' He deals in compound epithets, many of

^a Hallam, II, 209.

^b See Marsh, p. 554.

which have retained their place in our language. His verse is rhymed, of fourteen syllables, a line that better answers to the hexameter than the ten-syllabled couplet. Fairfax, Dryden reckons with Spenser as one of the masters of our language. Waller professes to have taken from him all the harmony of his own measures. Collins praises his imaginative genius; and Campbell speaks of his version as one of the glories of the reign of Elizabeth. In 1591, *Ariosto* was translated by Sir John Harington (died in 1612), though in very inferior style. To the same age belongs Sylvester's *Du Bartas*. *Du Bartas* was a contemporary French poet, whose principal work, on the history of the Creation, Sylvester, translated. His version is remarkable for compound or rather agglutinated words, and it throws light upon several expressions in Shakespeare as well as in Milton and other dramatists of that age. It is otherwise of little interest, though 'the divine *Du Bartas*,' was the delight of the age of Elizabeth. Florio's *Montaigne* (1603) is a specimen of idiomatic English, and abounds in the quaint humour, liveliness, and learning for which that writer is so remarkable. This translation must have been read by Shakespeare, who uses some of its passages in his *Tempest*. A copy, said to have been his own, is now in the British Museum.

Mention has already been made of the *Travels of Mandeville* and of their influence. To the same class belong *The Fardle of Facions*, a sketch of the manners and customs of the different nations of the world, translated from the Latin, and printed in 1550; *The Decades of the Newe World*, by Peter Martyr, translated by Richard Eden (1553); *The Travels of Vertomannus in the East*, and other works, all reprinted in 1812, in a volume intended as a supplement to Hakluyt. Nor must Hakluyt's own collection be overlooked (1589-1600), though it is not to any great extent a translation. All books of this class had influence in adding to the vocabulary of our speech.

68. More influential probably than any of these were the translations of books of theology. In the sixteenth century, about twenty-five translations of works of St. Augustin were published; about twenty translations of works of Luther by Miles Coverdale, John Bale and others; all the Commentaries and Common-places of Peter Martyr; eight editions of Calvin's Institutes; and nearly fifty other editions of

Translations
of theological
works.

different works of that Reformer. All these books circulated among the learned class and largely among the people; so that though they contained fewer new words than translations of classic authors, those words must have become by means of them more widely known.

69. The influence of these translations from the Italian, French, and ancient classic languages, was all on the side of innovation, and they must largely have affected both the inflections and the vocabulary of the language. On the other side, and in favour of a purer and more Saxon diction, were many of our best writers; the prestige of legal authority, which continued to promote the study of English; and the translations of the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer.

70. As early as 1343, Robert Manning in his *Handlyng of Sinne*, an English version of Grosstete's (or Wadington's) *Manuel des Péchés*, protested against outlandish innovations. 'I seke,' says he, 'no straunge Ynglyss.' Wycliffe, Gower, and Chaucer, were all advocates of pure English, and all aided its victories by enriching it with importations from Italy and France. In the middle of the century Rolle, the hermit of Hampole, in his ethical poem, the *Prikke of Conscience*, expressed the same dread as Manning had expressed: 'I seke no straunge Inglyss, bot lightest (easiest) and communest.' Early in 1529, Sir John Cheke, one of the first and ablest teachers of Greek at Cambridge, wrote strongly in favour of his native tongue. 'Our own tongue,' says he, 'should be written clean and pure, unmixed and unmingled with borrowing of other tongues; wherein if we take not heed betime, ever borrowing and never paying, she shall be fain to keep her house as bankrupt.'^a In 1565, Golding, a translator, who had done much to enrich the language, complained that English in his day was 'driven almost out of court.'

'Dismembered, hack'd, maimed, rent and torn,
Defaced, patch'd, marr'd, and made in scorn.'

And later, Shakespeare levelled his wit against the euphuism of the upper classes, as Rabelais had already done against the Latinising tendency of French society in his day.

^a Letter to Hoby, quoted in Shaw's *Outline of English Literature*, p. 23.

71. In 1362, during the reign of Edward III., all pleas in courts of justice were ordered to be made in English, and, though the statute was not rigidly enforced, it must have had influence in discouraging the study of French and of French forms. In 1385, Trevisa notes that the custom of making children in grammar schools translate all Latin into French had, through the patriotic efforts of one John Cornewail, been discontinued, so that now 'children leaveth Frensche and construeth and lerneth in Englishe.' In 1388, according to Ritson, the English language was used generally in all Parliamentary proceedings, and about the same time Henry IV. and Henry V. made their Wills in English. In a letter of Henry V. addressed to the Company of Brewers in London, he states that 'the English tongue hath in modern days begun to be honourably enlarged and adorned, and for the better understanding of the people the common idiom is to be exercised in writing.' Fifty years later (1483), at the beginning of the reign of Richard III., the statutes were recorded in English. To this last circumstance, Barrington attributes great power in purifying and fixing the idiom of the language.

72. But most is due, so far as the mass of the people are concerned, to the numerous editions and revisions of Scripture. Tyndale's version was published in 1526, and must have been made before our language was affected by the Latinisms which were introduced in large number a few years later. It is an admirable specimen of the power and purity of the English tongue, and exercised as great an influence on the language as did Tyndale's labours and martyrdom on the progress of evangelical sentiment. Upwards of a hundred editions of various versions were issued before the end of the sixteenth century, and this wide circulation of such books cannot have failed to influence the language, especially by checking the tendency of secular literature to adopt a Latinised phraseology. Nor unimportant was the Liturgy of the English Church. It belongs in its present form to the reigns of Edward VI. and Elizabeth; but it is largely Anglo-Saxon in style, and the daily repetition of it by the population both 'lered and lewed' must have had great influence in fashioning the speech and tinging the written language of the people.

73. The influence of our ballads would deserve special mention, if it were not that their grammatical forms abound in licence and in corruption. They are themselves *Ballad Poetry*. strongly on the side of an Anglo-Saxon vocabulary; but their arbitrary variations of grammar must have made scholars suspicious of anything they seemed to sanction, while the uncertainty with respect to their local origin and date makes it impossible to appeal to them as decisive evidence of the state of the language, at any one time or place. They belong, in fact, rather to the history of our literature than to the history of our speech.

74. This large amount of translation implies, of course, the study of the classical languages, and an interest in them, upon the part of the people. This study must itself have had influence upon our language; and a few words may be allowed us on this theme.

To the British Isles belongs some of the honour of preparing the way for the restoration of learning after the dark ages. As *Study of classics* early as the sixth century there was more than a *in England*. glimmer of light in the monasteries of Scotland and Ireland, and in the seventh century, when France and Italy were sunk in deep ignorance, they stood, if not quite where national prejudice has placed them, yet certainly in a very respectable position. Irish scholars visited the Continent, where they were received with great honour, and continental students were tempted to pursue their studies in Irish monasteries.

In England the study of the Latin and Greek tongues was aided by the influence of Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, an Asiatic Greek by birth, sent hither in 668. The Venerable Bede, as he was afterwards called, who flourished in the eighth century, was as eminent a scholar as the world then possessed; and from the school of York, established somewhat later, came Alcuin, a man equal to Bede in ability, though not in learning. By his assistance Charlemagne opened numerous schools throughout his vast dominions. Several hundred schools were also established in England before the death of King John.

In spite of these influences, however, the clergy remained in a very low state till the time of Lanfranc, who greatly promoted the study of Latin. In John of Salisbury (d. 1182), a disciple of

Anselm, we have one of the most enthusiastic students of the great classic authors of antiquity, and he is placed by Eichhorn and Heeren at the head of his contemporaries. The historians of the age of Henry II. are generally good Latin writers, especially Giraldus Cambrensis as Gerald de Barri is styled, and William of Newbury. There is indeed, in that century, evidence of the progress of classical knowledge, and of even refined taste. The study of Greek was patronised by Grosstete, Bishop of Lincoln (fl. 1230), who translated Suidas' Lexicon, and himself read lectures at Oxford.

75. This was the age moreover of those munificent patrons of learning, 'testators,' as Burke expressed it, 'to a posterity which they embraced as their own'—to whom we are indebted for many of our great educational institutions. In 1373, William of Wykeham, Chancellor of England under Richard II., and Bishop of Winchester, founded a school in that city. In 1379 he founded New College at Oxford. Seventy years later (1442), Henry VI. founded Eton School, and King's College, Cambridge, two of the most magnificent, as they are two of the earliest, foundations for classic learning in this country. Within the two hundred years that preceded Henry's reign most of the colleges at Oxford and Cambridge were largely endowed,* and thus afforded great facility for study, while they gave to the universities themselves a permanency they had not previously possessed.

And yet the condition of these seats of learning in regard to the

At OXFORD: University Hall was founded by William, Archdeacon of Durham, in . . .	1249	University Hall, by R. Badew . . .	1326
Baliol College, by John Baliol, father of King John of Scotland . . .	1263	Clare Hall, by Countess of Ulster . . .	1347
Merton College, by Merton, Bishop of Rochester . . .	1268	Pembroke Hall, by Countess of Pembroke . . .	1347
Exeter College, by Stapleton, Bishop of Exeter . . .	1315	Trinity Hall, by Bateman, Bishop of Norwich . . .	1350
Oriel College, by Edward II. and De Brom . . .	1324	Corpus Christi, or Benedicts . . .	1351
Queen's College, by Eglesfield, Chaplain of Queen Philippa . . .	1340		
At CAMBRIDGE: Peter House, by Balsham, Bishop of Ely . . .	1256	To this list may be added:—	
		University of St. Andrews, founded by Bishop Wardlaw . . .	1411
		University of Glasgow, founded by Bishop Turnbull . . .	1450
		University of Edinburgh, founded by James VI.	1582
		University of Aberdeen . . .	1593

conveniences of teaching, and the scholarship of the students, was humble in the extreme. During the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries these colleges were filled, as Hallam puts it, 'by indigent vagabonds withdrawn from useful labour,' and Anthony Wood affirms that they were, very many of them 'varlets who pretended to be scholars, who loved no discipline neither had any tutors.' In the reign of Edward IV. (1461), learning was certainly at its lowest point, nor was the unpropitious reign of Henry VII. likely to raise it. Six centuries before, England had been at the head of all continental nations in learning: now she was at least a century behind them.

With the accession of Henry VIII. came the promise of better times. There was a band of earnest men, Linacre, Latimer, Colet, and More, who were resolved on raising the tone of study in their country. With that object in view, in 1510, they invited Erasmus to visit England, and to teach Greek at Cambridge. The scholars were very poor indeed, and very few. But a beginning was made, though they never got beyond the grammar. In 1500 Colet founded St. Paul's School, and published a Latin grammar; not the first—though the five or six elementary books previously published are little worth. Lilly, the famous grammarian, who had learned Greek in the Levant, was the first master. In 1497, Terence was printed by Pynson, the first edition of a Latin classic published in England; and in 1521, the first Greek characters appear in a book printed at Cambridge, Linacre's Latin translation of a book of Galen's. Three years later, the same author printed the first published book on Latin style, and obtained for it great praise from continental writers, Melancthon recommending the work for use in the schools of Germany.

76. At this time there were in both universities several persons sufficiently skilled in Greek to write in that language, or to
 Grammar- translate from it. But Greek learning was chiefly
 schools. indebted for its rapid advance to two members of the University of Cambridge—Smith, afterwards Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth, and Sir John Cheke. Both were professors of Greek in the university, and by their skill and earnestness, gained great influence. Among the men who surrounded Cheke was Ascham, whose knowledge of ancient languages was shown, not in quotations, but in the care with which he transferred the firm-

ness and precision of ancient writers to his own tongue, in which he is one of the first that deserve to be named, or that are now read. Lectures on Humanity, that is on classical literature, were in 1535 established by the king's authority in all the colleges of the University of Oxford, and pains were taken to enforce a due regard to philological study. During thirty years of the same reign more grammar-schools were established throughout the kingdom than in the three hundred years preceding. By the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth (1558), as Ascham assures us, both Cambridge and Oxford showed the fruits of this extension of learning. At both, the young spring of learning had so revived that there were many good plants vigorous and thriving.

To the same age belong the earliest editions of Latin and Greek lexicons. The first Latin dictionary by Elyot appeared in 1538. The Greek and Latin lexicon of Hadrian Junius, intended for English use, and dedicated to Edward VI., appeared in 1546; but as it was printed at Basle it can hardly be reckoned an English book.

77. One of the results of this study of the classic languages was an increased attention to the English grammar. Up to this time it is not known that there existed any English grammar or dictionary. The first grammatical treatise in the language, so far as yet appears, 'the earliest evidence that any Englishman had thought of subjecting any modern tongue to the discipline of philological principle,' is Palgrave's French grammar, written for the use of the Princess Mary, and printed in 1530. Though intended for instruction in French, it illustrates the grammar by a comparison with English usage. It thus contributes to our knowledge of the grammar of the period, besides having tended to the improvement of our language itself. It is based upon one of the Greek grammars then in use, and did much to introduce the grammatical names of the Latin language into English, and to establish philological principles more in harmony with it. It is an evidence how completely the Anglo-Saxon plural terminations had passed away that Palgrave* forms the plural of adjectives in *s*, and speaks of *verbes actives*,—an example not followed, however, by other writers.

* This book of Palgrave, reprinted at the expense of the French Government, is the fullest English dictionary we have

before the times of Elizabeth. It contains also a large collection of English phrases.

Though no English grammar is known, however, there must have been some grammar in existence. In the middle of the fourteenth century, as we have seen, the study of English was commanded by the King; but no fragment has reached us. Sir Philip Sidney, writing at the end of the sixteenth century even, says that 'English wanteth not grammar, for grammar it might have, but needs it not, being so easie in itselfe, and so void of those cumbersome differences of cases, genders, moods, and tenses; which I think was a piece of Babel's curse, that a man should be put to schoole to learne his mother tongue.'^a Towards the close of the century, however, a brief compendium of grammar was drawn up by Ben Jonson, and was published after the death of its author. It is too short to give much positive instruction, but it shows an accurate acquaintance with the principles of our speech. It is partly taken from classic sources, but refers, for illustration of most of its rules, to the writings of standard English authors of his own and the preceding age. He notes that the plural of verbs *en* was dropping out of use, a change, he tells us, which he regards with regret. Indeed, it may be said, that at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and certainly by the middle of it, the old Saxon grammatical distinctions of cases and numbers had as completely ceased as a century later; the occasional use of such distinctions often creating perplexity, partly because not understood, and partly because the use was guided by no principle.

78. In the sixteenth century some of the influences we have seen already at work, were extended, and others were modified.

The sixteenth century.
Latimer, etc. Religion, appealing to the people by sermons at Paul's Cross, and by popular writings, used generally the language of common life. Latimer (1475-1555) spoke bold truth in plain nervous English, and enforced it by a humour that produced a wonderful impression upon the people.^b

^a *Defence of Poesie*.

^b 'I am content to beare the title of sedition w^t Esai. Thankes be to God, I am not alone, I am in no singularitie. Thys same man that layed sedition thus to my charge was asked an other tyme, whether he were at the sermon at Paulcs Crosse; he answered y^t he was there, and beyng asked what newes there,

Marye, quode he, wonderfull newes, wee were ther cleane absolved, my mule and all hadde full absolution. Ye may se by thys, that he was such a one that rode on a mule, and that he was a gentylnā.—In dede hys mule was wyser then he, for I dare say, the mule never sclaudered the preacher. Oh what an unhappy chaunce had thys mule to carrye

Foxe (1517—1587), the martyrologist, wrote as vigorously, histories of undying interest, and with a simplicity often extremely touching. Cheke^a (1514—1557) and Ascham (d. 1568) each contributed his part. Cheke was long the preceptor of Edward VI., and left behind him a translation of Matthew, intended to exemplify the plan he had conceived for reforming the English language by eradicating all words and combinations not of Saxon origin. He also contemplated a reform in the spelling of English, an idea which has occurred to several learned men, and which seems as little likely to be carried out in our time as in any previous age. His only original work in English is a pamphlet, *The Hurt of Sedition, or how grievous it is to a Commonwealth*.

Ascham was successively University Orator at Cambridge, preceptor, and finally Latin secretary to Queen Elizabeth. He illustrates the purity and the wealth of the English tongue, while denouncing the employment of it for literary purposes. His principal work, *The Schoolmaster*, printed by his widow, contains, besides some good general views of education, what Johnson thinks 'perhaps the best advice that ever was given for the study of language.' His *Toxophilus* (1544), a treatise on archery, is written in a style of English, more pure than any that had yet appeared.^b He strongly urges that Englishmen

such an asse vppon hys backe.'—LATIMER, *Third Sermon preached before King Henry VIII. in 1549*.

^a 'Among so manie and notable benefits, wherewith God hath alreadie and plentifully indued vs, there is nothing more beneficiall, than that we haue by his grace kept vs quiet from rebellion at this time. For we see such miseries hang over the whole state of the common-wealth through the great misorder of your sedition, that it maketh vs much to reioise, that we have bene neither partners of your doings, nor conspirers of your counsels. For even as the Lacedemonians for the auoiding of drunkennesse did cause their sons to behold their seruants when they were drunke, that by beholding their beastliness they might auoid the like vice: even so hath God like a mercifull father

stated vs from your wickednesse, that by beholding the filth of your fault, we might iustlie for offense abhorre you like rebels, whome else by nature we loue like Englishmen.'—CHEKE, *The Hurt of Sedicion*, Lond., 1549.

^b 'As for the Latine, or Greeke tongue, everye thinge is so excellentlye done in them, that none can do better. In the Englishe tongue, contrary, every thinge in a maner so meanlye both for the matter and handelinge, that no man can do worse. For therein the least learned, for the most part, have bene alwayes most readye to write. And they which had least hope in Latine, have been most bould in Englishe; when surely everye man that is most readye to talke, is not most able to write.'—ASCHAM'S *Toxophilus*, preface.

should cultivate the use of the bow for military purposes: but without success, that weapon having ceased to appear in war later than the sixteenth century.^a

Nor should we omit from this list the writings of Sir Thomas Elyot, an eminent physician of the reign of Henry VIII., and author of a popular professional work, entitled *The Castle of Health*, containing many sound precepts on exercise and regimen. He wrote also a treatise entitled *The Governor*, and devoted to the subject of education. The earliest English and Latin Dictionary (1538) we owe to him. Elyot was a personal friend of More, and of Leland, the antiquary. He died in 1546.

79. Among historians, the first place is due to Lord Berners, a favourite of Henry VIII., and the translator of Froissart. Lord Berners was employed for some years on various missions, and was successively Chancellor of the Exchequer and Governor of Calais. His leisure he occupied in literary pursuits. Besides Froissart, he translated *Arthur of Little Britain*, a romance of Chivalry, and other works. Froissart himself lived some time at the English Court, in the time of Edward III., and though the scenes which his chronicles describe, and which extend from 1326 to 1440, are laid chiefly in France and Spain, he narrates many facts connected with the reign of Edward III. and of Richard II. The translation therefore, (published in 1523-5), which is executed with all the freshness of an original work, is a most important contribution to the history of England, and is indeed, the earliest work in English relating to the history of modern times. The sketches themselves are so brilliant and picturesque that they drew general attention to those themes, and formed the commencement of that department of native literature.^b

^a 'Hallam says, that the battle of Pinkie was the last time it was used. If, however, we may trust the language which the old ballad puts into the lips of the 'brave Lord Willoughbey,' it seems to have been used during Elizabeth's wars in Flanders.

^b 'Anon after the dethe of the Pope Gregory, the cardynelles drew them into the conclave, in the paleys of Saynt Peter. Anone after, as they were entred to chose a pope, accordyng to

their vsage, such one as shuld be good and profytable for holy church, the romayne assembled the togyder in a great nombre and came into the bowrage of Saynt Peter: they were to the nombre of xxx thousand what one and other, to the extent to do yuell, if the mater went not accordyng to their appetytes. And they came oftentymes before the conclaue, and sayd, Harke, ye sir cardynalles, delyuer you atones, and make a pope; ye tary to longe;

80. Chronologically there are two original prose histories prior to Berners' translation of Froissart, *The Concordance of Stories* by Robert Fabian (died 1512), and *The Union of the Two Noble Illustre Families of Lancastre and Yorke* by Edward Hall (died 1547). Fabian was an alderman of London, and his *Concordance* is a general chronicle of English history. He repeats all the stories of Geoffrey of Monmouth, and is rich in details of the history of the city of London. His history has been several times reprinted. The last edition in 1811 was published under the editorship of Sir Henry Ellis. Hall was a judge in the Sheriff's Court of London, and his compilation gives the history of the reigns of Lancaster and York, of Henry VII., and Henry VIII. His work is very superior to that of Fabian, and has special interest as having furnished the materials of many of our earlier plays. The style of both is good idiomatic English.

81. Later in date, and flourishing in the reign of Elizabeth, is the old chronicler, Raphael Holinshed. The first edition of his work appeared in 1577; Holinshed died about 1580. The contributors, however, Harrison, a clergyman, John Hooker, the brother of the author of the *Ecclesiastical Polity*, and John Stow, the antiquary, belong to a somewhat earlier period. There is, prefixed to the volume, an interesting account of the state and manners of the country in the sixteenth century, in which is given a brief history of the languages of Britain and their influence—British, Sassanach, Latin, and Anglo-Norman. It was from Holinshed's translation of Boece's description and history of Scotland, that Shakespeare took the ground-work of his tragedy of *Macbeth*. It is generally admitted that these chronicles of Holinshed and Hall both influenced the style of Shakespeare, and furnished him with biographical and historical facts. To Hall he is specially indebted.*

82. This brief notice of the historians of the century may be

if ye make a romayne, we will not chaung him; but yf ye make any other, the romayn people and counsayles woll not take hym for pope, and ye putte yourselfe all in aduenture to be slayne.'

—BERNERS' *Froissart*. Published in reprint of 1812. Given in Marsh, p. 498.

* See Knight's *Shakspeare*, vol. ii., p. lxxx. of *Introduction to Histories*.

fairly closed with the mention of the *Life of Edward the Fifth and Richard the Third*, by Sir Thomas More. This More.

work first appeared in Hardyng's *Chronicle* (1543), and was afterwards inserted in Hall and Holinshed. It is among the best specimens of early secular prose, and the style of the author was certainly largely modified by the study of theological writers. Hallam pronounces *Edward the Fifth*, the earliest book he had read in which he had found no obsolete English. It is also remarkably free from vulgarity and pedantry. The *Utopia* of More, hardly claims a place in the history of the language, as it was written in Latin, though translated as early as 1551 by Raphe Robinson, and later by Bishop Burnet.

83. The poetry of the early part of the sixteenth century is generally more modern in the forms and vocabulary of its language than the prose, and at the same time more Poets: Tottel, etc. purely English in idiom. The writers are none of them first rate, though they are distinguished by qualities that are noteworthy. They are Surrey, Wyatt, and other writers in *Tottel's Miscellany*, the first collection of English poetry by different authors (1557), and in the *Paradise of Dainty Devices* (1576), the second collection; and Tusser, the author of a *Hundredth good Points of Husbandrie*. We may include also the Scottish poets Dunbar and Lyndsay, and the English ballads, though it cannot be affirmed that any of these last are more modern or more English in language than other productions of that age.

84. Both Surrey (1516-1547) and Wyatt (1503-1541) were courtiers of Henry VIII.'s reign. The former is supposed to have incurred the displeasure of Henry, through the enmity of Lord Hertford, and he was beheaded in Surrey, Vaux, etc. 1546-7. The only charge against him was that he had used the royal arms,—those of Edward the Confessor. At the trial it was proved that these arms had been given to his family by Richard II., and had been borne by his father and grandfather. His was the last state-trial of that reign, and the sentence was among the most unjust that even Henry had sanctioned. Wyatt had entertained a secret affection for Anne Boleyn, and died of fever in France.

Both these poets adopted the colloquial dialect of their age, and laid aside many idioms and inflections then common in written literature, and especially common in poetry. Their works became exceedingly popular, and were regarded as models of elegant composition. From their time, the style of the old writers began to be considered obsolete. Chaucer and his contemporaries lost influence, and never regained it even with poets, till Spenser's day; and then but partially.

In *Tottel's Miscellany* and in the *Paradise of Dainty Devices*, are poems by various authors. Lord Vaux (born 1520), Captain of the Isle of Jersey, was a chief contributor to the former. The chief contributors to the latter were Vaux, Richard Edwards (about 1523-66), Master of the singing boys of the Chapel Royal, and a writer of Court Masks, Viscount Rochford, and William Hunnis, Master of the boys of Queen Elizabeth's Chapel. Vaux wrote the lines on *A Contented Mind*, and Edwards the verses entitled *Amantium iræ*.

85. Tusser is the author of the first didactic poem in our language. He was born in 1523, received a good education, and practised farming in the east of England. This business he changed for that of fiddler and poet, and, as might have been conjectured, died poor in 1580. His *Hundreth good Points* was published in 1557, and contains practical directions for farming expressed in simple, but often forcible, verse. The book was afterwards enlarged by various writers, and published under the title of *Five Hundreth Points of good Husbandrie*.

86. In the Scottish writers of this period the peculiarities of spelling and idiom which distinguish modern Scotch appear, and make the study of their works somewhat difficult. Between 1460* and 1520, lived William Dunbar, a poet, says Scott, 'unrivalled by any that Scotland has ever produced.' Even English critics have sometimes placed him next to Chaucer, for vigour and imaginativeness; and he is wanting only in the chivalrous feeling and strong human tone that characterised the Father of English verse. He received his education at St. Andrews, and was employed at the court of

* See *The Works of William Dunbar*, by James Paterson, Edin., 1863.

James IV., though disappointed in his hopes of patronage. A complete edition of his works was not published till 1834, when they appeared under the editorship of David Laing. A new edition has recently come from the press.

His poems are divided into four classes—allegorical, moral, comic, and personal. The *Thistle and the Rose*, a nuptial song on the marriage of James and the Princess Margaret, was long popular, as was *The Golden Terge (shield)*, a poem cited by Lyndsay, as proving that its author had ‘language at large.’ One of his moral poems represents the thrush and the nightingale debating on earthly and spiritual affection; the thrush ending each stanza with a refrain in praise of ‘a lusty life in love’s service,’ and the nightingale with the juster declaration, ‘all love is lost but upon God alone.’ Dunbar’s satirical and humorous pieces are often indelicate.

87. The celebrated Lyon king-at-arms, Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount (1490–1557), was a man of mark in his age, both as a courtier and a poet. He was the friend and companion of James V., and was employed in various commercial missions to Holland, Denmark, and elsewhere. He also represented his native county in Parliament between 1544 and 1546. He was religiously a warm friend of John Knox and of his doctrine, and lashed the vices of the clergy with great boldness and keen satire. His dialect is now antiquated; his narrative is often prolix, and his allusions indelicate. But, nevertheless, his writings abound in racy descriptions and in poetic feeling. With his countrymen he was exceedingly popular, many of his sayings passing into proverbs, and still lingering in the language.

His works were published in 1806 by George Chalmers. The best known of them are the play of *The Three Estates* (1535), a satire on king, barons, and clergy, and the *History of Squire Meldrum* (1550), one of the last of the old metrical romances.

88. To the same period belongs some of the best ballad poetry. Scott’s first poetical inspiration he drew from ballads which he collected and published as *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*. *The Nut Brown Maid* first appeared in Arnold’s *Chronicle*, a book published in 1521, though

the ballad itself is certainly of somewhat earlier date. In Shakespeare and in Beaumont and Fletcher are many fragments of ballads popular in their day, most of which have been collected and printed in Percy's *Reliques*. To James v. we owe several; and among them *The Gaberlunzie Man*. The influence of all these compositions was on the side of familiar English, and they contributed in no small degree to the adoption by writers of a style at once humorous and familiar. Archaic forms gradually fell out of use in poetry, though the people still preferred forms and words homely and idiomatic.

89. Before we can understand all the influences at work in the sixteenth century, special mention must be made of a class

Euphuism. of writers who gained great praise in their own day,

who have had their imitators in every subsequent age, and who have contributed more than is generally allowed to the beauty and vigour of our speech,—The Euphuists. This title is taken from Euphues (the 'well born,' 'the ingenious'), the name of the hero of a tale written by John Lillie. The first part is called *Euphues, the Anatomie of Wit*; the second, *Euphues and his England*. The whole consists of the history of an Athenian, who, in the first part is placed at Naples, and in the second is in England. He reaches our country in 1529, and the plot is little more than a string on which to hang smart sayings, or, as Lillie himself calls them, 'fine phrases, smooth quips, mery taunts, jesting without meane, and mirth without measure.' The characteristics of the style are alliteration and antithesis, chiefly verbal.^a In straining after effect, the writers of this school were often led to enlarge their vocabulary, and to experiment upon all possible combinations of words. The mischief was, of course, that they often became through their affectation ridiculous. Nevertheless, their diction long survived as a repository of verbal

^a 'There is no privilege that needeth a pardon, neither is there any remission to be asked where a commission is granted. I speake this, gentlemen, not to excuse the offence which is taken, but to offer a defence where I was mistaken. A cleane conscience is a sure card: truth hath the prerogative to speake with plainnesse, and the modesty to heare with patience. . . . I know not

what the enuious have picked out by malice, or the curious by wit, or the guilty by their own consciences; but this I say, that I was as farre from thinking ill as I found them from judging well.'—Dedication of the second edition of *Euphues*. See Marsh, p. 545.

There is a good article on Euphuism and its influence on style in the *Quarterly Review*, April, 1861.

wealth, and suggested attention to style for its own sake. In the days of Lillie, all the ladies of the Court, we are told, spoke euphuisms, or were deemed as defective in education as if they had not spoken French. It is but just to add that Lillie's own writings contain a number of shrewd remarks, and some even profound thoughts. There is much tinsel, undoubtedly; but there is also more gold than is commonly supposed.

Of course the style drew attention and excited criticism. Shakespeare has frequently ridiculed it, as in *Love's Labour Lost*; and, it may be added, has occasionally copied it when he did not mean to be ridiculous, as in some passages in *Hamlet*. So also has Jonson in *Every Man out of his Humour*. Earlier still it is criticised by Thomas Wilson, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and one of the earliest critical writers on our language. In his *System of Rhetoric and Logic* (1553) he speaks with censure of the false taste of those who speak of 'Pitiful poverty praying for a penny.' The name of Euphuism, it is worth noting, was long obsolete, and was revived by Scott, who, in his character of Sir Piercie Shafton has exhibited the quality, though in an exaggerated form. (See 'The Monastery'.)

90. Other writers of the same school are Skelton, Stanihurst, and Sidney. Skelton, who died in 1529, was known chiefly as a satirist, and is described by Puttenham in words that Skelton. Skelton himself must have approved, however he might question the application of them, as 'a rude rayling rimer. His English is certainly coarse, but he had a reputation for scholarship, and is *praised* by Erasmus as the '*decus*' of his country. Nor can it be questioned that his pieces display great vigour both of style and of thought.

Richard Stanihurst is best known by his description and history of Ireland given in Holinshed's *Chronicle*. He also published a version of the first four books of the *Æneid*. Stanihurst. but it found little favour with the public. He was a learned man; but failed to impress his contemporaries with any strong confidence in his powers. The best idea of his style, as well as of Lillie's, will be gathered from a specimen.^a

^a The learned have, not without marrow of reason, the creame of experience, adjudged an historie to be the experience, the sap of wisdom, the pith of

91. The style of Sidney, who is one of the brightest ornaments of our elegant literature, is largely Euphuistic, though he is less dexterous and graceful than Lillie in the use of its artifices, which always appear in his hands laboured and unnatural, whereas Lillie seems to 'the manner born.' The following praise is, as Hallam intimates, too strongly coloured, but it shows fairly the influence which attention to style was beginning to exercise on the language. 'The *Arcadia* first taught to contemporary literature that inimitable weaving and contexture of words, that bold and unshackled use and application of them, that art of giving to language appropriated to objects the most trivial a kind of acquired and adventitious loftiness, and to diction in itself noble and elevated a sort of superadded dignity, that power of ennobling the sentiments by the language, and the language by the sentiments, which so often excite our admiration in perusing the writers of the age of Elizabeth.'^a Sidney's *Defence of Poesie* is decidedly superior to his *Arcadia*. It shows the capacity of the language for 'spirit, variety, graceful idiom, and material firmness.'^b It is the 'best secular prose yet written, and, indeed, the earliest specimen of real critical talent in our literature.'^c

In Sylvester the disease of Euphuism assumed a somewhat milder form. In Thomas Fuller and Sir Thomas Browne, physician and philosopher, it is so natural, that it seems less a disease than the flush of rude health. In some of the earlier essayists, as Earle and Overbury, and in many of the Puritan writers whose thoughts are vigorous, it is part of their beauty and strength.

93. One other name deserves mention before we reach the

judgement, the librarie of knowledge, the kernell of policie, the vnfoldresse of treacherie, the kalender of time, the lanterne of truth, the life of memorie, the doctresse of behauiour, the register of antiquitie, the trumpet of chivalrie. . . . The gift is small, the giuer his good will is great: I stand in good hope, that the greatnesse of the one will counterpoise the smallnesse of the other. Wherefore that I maie the sooner vnbroide

the pelfish trash that is wrapt within this treatise, I shalle crane your lordship to lend me either your ears in hearing or your eies in reading the tenor of the discourse following.'—STANIHURST, Dedication of his *Historie of Ireland*, to Sir Henrie Sidneie, Lord Deputie Generall.

^a Hallam, ii., 197, quoted from the *Retrospective Review*.

^b Hallam.

^c Marsh, p. 547.

author in whom all the acquirements of the preceding centuries may be said to culminate,—and that is Spenser's.

With his poetry or thoughts we have at present no concern; our business is with his style only. His poetical works are all remarkable. The *Faerie Queen* is best known; but his *Shepherd's Kalendar*, and his minor poems, will as richly repay study, and they all exhibit the same qualities.

The first peculiarity that strikes a modern reader of Spenser is his fondness for archaic forms and words, archaic even in his day. On a further acquaintance, however, his true excellence appears, and the student is delighted with that rare felicity of verbal combinations, which is unsurpassed in its own sphere by any writer, earlier or later. Nouns have all their appropriate adjectives, and subjects their appropriate verbs; while in the musical arrangement of sentences there is all the beauty that can be secured by an acute ear, exquisite taste, and the greatest skill.*

93. And now we reach Shakespeare's age. By this time old Saxon forms have disappeared. The eight thousand words, that made up our language in the fourteenth century, Shakespeare, have become upwards of thirty thousand, and they are taken from all sources, Saxon, Norman, French and classic. Fifteen thousand of these Shakespeare has used; though many of them, chiefly of Latin origin, occur but once or twice, in his pages. What then is his merit?

Not clearly the extent of his vocabulary, not the creation of new words, but simply the exhibition in words beautifully selected and harmoniously combined of that 'myriad-mindedness' which Coleridge has so justly ascribed to the poet himself, and of those varieties of humanity which belong, it must be added, to such an age as that of Elizabeth, and to such a nation as the English.

* 'Lord Chatham's sister, Mrs. A. Pitt, used to say that "he knew nothing whatever, except Spenser's *F. Queen*." And no matter, says Burke, how that was said, for whoever relishes and reads

Spenser as he ought to be read will have a strong hold of the English language.'—HARDY'S *Life of Lord Charlemont*, ii., 286.

He thoroughly paced our language as to show
The plenteous English hand in hand might go
With Greek and Latin: and did first reduce
Our tongue from Lilly's writing, then in use—
Playing with words and idle similes.'

DRAYTON, *Of the Noble Sydney*

Our tongue is made up, as we have seen, of ingredients as varied as our blood. The true-born Englishman, as De Foe long since showed, is the representative of the most noteworthy ethnological elements of Europe, and our speech partakes of all the vigour, and intensity, and individuality, that belong to our character and origin.

The age of Elizabeth was remarkable, moreover, for many-sided progress in all knowledge, and in all experience. Commerce, freedom, religion, classical learning, internal struggle, fierce invasion, had all combined to develop the intellect, the art, the affections, and the passions of the nation.

And it was Shakespeare's business to express them all. Low life with its humour, middle life with its colloquialisms and self-sufficiency, higher life with its stateliness and taste; play, love, war, policy, all are portrayed, and portrayed in language not distinguished by novelty or strangeness—qualities which would have conferred no honour—but perfect in naturalness and simplicity, in beauty and force.

94. From the period of Shakespeare to that of Milton, three chief influences were at work; the prevalence of Euphuistic taste, showing itself in fondness for alliteration and verbal antithesis; the study of the Latin classics, and the great extension of scientific discovery; and the intercourse of the men of Charles II.'s age with continental life, especially that of France. To the first, we owe the characteristics of the writings of Fuller, of Bishop Hall, of Thomas Adams and other theological writers. To the second, we owe the opulent diction of Jeremy Taylor and Sir Thomas Browne. They use between them at least three thousand new words of classic origin, which have retained no place in our language. In the Scottish poets of that age we find their pages covered with Latin words, torn up, as Campbell expresses it, and stuck in without a thought whether or not they will grow. In justice to Taylor and Browne, it must be added, that they are as remarkable for the exquisite arrangement of their words as for the number of them. Their prose is often as musical as the *Comus* of Milton.

With the restoration of Charles came a large importation of French terms; they invaded the theatre, the court, the intercourse of private life and our literature. Soon after the

Euphuistic
influences.

Restoration Dryden lifted his voice against them, and influenced the public as much by his example as by his appeals. To each of his plays is prefixed an introduction, more or less explanatory of the principles of literary art and of criticism as applied to the drama. Each introduction may be safely affirmed to be of greater value than the play itself.

95. Early in the next century the tide had completely turned. Pure English, pure in its vocabulary, and natural in its arrangement, became the fashion; Addison, Steele, and Queen Anne's age. Sterne, and later Goldsmith, all favouring this change. It has become the custom in some quarters

to depreciate these writers, and even to denounce them as wanting in force and richness. This depreciation would hold true if force or richness were the qualities for which we praise them. They none of them possess the masculine strength of Raleigh or Bacon. In command of language they are all inferior to Taylor and Browne, nor, comparing them with a later age, have they the fulness of thought or the power of utterance which distinguish Johnson and Burke. But it is not these qualities which constitute their value. Their honour is, that in no other writers is there a finer perception of the various capacities of our language, or a more skilful idiomatic use of it for their purpose. 'The art of Addison,' for example, 'is perfectly marvellous. No change of time can render the workmanship obsolete. His style has that nameless urbanity in which we recognise the perfection of manner,

Addison. courteous but not courtier-like, so dignified yet so kindly, so easy yet so high-bred. It is the most perfect form of English, a safe and eternal model, of which all imitation pleases, to which all approach is scholarship, like the Latin of the Augustan age.* Let these qualities be shown on any other theme of theology, or philosophy, with earnestness and vigour and depth, such as the theme demands, and every reader will admire and be won by them.

In Pope, and in Bolingbroke, the St. John of the poet, and the model of Burke's English, our language is more rich; and, as Pope. became the nature of their subjects, more dignified and stately than in other writers of Queen Anne's age. In Johnson this stateliness is excessive, weighed down as it is by

* *Camotiana*, i., 126.

a Latinised vocabulary and a rhetorical arrangement. In Gibbon the French element reappears, though in the less objectionable forms of brilliancy, clearness, and epigrammatic point. In the writers of our own century we have all these qualities combined, the beauties and the faults; with a strong and general preference for Saxon-English. Nor is there any sentiment our language is not qualified to express, nor any theme, humorous, logical, rhetorical, poetic, that may not find in it appropriate utterance. 'The English language,' says Grimm, 'may with all right be called a world-language, and, like the English people, seems destined hereafter to prevail, with a sway more extensive even than its present, over all portions of the globe.'

Further information on the history of the English Language may be obtained from the following works:—

- Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*. 1765.
 Tyrwhitt's *Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, with preliminary Essays. 1775.
 Warton's *History of English Poetry*. 1774. Edited by Price. 1840.
 Ritson's *English Songs*, 1783. *Metrical Romances*, 1802. *Bibliographia Poetica*, 1802, &c.
 Pinkerton's *Scottish Poems*. 3 vols. 1792.
 Ellis's *Specimen of Early English Poets*, 3 vols. 1801.
 Ellis's *Specimens of Early English Metrical Romances*, 3 vols. 1805.
 Wright's *Political Songs*, from John to Edward II. 1839.
 Wright's *Biographia Britannica Literaria*. Vol I. The Anglo-Saxon Period, 1842. Vol. II. The Anglo-Norman Period, 1846.
 The Preface to Todd's *Johnson's Dictionary*. 1818.
 Hippisley's *Chapters on Early English Literature*. 1837.
 Guest's *English Rhythms*. 2 vols. 1838.
 Latham's *English Language*. 1850.
 The publications of the Roxburghe Club, the Bannatyne, Maitland, Camden, and Surtees Societies, and the recent *Shakespeare* publications.
 Madden's *Layamon's Brut*. 3 vols. 1847.
 White's *Ormulum*. 2 vols. 1852.
 Garnett's *Philological Essays*. 1859.
 Morris's *Rolle de Hampole Prick of Conscience*, 1863. Weymouth's *Castell off Lone*, 1864; and other publications of Members of the Philological Society.
 Craik's compendious *History of English Literature and Language*. 2 vols.
 Chambers's *Cyclopædia of English Literature*. 2 vols. 1858.
 Marsh's *Origin and History of the English Language*. 1862.
 Publications of the Early English Text Society, and the Clarendon Press Series of English authors.

CHAPTER IV.

ENGLISH POETS.

‘It has always been our opinion that the very essence of poetry—apart from the pathos, the wit, or the brilliant descriptions which may be embodied in it, but may exist equally in prose—consists in the fine perception and vivid expression of that subtle and mysterious analogy which exists between the physical and the moral world, which makes outward things and qualities the natural types and emblems of inward gifts and emotions’—**JEFFREY**, *Essays*, ii., 555.

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SECTION I.—POETRY DEFINED AND CLASSIFIED.

96. POESY, poem, poets, poetry, are always extremely difficult to define, as the compositions to which they refer are difficult to classify. The relation, indeed, between the words
 Poetry :
 Difficulties of themselves is obvious enough. The poet is the author
 Definition. or maker ; poesy is the art of making, and sometimes the thing made ; a poem is the product of his skill ; and poetry is a general name for collections or parts of such products, or sometimes for the mental quality. But what is the poet ?

Many modern writers consider invention to be the essence of the poet's art ; and the ancients, who, after Aristotle, called poetry 'imitation,' are quoted as favouring the same view. So Elyot uses the word, deeming those who 'make verses—expressing therein only the craft of versifying—not poets, but only versifiers.'^a So, also, Ben Jonson, and Drayton, and Daniel use it. In the same spirit Bacon notices that, apart from style, which is accidental, poetry is nothing but feigned history, and may exist as well in prose as in verse.^b It is on this ground, in part, that Coleridge speaks of poetry, not as opposed to prose, but as opposed to science. 'Prose,' says he, 'has as its opposite—verse : poetry, fiction, creation, has as its opposite—actual fact.' This, no doubt, is part of the truth ; but only part.

How, then, is it to be defined ? From its origin ? Then poesy is 'heaven-bred,'^c and poets, as Horace phrased it, 'are born, not made.' Or not 'heaven-bred' but the contrary, as Bacon notes^d that 'one of the Fathers calls it *Vinum Dæmonum*, because it filleth the imagination ; and yet it is not, but with the shadow of a lie.' Plato seems to have blended these two, first defining poetry as 'the language of the gods,' and the poet as one who writes with a certain divine furor, and then insisting that both poetry and poets should be banished from his model republic. All such definitions, however, state rather whence it comes than what it is.

Shall we define it from its form, and call it 'metrical composition,' as Johnson defines it ? Or, looking at the fact that it deals

^a *The Governor*, b. I, c. 13.^b *On the Advancement of Learning*, Works, 2, p. 119.^c Shakespeare, *Two Gentlemen of Verona*.^d *Essays*, Of Truth.

in imagery, and in feeling, and takes language appropriate to its materials, define it with Whately as 'elegant and decorated language in metre?' Or shall we take into account its matter, the thoughts and feelings it is intended to express, and say with Wordsworth, that it is 'the utterance of emotion remembered in tranquillity;' or with Hare, that 'it is the language of feeling;'^a 'the spontaneous outflow of powerful emotion;' or with Blair, 'the language of passion or enlivened imagination formed most commonly into regular numbers;' or with Sir James Stephen, 'the meet utterance of the deepest thoughts and purest feelings of our nature;' or with Masson, that it is 'creation and imagery in verse;' or with Shelley, that it is 'the record of the best and happiest moments of the best and happiest minds; or with Milton, that it is the 'simple, sensuous (*i.e.*, realising, not abstract), and passionate utterance of feeling and thought?' Or shall we adopt a definition that aims to be exhaustive, and say with Leigh Hunt, 'it is the utterance of a passion for truth, beauty, and power, embodying and illustrating its conceptions by imagination and fancy, and modulating its language on the principle of variety in uniformity?'

Or shall we define it from its aim or results with Horace, as 'what is intended to profit and delight;' with Sidney, as 'the sweet food of sweetly uttered knowledge, lifting the mind from the dungeon of the body to the enjoying of its own divine essence;'^b or with Bacon, as 'the power which gives some shadow of satisfaction to the mind of man in those points wherein the nature of things doth deny it,' 'the power which has some participation of divineness because it doth raise and erect the mind by submitting the shows of things to the desires of the mind, whereas reason doth bow the mind to the nature of things;'^c or with Aytoun, as 'the art which has for its object the creation of intellectual pleasures by means of imaginative and passionate language; and language generally, though not necessarily, formed into regular numbers;'^d or with Macaulay, as 'the art of employing words in such a way as to produce an illusion on the imagination, the art of doing by means of words what the painter

^a *Guesses at Truth.*

^b *Defence of Poesie.*

^c *On the Advancement of Learning*, 2, p. 120.

^d Article 'Poetry,' *Encyclopædia Britannica.*

does by means of colours.'* Or shall we adopt Shakespeare's description—

'As imagination bodies forth
The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen
Turns them to shapes, and gives to airy nothing
A local habitation and a name?'

Or, dropping strict definition, shall we say simply that poetry is 'thought in blossom;' 'truth severe in fairy fiction dressed;' 'the best thoughts in the best language?'

All these definitions are not equally felicitous. Some are even ludicrously defective; but the reader can compare them for himself. Such definitions as those of Shakespeare, Bacon, and Aytoun, come nearest to the truth. Whately's and Johnson's have to do simply, it will be seen, with the form of poetry, not with its essence. Admit their definitions, and 'a poetical mind,' 'the poetical side of things,' 'a prosaic life,' are expressions that can have no meaning.

97. To classify existing poems satisfactorily is at least as difficult as to define poetry itself. Some poems will not readily take their place in any list, and others may be classed in several. On the whole, however, the following will be found to be convenient.

There is—

The EPIC poem, with its allied forms, the heroic, the narrative, the descriptive, the dramatic, and the pastoral;

The DIDACTIC poem, moral, philosophical, or critical;

The LYRICAL poem and the ballad;

The ELEGIAC poem:

And lastly, as belonging to none of these, there are Miscellaneous poems, chiefly artistic or æsthetical, which may be subdivided as poems of fancy and imagination, poems of sentiment and reflection, poems of passion and affection, poems of humour and satire. The reason for this last division will at once appear when we have explained the nature of the rest. A simpler division is into narrative, or epic, or dramatic, and lyric; but the subdivisions under this arrangement become very numerous and somewhat incongruous.

* Article on 'Milton,' *Edinburgh Review*, 1825.

98. The EPIC poem is generally regarded as the noblest of all poetic performances. Its essential characteristics were laid down by Aristotle more than two thousand years ago. Its subject is a great complex action: the action is developed by means of a mixture of dialogue, soliloquy, and narrative. One theme, and that theme an action, with fulness of detail, and dignity of subject and of style,—these are its essentials. Homer's *Iliad*, Virgil's *Æneid*, Dante's *Divine Comedy*, Tasso's *Jerusalem*, Milton's *Paradise Lost*, are all epics.

99. If the theme of an epic is not an action but a hero, it is called a heroic poem. The *Bruce* of Barbour, the *Mirror of Magistrates*, a work of the sixteenth century, that gives the tragical histories of a number of celebrated Englishmen, and in our own day the *Idylls of the King*, are specimens; as are also several of the chivalric romances of the Middle Ages, and among them the grand romance of *King Arthur*, on the closing scenes of whose life Tennyson's poem is founded.

100. In narrative poetry we have all the peculiarities of the epic, except that the same unity of action is not essential, nor does it require in the subject any intrinsic dignity. To this class belong the *Tales* of Chaucer, the *Confessio Amantis* of Gower; allegories in which the moral is not prominent, as in Thomson's *Castle of Indolence*, and many of Gay's *Fables*; the romantic poems of Scott, such as *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, *The Lady of the Lake*; and it may be added Layamon, Robert of Gloucester, and Dryden's *Annus Mirabilis*.

101. Descriptive poetry is generally wanting in definite form and scope. Its theme is natural scenery under its various aspects, landscapes, towns, and the characters and actions of human beings. Drayton's *Polydion* describes, for example, the most noted places in every English county; *Grongar Hill*, by Dyer, Pope's *Windsor Forest*, Thomson's *Seasons*, a large part of the Epic and other poems of Southey, may be placed in this class, as may the *Schoolmistress* of Shenstone, *The Traveller* and *The Deserted Village* of Goldsmith.

102. Dramatic poems are epics suited for acting; and of these we need to treat elsewhere.

Pastoral poems are connected with the drama, because properly the pastoral is the drama in an elementary form. It requires both regular scenery,—the sloping hill with the goats feeding below, or the breezy upland dotted over with sheep,—and various characters—the herdsmen piping or singing, with sometimes their Delias or Amandas by their side. The *Idylls* of Theocritus are the old classic models, and most English pastorals are spoilt by copying them. The pastoral is nothing if not natural, and it is natural only when, as in the pastorals of Burns, Hogg, and others, it represents real life. Sometimes the pastoral becomes largely descriptive, and sometimes it is purely lyrical. Spenser's *Shepherd's Kalendar*, a pastoral for each month of the year, often very beautiful, Drayton's *Eclogues*, and Shenstone's *Pastorals*, are among the best-known specimens. They show, however, that such themes need to borrow from active life, or from philosophic reflection, to preserve them from insipidity.

103. DIDACTIC poems seek to teach some moral, philosophic, or literary truth. Among moral didactic poems are the old allegorical satire of *Reynard the Fox*, with its lessons against cunning and vice, and the *Vision of Piers Ploughman*, against the corruption of the Church, unless both be placed under the head of satirical poetry; and the *Faerie Queen* of Spenser, though this last may be placed among poems of romance or of imagination. Add to these Dryden's *Hind and Panther* and Johnson's *Vanity of Human Wishes*. Among philosophic didactic poems are Davies' *Immortality of the Soul*, Armstrong's *Art of Preserving Health*, which may be said to belong to medical didactics, Pope's *Essay on Man*, Akenside's *Imagination*, and Wordsworth's *Excursion*. Pope's *Essay on Criticism* belongs to the literary department of the same class. If the philosophy is abstract or verbal, without suggesting important philosophic truth, or having a practical aim, it belongs to the metaphysical class, or to the poems of reflection and sentiment, which we have placed under the head of miscellaneous. Donne was the earliest representative of this class of writers in England, and Crashaw, Cowley, and others are included in it.

104. The peculiarity of LYRIC poetry is, as the name implies, that it is suitable for music, either in its tone of feeling, or more

commonly in its quick movement and vivacity. Its essential quality is, that it be the earnest utterance of the heart, generally in moments of joy or of strong feeling. Its appropriate theme is devotion or patriotism, love or war.

The Lyric. Among lyric poems may be reckoned Milton's *Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity*, said by Hallam to be the finest in our language. Many of our best hymns by Steele and Cowper, Montgomery and Conder, Watts, Wesley, and Heber, the Hebrew and sacred melodies of Byron and Moore, are specimens.

Hymns, indeed, deserve special mention. From the time of David downward, they have formed the appropriate utterance of devout and joyous feeling with thousands who have never heard of any other poetry, and who have been indebted to them for some of their happiest hours.

Patriotism expresses its emotions in the Royalist and Jacobite songs of the Revolution and of the Rebellions of 1715 and 1745, in Gray's *Bard*, in Moore's *Irish Melodies*, in Burns' *Poems*, in Glover's *Hosier's Ghost*, in Campbell's *Mariners of England*, and in Dibdin's *Sea Songs*. Love lyrics are found in the old plays, but, in a pure and simple form, are rare elsewhere till later times. Among the poems of Burns and Moore are beautiful specimens of great melody and pathos. Pastoral love lyrics have been written by Crawford, Allan Ramsay, and others. War lyrics are such as Scott's *Pibroch o' Donald Dhu*, Thomson's *Rue Britannia*, Campbell's *Battle of the Baltic*, *Hohenlinden*, and several of Macaulay's *Lays of Rome*, *The Battle of Ivry*, etc. Dryden's *Alexander's Feast* is a lyric of love and of war.

When an epic, heroic, narrative, or descriptive poem is thrown into lyrical shape, that is, when facts are narrated with rapidity, with striking description, with lively or pathetic touches of sentiment, and the whole is told in familiar language, we have Ballad poetry. Of such poems, the Scotch ballads are the best, and next to them are the ballads of the Northern English border. The best are known through Percy's *Reliques of Ancient Poetry*, a very unequal collection published in 1765. Sidney notes of one of these, *Chevy Chase*, that the accents sounded in his ear like a trumpet; and not a few writers have traced to this collection 'the revival of a genuine feeling for true poetry in the public mind.'^a

^a Hallam, ii., 135.

105. ELEGIAC poetry is the utterance of feeling in accents of mourning, or it is the description of facts fitted to excite mourning. Milton's *Lycidas*, and Gray's *Elegy*, are examples of the first kind; Campbell's *Lord Ullin's Daughter*, and Hood's *One more Unfortunate*, are examples of the second. Tennyson's *In Memoriam*, and Cowper's touching lines on *The Castaway* are examples of both; the case of the lost sailor being applied by Cowper to describe his own:—

No voice divine the storm allayed,
No light propitious shone,
When far from all effectual aid
We perished each alone;
But I beneath a rougher sea,
And whelmed in blacker gulfs than he.

For all the class of lyric poetry the reader may find admirable specimens in the *Golden Treasury* of F. T. Palgrave.

106. MISCELLANEOUS poems are such as cannot conveniently be classified under any of these divisions. Adopting a principle sanctioned by Wordsworth, and practically illustrated by Arnold, we have called them poems of fancy and imagination; of sentiment and reflection; of passion and affection; of satire, humour, and wit.

Fancy and imagination have been regarded sometimes as different names of the same mental power, but the second is at all events a more vigorous and a more noble exercise of the power than the former. They agree in distinguishing and exhibiting the resemblances which exist between objects of sense or of intelligence; but fancy deals only with external or superficial resemblances, whereas imagination seeks to disclose the essential and internal resemblances that exist between things apparently most unlike. The likenesses with which fancy is conversant are on the surface; those with which imagination deals are partly in the mind, and are reached after fancy has done her work. 'The sunset of life,' for example, is a phrase of the fancy: the lines of Campbell are an utterance of the imagination:—

'Tis the sunset of life gives me mystical lore,
And coming events cast their shadows before.

Hogg's lines to the sky-lark are full of fancy :—

Bird of the wilderness,
Blithesome and cumberless,
Light be thy matin over moorland and lea !

Shelley's rise to imagination :—

Like a poet hidden
In the light of thought,
And singing hymns unbidden,
Till the world is wrought
To sympathy with hopes and fears it heeded not !

Such is Coleridge's distinction, and it is convenient to adhere to it.^a

Among poems of fancy may be mentioned *The Loves of the Flowers*, and other botanic pieces of Dr. Darwin, the *Nymphidia* of Drayton, and the *Mistress* of Cowley. This last is a collection of amatory poems, full not of affection, but of conceits, that is of fancies where the resemblance is little more than verbal. Among poems of imagination are Milton's *Comus*, *L'Allegro*, and *Il Penseroso*, several of Shelley's and Keats', and all lyrics in which there is more play of fancy than energy of feeling.

107. Poems of sentiment and of reflection are numerous in our language. Those of the former have thought and feeling combined, with so much of both that they are incapable of being reckoned among poems of feeling only. Poems of reflection have thought, but without any obvious moral or a didactic aim. Many of the pieces of Quarles and Herbert belong to this class. Among poems of reflection may be mentioned Young's *Night Thoughts*, and Blair's *Grave*, which is formed on somewhat the same model; Burns' *Cotter's Saturday Night*, a large part of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, and Wordsworth's *Ode on the Intimations of Immortality from the Recollections of Childhood*. Denham's *Cooper's Hill*, which is generally classed among descriptive poems, belongs rather to this class: the descriptions are very brief compared with the sentiment.

108. In poems of passion and affection the feelings of the

^a See also *A Selection of Synonyms* [by Miss Whately], p. 129.

writer move 'at their own sweet will,' without the vivacity of movement or the unity which are required in the true lyric. Pope's *Eloisa to Abelard*, where love and pride and despair seem striving for the mastery, is a specimen of many which may be found in the poets of our own age.

109. Poems of satire, humour, and wit, belong to every age of our literature, and are among the fruits of our freedom. Some of the best writers of satire are really moralists. Poems of satire and humour. They write under the feeling that certain evils are better checked by irony and ridicule than by the direct and unaided action of either religion or morality—evils which are rather below the dignity of law, for which it is not worth while to legislate, or which, perhaps, the law, either of the state, or of religious truth, cannot reach. When men are hardened in vanity or in selfishness, it may be easier to improve the wrong-doer, and it is certainly easier to shame and deter others, by exposing the folly of vice than by dwelling upon its wickedness. Satire has hence been called 'the Lynch law of civilised society,' and like Lynch law it visits those cases only which the higher law fails to reach. In defence of it it may be noticed, that every expression of Scripture that is ironical is really a sanction of satire, within its proper limits and in the right spirit.*

Moral satires are directed against the morals and manners of the age, or against particular classes. Among the best are Pope's *Moral Essays* in the form of epistles, and his *Imitations of Horace*. *The Land of Cockayne* (which belongs to the eleventh or twelfth century) assails the indolence and gluttony of monastic life, and *Piers Ploughman* attacks the higher clergy.

Political satires are written in the interest of a party in the Commonwealth. Of these Butler's *Hudibras* and Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel* are remarkable examples. Sir Hudibras, in the former, is intended for the military Puritan,—

Who built his faith upon
The holy text of pike and gun :

and Ralpho represents and caricatures a lower type of character,

* 'Cry aloud, he is a god;' 'Full well ye set aside the law by your conditions;' 'Now ye are full, now ye are rich, ye have reigned as kings.'

in which craft assumes the appearance of devotion without the reality. It is also worth noticing that *Hudibras* is a satire upon the romances of the previous age, and even in some measure upon the *Faerie Queen*, the headings of Spenser's cantos being imitated in the headings of those of Butler. *The Lillibulero*, a political satire in favour of William III. and the Revolution, and *The Fudge Family in Paris*, by Moore, are among more recent examples.

Besides these two classes there is a third, the purely personal satire, in which the acts and characters of individuals are introduced to gratify the personal feeling of the writer. Swift's satire is often of this class, but is the less impressive in consequence of the reader's suspicion that it springs, not from moral indignation, but from personal disgust with mankind at large. In Pope's *Dunciad* personal satire predominates, as in other *iads* now nearly forgotten, *Hilliads*, *Smartiads*, *Baviads*, etc. Dryden's *MacFlecknoe* is an attack upon Shadwell. In *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers* Byron holds up to ridicule most of the poets of the age. The first two hundred lines of the poem are vigorous, but afterwards it falls off. The injustice he does in this piece to men of undoubted genius he afterwards neutralised by handsome acknowledgments of their merits. The *Parody on a celebrated Letter*, addressed by the Prince Regent to the Duke of York in 1812, by Moore, is one of the richest specimens of this style. All personal satire, it may be added, is open to suspicion, as there is always a probability that the chastisement is not administered with strict justice. The injured man is generally witness, and judge, and executioner, and he is apt to push his indignation to excess. Personal satire is most effective when it censures vice or manners generally, and quotes living men as examples. This is often Pope's method. The victim is then preserved, amid much precious material, like an insect in amber, for the examination of all after time.

Poems of wit and humour are of different kinds. They agree in introducing into the verse words descriptive of real relations between ideas, which relations are not at first apparent. When the relations are between the words that describe the ideas, rather than between the ideas themselves, the wit is of the nature of a pun—the lowest form; but it oftener depends on the form of the verse, or on the thoughts compared. Humorous poems differ from those of fancy as the resemblances described are always

between things incongruous, and they excite, not admiration chiefly, but surprise. Between humour and wit there is this slight difference: humour, besides being genial and somewhat serious, has always a dash of feeling in it—only a dash; if there is more, the poetry excites feeling, and the mere wit or humour is felt to be absorbed—held in solution—by the nobler element. Phillips' *Splendid Shilling* is a humorous parody on the style of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, and adapts his sonorous lines to the gross incidents of common life. Gay's *Birth of the Squire* is a similar imitation of Virgil. In Anstey's *New Bath Guide* we have both a witty imitation of various styles, and a witty exhibition of characters, some of whom Smollett has introduced into *Humphrey Clinker*. *The Rejected Addresses*, by the two Smiths, Horace and James, are imitations of the style of modern poets. Cowper's *John Gilpin* is the popular type of humorous writings; and nearly all Hood's poems exhibit wit, verbal or real, or both. In them it is the wit that strikes the reader, except when, as often, they combine with it deep feeling or noble sentiment.

Let it be noted, once for all, that miscellaneous poems, like most of the others, are classed according to their chief purpose. Let it be noted also that different poets are great each in his own style; and that it is reserved for but few, such as Shakespeare, Spenser, Milton, to be great in several or in all.

110. Already we are prepared to estimate an opinion of Johnson's, that religious subjects are not suitable for poetry, an opinion which he illustrates by remarking of Dr. Watts—'he has done better than others what no one has done well.' Now it is obvious, first of all, that religion reveals subjects of great grandeur and sublimity. It discloses facts which imagination had never pictured, and makes them speak, not to the fancy merely, but to the faith and to the heart. Further, it acts upon the life of men and of nations by consecrating the commonest duties, and giving them a dignity and force of obligation which in other systems are unknown. Apart from all moral influences, it promotes a taste for the beautiful, and cultivates generosity and honour, especially between the sexes. Tacitus notices how the ancient Germans held that in woman was *sanctum aliquid*. All Gothic nations shared this feeling, and Christianity ratifies it. No doubt it has been carried to an

Religion favourable to poetry.

extreme. Chivalry made woman not the companion, but the goddess of man. This excess, however, has been rebuked, and now woman, as the weaker vessel, and as the equal of man, is invested with an atmosphere of sacredness, as favourable to poetry as it is to public manners.

Besides, as a matter of fact, the subjects of the three principal epics of modern times are taken from religious themes;—the master-pieces of Tasso, Dante, and Milton. The finest philosophic poems of our language, Pope's *Essay on Man* and Wordsworth's *Excursion*, are largely religious, though both are, in a religious point of view, very defective. The poems of Cowper, who founds the modern school of poetry, owe much of their beauty and power to their devotional sentiment, and even to their direct religious teaching. The best allegorical poem, Spenser's *Faerie Queen*, has been thought to treat of religious doctrines chiefly, and is certainly tinged with religious sentiments; while many of our best lyrics we owe to the same influence. It is, perhaps, true, that poems on religious subjects do not appeal to as general a sympathy as poems on secular subjects, and that religion is in some danger of being degraded if treated as a subject of art. Both statements may be true. And yet it is no less true, that the poetry which touches the deepest chord of human nature, that which touches and vibrates along all its chords, is the poetry which owes its power to the sentiments and feelings of religion.

'The statement of facts,' says Prof. Wilson, 'destroys at once all Dr. Johnson's splendid sophistry—splendid at first sight—but on closer inspection a mere haze. How far more truly, and how far more sublimely, does Milton, "that mighty orb of song," speak of his own divine gift. "These abilities are the inspired gift of God, rarely bestowed, and are of power to in-breed and cherish in a great people the seeds of virtue and public civility; to allay the perturbations of the mind, and set the affections to a right tune; to celebrate in glorious and lofty hymns the throne and equipage of God's almightiness, and what he suffers to be wrought in his high Providence in his Church; to sing victorious agonies of martyrs and saints, the deeds and triumphs of just and pious nations, doing valiantly through faith against the enemies of Christ; to deplore the general relapse of kingdoms and states from virtue and God's true worship: lastly, whatsoever in reli-

gion is holy and sublime, and in virtue amiable and grave; whatsoever hath passion or admiration in all the changes of that which is called fortune from without, or the wily subtleties and reflections of men's thoughts from within; all these things with a solid and treatable smoothness, to point out and describe."^a

SECTION II.—CHAUCER AND THE OLD ENGLISH POETS.

111. Pope has said that the history of English poetry is easily traced. 'Chaucer, Spenser, Milton, Dryden,' and Pope himself, Poets and their schools. Cowper and Wordsworth, 'mark the road.' They are each the representatives of their schools and age. Chaucer is the poet of the fourteenth century (1328-1400); Spenser of the sixteenth (1553-1599)—the intermediate century, the era of the troubled reign of the house of Lancaster and of the Wars of the Roses, being a blank;—Milton of the seventeenth (1608-1674); Dryden and Pope of the Restoration and of the eighteenth century; Cowper and Wordsworth of the nineteenth. Each represents also a different school, though it is not easy to describe it. Chaucer is distinguished by descriptive power, both of nature and of character; Spenser, by richness of imagery and beauty; Milton, by grandeur and beauty; Dryden and Pope, by vigour and artistic skill; Cowper and Wordsworth, by naturalness, both of theme and of sentiment. But no one term can adequately describe the qualities of each: it is enough, at present, to point out the fact that they are representative men.

112. Chaucer belongs to the most remarkable era of modern times. The darkness of the Middle Ages was passing away. New languages were forming on the Continent as well as in England. Already Dante had excited intense interest throughout Italy by his *Divine Comedy*; Petrarch was, as Chaucer describes him, laureate poet at Padua; and Boccaccio was publishing his *Decameron*, the ten-day ten-tale collection, from which the English Boccaccio was to borrow some of his happiest pieces. The popular reading of France was now the later Provençal poetry, with its amorous and metaphysical mysticism, poetry which Chaucer studied and admired, at least in his earlier career. In Germany, John Tauler, the Dominican of

^a Wilson's *Recreations*, vol. ii. p. 48. *Sacred Poetry*.

Strasburg, was taking his place as the founder of what was deemed a mystical theology, and as the first German prose writer and he was certainly preparing the way for Luther, as was Chaucer for the English Reformation. The English Occani, 'the invincible doctor,' the last, and one of the greatest, of the Schoolmen, was denouncing realism and the reigning pope, from his retreat in Bavaria. Meanwhile Wycliffe, Chaucer's contemporary, was by his discourses, writings, and translations, creating a great ferment in England. He seems to have won Chaucer's heart, and he certainly gave a direction to his studies and muse.

In our civil history the era was one of the most brilliant. Edward III. was then busy building Windsor, had just defied the power of the pope, and, with the consent of his Parliament, had declared the man an outlaw who recognised the papal authority in ecclesiastical appointments, or who appealed to the see of Rome. He was also encouraging the settlement in the country of Flemish artisans, and extending the trade of our English merchants over every sea of Europe. The victories of Crecy and Poitiers had just spread the terror of the English arms far and wide; and during the same king's reign, David Bruce, the king of the Scots, and John, king of France, had been seen as prisoners in the English capital. That the times might have a fitting history, Froissart was now writing his picturesque Chronicle. Such are some of the scenes of Chaucer's age.

113. Geoffrey Chaucer was born, as he tells us, in London.* The year seems to have been 1328. Of his parentage nothing is known. Leland the antiquary, his earliest biographer, says he was of noble birth. Godwin gives reasons for thinking that he was a merchant or freeman of London.

That Chaucer was educated at a university is clear, but whether at Oxford or Cambridge is doubtful. He seems to speak of himself as 'of Cambridge, clerk,'^b but his most intimate friends, Gower and Occleve, were Oxford men. He is said to have entered the Temple as a law student; but at all events we find him at an early age in the public service, and in confidential intimacy with men of high rank. His chief patron was John of Gaunt, who, late in life, contracted a marriage with the sister of the poet's wife. In his thirty-first year he served in the great army

* *Testament of Love.*

• *Court of Love.*

of invasion which Edward III. led into France, and was taken prisoner, but was released at the peace in 1360. In 1367 he was in receipt of a pension of twenty marks a year (or about 200*l.* in our money). In 1372 he was employed as joint envoy in a mission to the Duke of Genoa, and while in Italy probably made the acquaintance of Petrarch, the 'laureat poete' of Padua. He also visited France to treat of the marriage of the Prince of Wales, afterwards Richard II., and Mary, the daughter of the French king. In 1380 he was clerk of the works at Windsor, where he was charged with the repairs about to be made in St. George's Chapel. On the death of Wycliffe, in 1384, he seems to have fallen on evil times. His party lost power, and he himself was imprisoned in the Tower, and deprived of all his places under government. In 1389, when Richard freed himself from his uncle's tutelage, Chaucer was again restored to favour, and received his old position of master of the works, being employed at Westminster. After this he retired to Woodstock, where many of his Canterbury Tales were written. In 1390 he is again at Westminster. Nine years later his name occurs in the lease of a house taken of the Abbot and Chapter of Westminster, occupying the spot upon which the chapel of Henry VII. was erected. In this house it is probable he died, on the 25th of October, 1400. He was buried in the Abbey,—the first of the long array of poets whose ashes rest in that national Walhalla.

114. When Chaucer commenced his poetic career, the old historical romance had lost its popularity, and had been succeeded in France, as well as in England, by sketches of character and life, sketches largely allegorical, and founded on the model of the Fabliaux of the Troubadours or Provençal poets. Chaucer's first efforts were copies of these sketches, and were chiefly translations. Indeed, all his writings bear traces of imitation; and yet he never copies without adding humorous pictures and beauties of his own. He also states freely whence his pieces are taken, and seems quite as anxious to have credit for learning as for creative powers.

To his early life belong *The Assembly of Foules*, *The Flower and the Leaf*, and *The Court of Love*. These compositions of his youth bear marked evidence of the influence of the ideas

and language of the Provençal poets.* *The Flower and the Leaf* was modernised by Dryden. The argument Chaucer himself has given: 'A gentlewoman out of an arbour in a grove seeth a great company of knights and ladies in a dance upon the green grass; the which being ended, they all kneel and do honour to the daisy, some to the flower and some to the leaf;' the meaning of which is found to be, that those who honour the flower, a thing fading with every blast, are such as look after beauty and worldly pleasure, while they that honour the leaf, which abideth when they rot, notwithstanding the frosts, are they which value virtue and enduring qualities, without regard to worldly prospects. The exquisite delicacy of this poem Campbell has warmly praised. 'With a moral that is just sufficient to apologise for a dream, and yet which sits so lightly on the story as not to abridge its most visionary parts, there is in the whole scenery and objects of the poem an air of wonder and sweetness, an easy surprising transition that is truly magical.'^b *The Court of Love* is a graceful, though pedantic, poem of Provençal origin, and describes one of those 'tensons' on knotty points of love, in which the Troubadours were so prone to indulge.

To the second period belong Chaucer's *Dreme* (1360), *The Boke of the Duchess* (1370), *The Romance of the Rose*, and *The House of Fame*. These are all written in the eight-syllable metre. *The Romance of the Rose* is a mixture of narrative and allegory, and is taken from a poem bearing that title, begun by William de Lorris, who died in 1260, and finished in 1310 by Jean de Meun, a witty versifier connected with the court of Charles le Bel. Chaucer translated the whole of Lorris' portion, extending to more than four thousand lines, and three thousand six hundred

* The idea of the *Flower and the Leaf* is taken from the Floral Games which had recently been instituted at Toulouse; and the idea of the *Court of Love* from those Courts which were now so popular in the kingdom of René of Aquitaine. (For an account of these Courts, see *Retrospective Review*, vol. v., p. 70; and Warton, vol. ii.) Comp. Hippisley's *Chapters on Early English Lit.*, p. 121.

^b Carew has all unconsciously, probably, given us the same thought in a couple of stanzas:—

He that loves a rosy cheek,
Or a coral lip admires,
Or from star-like eyes doth seek
Fuel to maintain his fires;
As old Time makes these decay,
So his flames must waste away.

But a smooth and steadfast mind,
Gentle thoughts and calm desires;
Hearts with equal love combined
Kindle never-dying fires—
Where these are not I despise
Lovely cheeks or lips or eyes.

lines out of the eighteen thousand lines of Meun's continuation ; the original being deemed one of the finest early specimens of French literature. The theme is the difficulty and the danger of a lover in pursuing and obtaining the object of his desire. He has to gather a rose, which grows in a delicious garden, and for this purpose he has to traverse vast ditches, scale lofty walls, and force the gates of castles. These holds are all peopled by various divinities, some of whom assist and some oppose his progress.* *The House of Fame* is also an allegory framed after the Gothic models, though its immediate origin is no doubt from the Provençal. It is full of personifications, and extorts our admiration by the richness and splendour of its imagery. It is like the florid Gothic compared with a Grecian temple or a Roman amphitheatre. It was modernised by Pope.

The poems of the third period are *Troilus and Cressida*, *The Knight's Tale*, or *The Love of Palamon and Arcite*, and probably others of the Canterbury Tales. Both show the influence of Italian reading. The former is a free translation of the *Filostrato* of Boccaccio, and the latter of the *Theseide* of the same author. *Troilus* contains many historical anachronisms : Cressida, for example, who lives in the era of the Trojan war, is a lady of modern chivalry. She reads the Thebaid of Statius, a favourite book of Chaucer's ; and Troilus is comforted by arguments on predestination taken from Bradwardine, an eminent theologian and contemporary of the poet's. The poem has a very unwelcome theme, but it contains touches of nature that reach all hearts.

In all these poems it may be noted that a remarkable fondness for natural beauty is evident. The song of birds, the sound of the falling rain, the light chequering the green glades of the forest,—these are his delight, and form no small part of the charm of 'our Father Chaucer,' as Gascoigne calls him :—

Sound of vernal showers
Or of twinkling stars—
Rain-awakened flowers ;
All that ever was
Joyous and clear and fresh, thy music doth surpass.

SHELLEY

In the works of the fourth period, *The Legende of Good Women*,

* Warton.

The Canterbury Tales and their Prologues, *The Astrolabie* (1391), and *The Testament of Love*, we see the full power of Chaucer's genius. In the *Legende of Good Women*, the author makes amends for the reflections which in former works he had cast upon woman's truth and consistency. Nearly all his earlier works are mentioned in it. The *Astrolabie*, and the *Testament of Love*, are prose works, as are two of the *Canterbury Tales*, the Tale of Melibœus and the Parson's Tale. The *Astrolabie* is a treatise on astronomy written in 1391, for the use of Chaucer's second son Louis. The *Testament of Love* is an imitation of the work of Boethius, and is divided into three parts. In the first Love bequeaths instructions to her followers, whereby they may know the causes of cross fortune, etc. In the second she teaches of God, as also of the state of grace and glory. The third is a discussion on free will and necessity, in which the doctrine of Augustine is expounded and enforced.

The *Canterbury Tales* are the chief foundation of Chaucer's fame. As a whole they belong to the latest period of his life, when his insight into character was most perfect, and while his imagination combined the ripeness of age with the vigour of youth. The style of these tales and the subjects of them were no doubt suggested by the *Decameron* of Boccaccio. That volume consists of a hundred tales divided into ten decades, each decade occupying a day in the telling. They were told to a party of young 'men and maidens,' who had shut themselves up in a beautiful retreat on the Arno, to escape the plague which was then ravaging Florence: a sad framework. The *Canterbury Tales* originate more felicitously. They are supposed to be told during a pilgrimage to the tomb of A'Becket at Canterbury. The company consist of thirty-two persons, of whom one, the host of the 'Tabard,' in Southwark, is made guide and chief. Nothing can be finer than the genial spirit in which Harry Bailey, the host, exercises his authority. He is to tell no tale himself, but is to be judge of those told by the rest, and to honour the best poet with a supper at the hostelry on their return. If the scheme announced in the prologue (that each pilgrim should tell one tale in going and another in returning) had been carried out, we should have had sixty-two tales. In fact, there are but twenty-four, two of which are in prose. One of these is told by Chaucer, and a third by the 'Chanounes Yemman,' who is not of the original

party. The occasion is thus rather joyous than solemn. It has certainly no mournful associations, and it enables the writer to select characters from all classes, and to show off the humours and the oddities of the company thus assembled. Though not complete, it contains more than seventeen thousand lines, and is therefore longer than the *Iliad*, and nearly twice as long as *Paradise Lost*. A mere list of the pilgrims would give an inventory of English society as it existed in that day: while as his sketch is thrown off, the daily life of each seems to pass before us. There is a Knight 'brave in battle, wise in council,' with his son, a young squire, a perfect specimen of the damoyseau, the 'young master,' or 'bachelor,' of noble families,—and both are described in the poet's best strain of romantic fancy. They are attended by a Ycoman or retainer, whose 'long bow' and 'brown visage' must have had many models in Chaucer's age. After the knight in rank comes a Frankelein, or country gentleman, justice of the peace, and knight of the shire, in whose house 'it snowed of mete and drink.' The peasantry are represented by a Ploughman, or farmer, kindly drawn; a Miller, brawny, short, red-haired, and quarrelsome, with rough satirical humour; the Reve, or bailiff, a careful manager of his master's property, and able to assist his lord 'and lend him of his owen good.' There is also a large group of ecclesiastical personages, at whose expense the poet indulges his shrewd humour without let or hindrance. Among them is the Prioress, a lady of noble birth and delicate feeling, full of pretty affectations. She is attended by a nun and three priests. The Monk comes next, and is described with strong touches of ridicule, though he is a man still, with much about him that all feel to be *human*. He is the original of Scott's Abbot of Jorvaulx, in *Ivanhoe*. Contrasted with him is the Frere, or Mendicant Friar, whose easiness of condition, skill in extracting gifts and gay talk, are very graphically described. Later on we find a Sompnour, or Summoner of the Church courts, whose face is fiery red and covered with pimples, and who will let any man set aside the decisions of the Archdeacon's court 'for a quart of wine.' With him is yoked a Pardonere, or seller of indulgences, who sings a good song, dresses in the fashion, has eyes wide and staring like those of a hare, and has a large collection of relics for sale. And lastly, among church retainers, may be named a poor secular priest, who matches the

Ploughman in simplicity, virtue, and evangelical purity; and in both pictures we see distinctly Chaucer's sympathy with the doctrines of the Reformation. The learning of the age has three representatives—the Clerke of Oxenforde, whose horse is 'as leane as a rake,' whose clothes are threadbare, and who spends on books all the gold he can collect from his friends; he has all the bashfulness and pedantry, the sententious morality and formal politeness of the scholar; the Serjeant of the Lawe, who is plainly dressed, as befits a man of substance, very busy, but still proud 'to seem busier than he is;' and the Doctour of Phisike, a great astronomer, who 'studied everything but his Bible,' and who deemed 'gold in phisike a great cordiale!' The trading and manufacturing part of the community furnish several pictures. Their aristocracy contains the Merchant, a grave and formal personage, who is strongly in favour of granting the king a subsidy to defend the sea, and who wears 'a Flaundrish beaver hat.' With him may be placed, though she comes later in the tale, the Wife of Bath, described with keenness inimitable. She represents the female bourgeoisie of Chaucer's day. The group from lower life is made up of the Haberdasher, Carpenter, Webber (weaver), Dyer, and Tapiser, with the Cook whom they had brought to attend them, and who well knew a 'draught of London ale.' There were, besides, a Shipman, or mariner, and a Manciple, or purveyor of one of the Inns of Court. These, with the host and the poet, are the world-famous Canterbury Pilgrims. They form the true national portrait gallery of that fourteenth century. 'After four hundred years have closed over the mirthful features which formed the living originals of the poet's descriptions, his pages impress the fancy with the momentary credence that they are still alive.'^a

The tales themselves it is impossible to epitomise. It may be noticed generally that the following deserve special attention. The Prologue and the conversations which introduce the tales are all characteristic, and many of them are very beautiful. They add inexpressibly to the vivacity and naturalness of the story. The character of the Parson in the Prologue is the origin of Dryden's 'good priest,' and may have suggested Goldsmith's 'passing rich on 40*l.* a year,' as well as Cowper's well-known description of

^a Campbell. *Specimens*.

the true minister. The Knight's Tale, which gives the story of Palamon and Arcite, is full of

Tourney and enchantments drear,
Where more is meant than meets the ear.

The story of Griselda exhibits a model of womanly and wifely confidence and patience. The Squire's Tale induced Milton to place its author with Plato and Shakespeare, and his favourite Euripides: wishing to

Call up him that left half told
The story of Cambuscan bold.

The Rime of Sir Thopas ridicules the fantastical tales of chivalry, and is written in the metre of the Trouvères; the host showing the author's real taste by asking the poet to give no more of that 'drafty^a rhyming.' The prose story of Melibœus is a collection of moral reflections, loosely strung together, on the forgiveness of injuries; and the Parson's Tale is a long sermon on penance. This sermon, some have thought, was written to pacify the priests after the author had attacked them so roughly; but there is reason to think that he was not a man likely to yield to any such considerations. John Foxe says of him with apparent truth, 'He no doubt saw in religion as much as even we do now, and uttereth it in his workes no lesse, and seemeth to be a right Wiclevian, or else was never any.'^b

The tone of these different tales changes from grave to gay, from the most familiar reality to the highest flight of fancy, from pathos the most touching to positive licentiousness, from broad humour to the noblest Christian sentiment. Many of the comic tales, it must be added, are too indelicate for modern reading. The only defence of them is that they are not worse than many of the respectable pieces of that and even of a later age.^c

^a Worthless, dirty: from Anglo-Saxon *Draff*, thrown away as not fit to eat.

^b Chaucer's early toil
Founded the Muses' empire in our soil.
Spenser improved it with his painful
hand,

But lost a noble muse in faerie land.
Dr Chatwood (Dean of Gloucester in
1707, and died 1720), *To the Earl of*

Roscommon on his *Essay on Translated Verse*.

Thomson calls Chaucer the 'laughing sage,' but speaks of his 'native manners-painting verse as well moralized and as shining through the Gothic cloud of time and language.'

^c 'I take increasing delight in Chaucer. His manly cheerfulness is es-

His excellences have been enumerated by Warton, Campbell, Hazlitt, and a host besides. 'In elevation and elegance, in harmony and perspicuity of versification, he surpasses his predecessors in an infinite proportion: his genius was universal, and adapted to themes of unbounded variety. His merit was not less in painting familiar manners with humour and propriety, than in moving the passions, and in representing the beautiful or the grand objects of nature with grace and sublimity.* The strokes of his pencil always tell. He dwells only on the essential; yet, as he never omits any material circumstances, he is prolix from the number of points on which he touches, . . . and is sometimes tedious from the fidelity with which he adheres to his subject, as other writers are from the frequency of their digressions from it. . . . His metaphors, which are few, are not for ornament but use, and as like as possible to the things themselves. . . . There were none of the commonplaces of poetic diction in his day, no reflected lights of fancy, no borrowed roseate tints. He was obliged to inspect things for himself, to look narrowly and almost to handle the object; as in the obscurity of morning, we partly see and partly grope our way. The picturesque and the dramatic are in him closely blended together, and hardly distinguishable; for he principally describes external appearances as indicating character, as symbols of internal sentiments.^b

115. Chaucer is not only the poet of his age; he is the centre figure of the whole period of three hundred years, between the earliest specimens of English (1250) and the reign of Elizabeth (1558). His contemporaries, who belong also to an earlier age, were Langlande, whose *Vision* was published when Chaucer was about thirty-four years old, and had already written his *Court of Love*; Langlande's poem being addressed to a lower class than those whom Chaucer sought to reach, a class almost purely Saxon: Lawrence Minot, whose ten military ballads commemorate the victories of the

pecially delicious to me in my old age. How exquisitely tender he is, and yet how perfectly free from the least touch of sickly melancholy or morbid drooping.'—COLERIDGE'S *Table Talk*.

* Warton's *History of English Poetry* § xviii.

^b Hazlitt's *Lectures on the English Poets*, p. 46.

reign of Edward III. (1332-1352): and Rolle, the Hampole Hermit, seventeen of whose devotional pieces are published in Ritson's *Biographia Poetica*. To the same age belong some of the older metrical romances given in Ritson, of which *La Bone Florence* is a good specimen. Earlier still are the rhyming chronicle of de Brunne (1339), and the ancient ballads of *Randal, Earl of Chester*, and *Robin Hood*, both of which heroes are ascribed to the middle of the previous century, while the ballads written upon them are said by Langlande to have been better known to the priests than their Paternoster. These ballads are not now extant, the present ballad of *Robin Hood* being of later origin. Before Brunne, flourished Robert of Gloucester, whose *Rhyming Chronicle* was finished about 1280. Layamon's version of Wace's *Metrical Chronicle* appeared in 1185. These have been noticed already at length; and further back we need not go.

There were also writers of another class, as Adam Davie, who lived in the reign of Edward II., and who wrote *Visions in Verse*. Ellis gives also specimens of love songs not destitute of beauty or of feeling. *The Land of Cockayne* satirises the luxury of the Church, and various pieces published by Ritson in his *Ancient Songs*, and by Wright in the *Political Songs of England*, speak with great freedom of public affairs.

But none of these can be compared with Chaucer. By a single bound he takes at once and beyond dispute the first place.

'The ancient and moral Gower'^a might have been included in the above list, as one of Chaucer's predecessors, for he was somewhat older than Chaucer, and he had written poetry in French before Chaucer had published any of his pieces. But he began later than Chaucer to cultivate the English tongue. His *Confessio Amantis*, the only work by which he is known as an English poet, did not appear till 1393. It is extended to thirty thousand lines, and contains all that constituted the knowledge of that age. In it, moreover, the virtues and vices are allegorised, yet in such a way as never makes truth poetical or impressive. Nevertheless the work has frequently been reprinted, and Gower is generally spoken of by contemporaries, both Scottish and English, with great admiration, an honour he must have owed largely to his personal qualities. His other pieces are the *Speculum Meditantis*, in

^a 'O moral Gower' is Chaucer's description of him, as given in his dedication of *Troilus and Creseide*.

French rhymes, and in ten books, wherein he describes the nature of virtue and vice, with many reflections, and the *Vox Clamantis*, in Latin elegiacs, in seven books, wherein is given the history of Wat Tyler's insurrection. Both exist only in manuscript, and have never been published.

116. The hundred and fifty years that followed the death of Chaucer are comparatively barren. Warton compares Chaucer to a premature spring day, such as we often find in our climate, and which is succeeded by weeks of storm and frost. Nor is it difficult to account for this fact.

The poets of the fifteenth century.

During the fifteenth century our history is a record of little but bloodshed and war. One half of the nobility and gentry are said to have perished on the scaffold or in battle, and the spirit of the people was so brutalised, that there was in no rank encouragement for genius or learning. Not less mischievous was the spirit of religious persecution that was now aroused. In return for the help which Henry IV. received from the clergy, he armed them with the power of the sword, and they used it to put down freedom of inquiry, and, if possible, of thought. There have been times, indeed, when internal commotion sends men of genius to their books and study. Even wit and poetry have in some instances flourished side by side with ferocious bigotry, under the same government, or on the same spot. Jeremy Taylor and Joseph Hall and John Milton are examples of the first. Cervantes and Dante and Bunyan are examples of the second. But such examples are rare, and can be accounted for only from the force of genius, or from the uncommon advantages some of those men enjoyed, in spite of tyranny and suffering.

Yet the fifteenth century was not without redeeming qualities. It could boast, as we have seen, a Fortescue, 'though he wandered an exile unprotected by the very constitution which he explained and extolled in his writings.' It witnessed the foundation of many colleges at both the universities. It can enumerate, as Ritson has shown, as many as seventy poets, though none of them are of great name. Of these Occleve, and Lydgate, the author of at least two hundred and fifty poems, were the nearest to Chaucer. The latter indeed, is the most remarkable versifier of the century. Barbour and James I., Hawes, the author of the *Pastyme of Pleasure*, Barclay,

the author of the earliest eclogues in our language, and Skelton, whose chief work, *The Croune of Laurel*, is an imitation of Chaucer's *House of Fame*, come later, and can hardly claim attention, except from the student of our language, or from the antiquary.

With the accession of Henry VII. begins a brighter era. The title to the throne is now settled. The light of the art of printing may be presumed to shine more steadily in the midst of a quieter atmosphere. The great discoveries of navigation promote intercourse between the nations of the earth. England has welcomed Erasmus, has commenced the systematic study of the ancient classic languages, has produced More and Tyndal. Scholastic philosophy is waning; the study of the Bible is begun; from Italy has been reintroduced the study of lyrical poetry; and under Wyat and Surrey, Italian models have become as influential as they had previously been in the days of Chaucer.

117. Most of these names we have noticed elsewhere: that of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, deserves further mention.

To him (1516-1547) our literature is under great obligation. For vigour and originality, indeed, he is not superior to many poets who are now forgotten; but his refinement and taste, his foreign studies, his unhappy end, have combined to create interest on his behalf.

His chief works consist of sonnets and other poems of a lyrical kind, and of a translation of the second and fourth books of the *Æneid*. His poems are all formed on Italian models. His sonnets were the first in our language, and they began a form of poetry which has been in use from his age to our own. It is thought, also, that his familiarity with Petrarch's works suggested to Spenser the study of the great epic of Tasso. To Surrey's *Æneid* we owe our English blank verse. This, also, he took from an Italian origin, a similar metre having appeared early in the century.

118. In the reign of Edward VI. the effect of the Reformation was felt in a somewhat new way. Then flourished Sternhold and Hopkins, who, with good intentions but bad taste, 'degraded the spirit of Hebrew psalmody by flat and homely phraseology; and, mistaking vulgarity for simplicity,

turned into bathos what they found sublime.^a This criticism, though true of most of the translations, is too sweeping: some of them hold their place in our collections, and are very fine. They were aided in this work by Clement Marot, who translated some of the Psalms into French; by Whittingham, the editor of the Geneva New Testament; and by John Norton, the lawyer, of whom we shall hear again. The collection appeared in 1562. Some of the most polished versions of Psalms in that age had been made some years before by Wyat and Surrey.

119. Two or three other writers demand notice before we reach the age of Spenser. Of these Thomas Sackville, better known as Lord Buckhurst and Earl of Dorset, is one
 Mirror of
 Magistrates. of the chief. His work is entitled *The Mirror of Magistrates*, and is a large collection of separate poems, celebrating unfortunate but illustrious men who figure in English history. It was intended to include a series from the Conquest to the end of the fifteenth century, but part only of this plan was completed. Sackville himself supplied only the *Induction*, and *The Complaint of Henry, Duke of Buckingham*, and these were not inserted in the first edition, as Sir E. Brydges has shown. The rest was written by Baldwynne, an ecclesiastic, Ferrers, a lawyer, Churchyard, a voluminous verse writer, and Phaer, the translator of part of the *Æneid*. The book was begun in Mary's reign, though not published till Elizabeth's, and Campbell suggests that Sackville's own spirit was influenced by the horrors of that age. It is certain that his work is tinged with despondency. The plan is striking. The poet is musing sadly, in the depth of winter, over nature's decay and man's infirmity: Sorrow appears to him in bodily form, and leads him into the world of the dead: within the porch of that dread abode is seen a terrible group of shadowy forms, among whom are Remorse, Revenge, Miscry, Care, Sleep, War, and Death; these are the rulers and peoples of the realms below: when the dark lake of Acheron has been crossed, the ghosts of the mighty and unfortunate dead stalk past in solemn procession.^b The tale furnished hints for poems which we shall meet hereafter, and even Spenser is said to have been indebted to it for many of his thoughts. It is certainly a link, as Hallam remarks, which unites the school of Chaucer and Lydgate with the author of the *Faerie Queen*.

^a Campbell, *Essay on English Poetry*, vol. ii.

^b Spalding, 182.

120. Inferior names are those of John Harington (1534-1582), who wrote some pleasing verses which were published in the *Nugæ Harington, Antiquæ* (Parks edition, 1804); Arthur Brooke, Brooke, etc. whose tragical history of *Romeus and Juliet* was translated freely from the Italian, and furnished the groundwork of Shakespeare's drama; and George Gascoigne (1540-1577), who is one of our earliest dramatists and satirists. He was successively law student, and, when disinherited by his father, soldier under the Prince of Orange, last of all poet under Elizabeth, whom he accompanied to Kenilworth, supplying part of the poetical entertainment with which Dudley welcomed the queen to that noble seat. His poem, *The Steel Glass*, is written in blank verse. In another poem, composed in *ottava rima* measure, and extending over two hundred and seven stanzas, he describes scenes in the Dutch war, and gives personal adventures and quaint reflections of his own.

The only other class of poetic composition between the beginning of the sixteenth century and Spenser, are the early attempts in the regular drama which preceded the appearance of Shakespeare, and the collection published in *Tottel*.

121. The reign of Elizabeth is the Augustan age of our literature, an honour it owes to the freshness and force of the life which then began to beat freely throughout the nation. The intellect of the people had been engaged in a struggle for liberty and religion. 'It had had time to repose, but not to be enfeebled: it now started on its race, glowing, indeed, from the arena, but not weakened, its muscles strong with wrestling, but not exhausted.'

The sagacity of Elizabeth gave wide scope for the exercise of these powers. In the second year of her reign she concluded a peace with France, and devoted her energy to the government of her kingdom, and the improvement of the condition of the nation. Men began to trade, and to build, and to seek lands 'Westward Ho!' for new commerce. With leisure for thought, and with wealth for the cultivation of taste, they encouraged genius, and soon formed a literature that made the age world-famous.

Among many influences at work there were two that deserve special notice, not as creating literary energy, but as directing it. There had been handed down from early times a chivalrous

Gothic literature,—the old romances and allegorical tales which Chaucer and Sackville had copied; and there was springing up, in connection with the revival of learning, a love of classic models. Warton notes that, whenever Elizabeth visited a country town, the whole pageant was a Pantheon; when she entered the hall of one of her nobility, she was saluted by the Penates, and shown to her chamber by Mercury; at dinner Ovid's *Metamorphoses* were illustrated in confectionary, while the *Siege of Troy* was repeated in the iceing of the plum cake. This is a specimen of the classical influence. If with this sketch we compare Gascoigne's poem on the *Princely Pleasures of Kenilworth*, or Scott's *Kenilworth*, or the general descriptions given in Hall* and Holinshed, it will be seen that the romance element was as mighty as the classical. King Arthur was as frequently present as Venus; and both were made to appear without any misgiving in the same scenes. The earliest poets of the period—Sidney and Spenser—however, are friends of the old Gothic chivalrous romance. Chivalry, indeed, as a social system, had long ceased in England. Still the memory of it gave a tone to the manners of the court and of the upper classes. With a maiden queen fond of personal attachments, and with such knightly spirits as Raleigh and Essex, it is not difficult to understand how the essential principles of chivalry 'high thoughts in a heart of courtesy,' as Sidney called them, found ready utterance.

122. Sidney was born in 1554, and was educated at Oxford and Cambridge, where he gave proofs of unusual shrewdness and power. After spending three years on the Continent, Sidney, his life and works. he returned in 1575 to England, and became one of the ornaments of the court of Elizabeth. Through some court quarrel he retired to the seat of his brother-in-law, at Wilton, and there composed a heroic romance, to which he gave the title of the *Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*. It was not published till 1590, four years after his death. His next work was *The Defence of Poesie*, in which he answers the objections brought against the poetic art, in a tract remarkable for the beauty of its style, and the general correctness of its reasoning. In 1585 he was named one of the candidates for the crown of

* See a good example quoted by Froude, *England*, vol. i., pp. 461-6.

Poland, but the queen interposed obstacles, 'being unwilling,' as it is said, 'to lose the jewel of her times.' In the following year, when she resolved to send help to the Protestants of the Netherlands, Sidney joined the troops as a general of horse, and fell at the battle of Zutphen. When he was carried from the field, there occurred the well-known incident, in which he handed the cup of water he was about to put to his lips to a wounded soldier with the remark, 'Thy necessity is greater than mine.' He died in the thirty-second year of his age, and was buried in St. Paul's. His chivalrous magnanimity, the grace of his manners, the purity of his character, the refinement of his taste, won him esteem and love wherever he was known.

His poetry is generally cold and affected, though some of his sonnets are not unworthy of Petrarch. His claim to this notice rests chiefly on his *Arcadia*, a somewhat tedious collection of romantic incidents, narrated in prose, with pieces of verse interspersed, in imitation of the writer's Italian models. It had immense popularity: Shakespeare has in numberless places imitated its scenes and diction, and above all is indebted to it for some of his finest female characters; Shirley, Beaumont, and Fletcher used it as their text-book; Waller and Cowley copied it; Temple thought it 'true poetry;' and to Sidney's own age it served as a complete 'academy of compliments.'

Horace Walpole was the first to question the accuracy of these judgments; he pronounced the piece a tedious, lamentable, pedantic, pastoral romance: Gifford deems the plan poor, the incidents trite, the style pedantic: Dunlop called it 'exceedingly tiresome.' Drake and Hazlitt are scarcely less decided; while, on the other hand, it finds warm admirers in Southey, Coleridge, D'Israeli, and Lamb.* The truth probably lies between these extremes. It must be admitted, at all events, that it has passages of 'exquisite beauty,' 'and descriptions of great force and elegance,'^b and that

* 'More sweet than a gentle south-west wind, which comes creeping over flowery fields and shadowed waters, in the extreme height of summer.'—SIDNEY.

And sweeter than the gentle south-west wind, [waters creeping.
O'er willowy meads and shadow'd
COLERIDGE'S *First Advent of Love*.

'In the sweetly constituted mind of Sidney it seems as if no ugly thought or unhandsome meditation could find a harbour.'—LAMB, *Characteristics of Dramatic Writers*.

^b Zouch's *Memoirs of Sydney*, 1808
See also D'Israeli's *Amenities of Literature*, ii., 86.

the author deserves the title which Cowper gives him, when he speaks of Sidney, as 'warbler of poetic prose.'

123. Among the poets who flourished exclusively in the reign of Elizabeth, Spenser stands without a rival; and it may be admitted, 'with the best judges of this and of former ages, that his is still the third name in the poetical literature of our country, nor has it been surpassed except by Dante in any other.'^a

Spenser was born in London, in the year 1553. In 1569 he entered as a sizar at Pembroke College, Cambridge, where he formed an acquaintance with Gabriel Harvey, astrologer and pedant, who remained through life his fast friend. On leaving the university he retired to the north of England, probably as tutor, and there, as a love lorn youth, he composed part of *The Shepherd's Calendar*, a rustic poem in twelve eclogues. It shows the influence of Italian reading, and is rich in displays of descriptive power. By Harvey he was induced to return to London, and was introduced by him to Sir Philip Sidney, at whose seat of Penshurst Spenser passed some of the brightest years of his unhappy life. Here he completed his *Shepherd's Calendar* (1579), dedicating it anonymously, under the title of *Poet's Year*, to his patron, 'Maister Philip Sidney, worthy of all titles, both of learning and of chivalry.' By Sidney he was introduced to the Earl of Leicester, the favourite of Elizabeth, and the uncle of Maister Philip, and from that moment entered into a golden servitude.^b

After some years of vicissitude and disappointment, Spenser went to Ireland as Secretary to Lord Grey de Wilton, the Lord Deputy. In 1586 he obtained a grant of three thousand acres of land in the county of Cork, where his friend, Sir Walter Raleigh, had also obtained a like grant of much larger extent; and, as Spenser was compelled by the conditions of his grant to reside upon the property, he took up his abode at Kilcolman Castle. Here he completed the first books of the *Faerie Queen*, and read them to Raleigh, when the two friends agreed that he must visit London, and arrange for the publication of his volume. In 1589-1590 it appeared, being dedicated to the queen in a style of adulation common in that age. The *Faerie Queen* was most

^a Hallam.

^b D'Israeli, *Amenities of Literature*, II.

enthusiastically received, and the few first stanzas, descriptive of Una, must have been 'enough to place Spenser above the whole hundred poets that then offered incense to Elizabeth.'^a

On the publication of this poem, Elizabeth, always economical in her bounties, expressed her delight by a permanent pension on the poet. 'All this,' Lord Burleigh is said to have exclaimed, 'for a song!' 'Then give him what is reason,' rejoined her majesty. The order, however, lay long in the Exchequer unhonoured, and Spenser reminded the queen by a petition, which has become a proverb—

'I was promised on a time, From that time unto this season,
To have reason for my rhyme ; I received nor rhyme nor reason :'

whereupon the Lord Treasurer was reprimanded, and the poet was paid. Fifty pounds a year seems to have been the sum thus given.^b

After the publication of the first part of the *Faerie Queen*, Spenser retired to Ireland, and next published the *Tears of the Muses*, in which he indicates plainly, that, though Sidney and Leicester and Essex were his friends, the unpoetic Burleigh was against him. His *Mother Hubbard's Tale*,^c a political satire, appeared in 1591, *Daphnida* in 1592. In 1595 *Amoretti* and the *Epithalamion* were published, relating to his own courtship and marriage. The latter is one of the finest nuptial odes in any language. About the same time appeared the *Elegy of Astrophel*, on the death of Sidney, and in 1596 he returned to London, to publish the fourth, fifth, and sixth books of his great poem. Among the most exquisite and passionate of his pieces are his *Hymns on love and beauty*, to which he added later his *Hymns to heavenly love and heavenly beauty*. In the former we have the Platonic doctrine, that the soul retains part of her heavenly power, and fashions the body so as to represent her own excellence. In the latter there are relics of old Platonism, but the whole is elevated and purified by religious feeling.

Meanwhile Spenser had returned to Ireland, though with little

^a Chambers.

^b Fuller's *Worthies*.

^c In this piece appeared the well-known complaint of a court expectant :—

For little knowest thou that hast not tried,
What hell it is in suing long to bide,
To speed to-day, to be put back tomorrow,
To feed on hope, to pine with fear and sorrow, etc.

hope of the improvement of the country. In 1597 he laid before the queen his *View of the State of Ireland*, in which he recommends some severe measures for the 'Land of Ire,' and suggests that they should be blended with measures likely to conciliate popular favour. But it was too late. Tyrconnel's rebellion broke out; the castle of Kilcolman was burnt, and an infant child of the poet, 'new-born,' Ben Jonson says, was left behind and perished in the flames. Impoverished and broken-hearted, Spenser and his wife reached London, and within three months, in an obscure lodging, he closed his eyes in a premature death. He died in 1599, and was buried near Chaucer in Westminster Abbey. The Earl of Essex paid the expenses of the funeral,^a and the hearse was attended, as Camden tells us, by brother poets,—Shakespeare probably among them,—who threw 'mournful elegies' into his grave. Such is the outline of his life; the facts are but scanty: a history of the man himself is to be found chiefly in his works.

124. The *Faery Queen* is, as a title, somewhat deceptive: she presides not over Fairy Land, but over the Land of Chivalry, a territory in which heroic daring and ideal purity are the things presented for our admiration, and in which the chief adventurers are knights achieving perilous victories, and ladies rescued from fearful misery. Throughout the whole, moreover, there is an earnest moral purpose, such as is found in no similar work of any preceding age.

The *Faery Queen* was intended to consist of twelve books, six of which only we possess, published at two different times, and a fragment of a seventh. The author himself tells us that the poem is a 'continued allegory' or 'dark conceit,' and adds his own explanation. The Fairy Queen appears in vision to Prince Arthur, who, awaking deeply enamoured, resolves on seeking his mistress in Faery Land. The Queen is then represented as holding a solemn annual feast during twelve days: each adventure is undertaken by some particular knight, each knight symbolising some moral virtue. The first is the Red-cross

^a And had not that great heart (whose honoured head,
Ah! lies full low) pitied thy woful plight,
Then hadst thou lien unwept, unburied,
Unblest, nor graced with any common rite.

P. FLETCHER'S *Purple Island*.

Knight, an emblem of holiness; the second, Sir Guyon, of tenderness; the third, Britomartis, a lady knight, of chastity; the fourth, of friendship; the fifth, of justice; and the sixth, of courtesy.

Besides these personifications, the chief characters represent historical personages, and their adventures historical events. The Faery Queen, Gloriana, is glory in general, and in particular Queen Elizabeth, who is also immortalised in Belphebe, in Cynthia, and in Britomartis. The adventures of the Red Cross Knight shadow forth the history of the Church, and the distressed knight is Henry the Fourth of France: Una is truth, or true religion. The Knight of Magnificence, Prince Arthur, son of Uther Pendragon, is the Protestant hero, the Captain-General of the forces in the Netherlands—the Earl of Leicester.

This allegorical character of Spenser's chief poem has generally been deemed a serious fault; but probably most modern writers will agree with Hazlitt, that the allegory is no bar to the enjoyment of the poem, and the reader may safely disregard the symbolical applications. Una is not the less finely drawn, whether or not we stop to examine how far she is like the truth, nor is Artegal, the Knight of Justice, or Duessa, though the one represent Arthur Lord Grey, and the other deceit, or the Church of Rome, or later, Mary, Queen of Scots. The allegory destroys no beauty; it leaves untouched the Bower of Bliss, the wild enchantments, and dark forest, the witcheries of garden and landscape, while those representations of female loveliness and truth, which have never been surpassed in the writings of any age, are equally impressive, whether we remember or not, that 'more is meant than meets the ear,' that each wears several changes of dress, and may by-and-by be found in a different scene.

It is a more serious objection that the several cantos do not form one poem. Arthur, the nominal hero, who ought to have been a bond of connection, is soon forgotten; and even if the poem had been finished, and he had appeared at the end, his presence could not have consolidated into a whole the histories of the twelve knights. It is best, therefore, to regard the six books as a collection of pictures, with no relation to one another, except that they are painted on the same plan, and occupy the same gallery.^a

^a See Pope's *Letters to Spence*, where this comparison is used.

On the merits of the different books there is substantial agreement among critics. The first book is complete in itself, and is the finest of the six, while the allegory has the excellence of exercising the reader's ingenuity without perplexing it.^a The second abounds in exquisite painting of natural scenery. In the third, Belphebe and Amoret appear, two of the most beautiful of Spenser's female characters. The fourth contains the tale of the Florimel, an old romance set off with an array of imagery, which Collins, in one of the noblest of his odes, has dwelt upon with delight. In the fifth book, on justice, there is a perceptible falling off, but with a strength of moral sentiment unsurpassed elsewhere by the poet. Both here, however, and in the following, the wish of the author to introduce personal friends and allusions to his own age detracts from the unity and the force of the whole.

It is now seen why the poem is called a romance, and why it is regarded as of Gothic, rather than of Classical origin. This distinction, which modern critics have ascribed to Schlegel, is found, not only in Bishop Hurd, but in the poet Hughes, whose edition of Spenser, published in 1715, formally recognises the division of all poetry into these two classes, though he was hardly aware of the soundness or of the importance of the division itself. It may be added that it is the last great poem modelled on Chivalry, unless we except the latest by Southey and by Tennyson. That the skill with which he completed his task made his work successful is clear from the fact, that Bishop Hall, while blaming the fantastic extravagance of the Gothic poetry, suddenly checks his temerity in blaming themes made sacred by the Spenserian muse :—

Let no rebel satire dare traduce
Th' eternal legends of thy fairy muse,
Renowned Spenser, whom no earthly wight
Dares once to emulate.

The excellence of Spenser consists largely in his appreciation of the beautiful, and in his power of describing it. 'No poet,' says Wilson, 'has ever had a more exquisite sense of the beautiful.'^b He is not averse, adds Hallam, to images that jar on the mind by

^a Hallam, ii., 135.

^b See a brilliant series of papers on the *Faery Queen*, published in *Blackwood* in 1834-5.

exciting horror or disgust, and sometimes his touches are rather too strong; but it is on love and beauty, on holiness and virtue, that he reposes with all the sympathy of his soul, and the slow gliding motion of his stanza, 'with many a bout of linked sweetness long drawn out,' beautifully corresponds to the dramatic enchantment of his descriptions.^a

And all he thus feels he can describe. No masterpiece of the great painters ever glowed on the canvas with more reality and naturalness than his scenes. 'His command of imagery,' says Campbell, 'is wide, easy, and luxuriant; he threw the soul of harmony into our verse, and made it more warmly, tenderly, and magnificently descriptive than it ever was before, or, with a few exceptions, than it has ever been since. It must certainly be owned that in description he exhibits nothing of the brief strokes and robust power which characterise the very greatest poets; but we shall nowhere find more airy and expansive images of visionary things, a sweeter tone of sentiment, or a finer flush in the colours of language, than in this *Rubens of English poetry*. . . . We always rise from perusing him with melody in the mind's ear, and with pictures of romantic beauty impressed on the imagination.'^b

Succeeding generations have acknowledged the pathos and richness of his strains, and the new contour and enlarged dimensions of grace, which he gave to English poetry. He is the poetical father of a Milton and a Thomson. Gray habitually read him when he wished to frame his thoughts for composition, and there are few eminent poets in the language who have not been essentially indebted to him:—

Hither as to their fountain other stars
Repair, and in their urns draw golden light.^c

Spenser deemed himself the poetical son of Chaucer, and has adopted his diction.^d He was, therefore, in his own times, taunted with 'affecting the ancients,' and 'with his new grafts of old withered words and exploded persons.'^e So Virgil gave

^a Hallam, ii., 137.

^b Campbell's *Essay on English Poetry*. Introduction, p. 53.

^c Campbell, p. 56.

^d Dan Chaucer, well of English undefiled,

On fame's eternal beadroll worthy to be fyled."

Faerie Queen, book iv., canto 2.

^e Jonson's Works, ix., 215. Bolton's *Hypercritica*, 1622.

simplicity and venerableness to the *Æneid*, by using words taken from Ennius ; so La Fontaine gave freshness to his satire, by borrowing expressions from Rabelais. Many of his words deserve reviving, and, though the forms are sometimes obsolete, the language is, as a whole, beautiful in its antiquity ; and, 'like the moss and ivy on some majestic building, covers the fabric of the poem with romantic and venerable associations.'^a

It must be admitted, on the other hand, that the Faery Queen is injured by the redundancy of expression and description, and by deficiency in that important attribute of a great poem, —a continual reference to the truth of nature. The ear and the heart of the reader are frequently disappointed by enfeebling expletives, and by the impotent conclusion of lines and stanzas otherwise striking and beautiful.

The metre of Spenser is borrowed from the Italian : it is the *ottava rima*, the eight-lined stanza of the Tuscan, with a ninth line, an Alexandrine, added, whose 'billowy flow' gives variety and strength to the music of the verse. This style of versification, called afterwards Spenserian, has been adopted by Shensstone in the *Schoolmistress*, by Beattie in the *Minstrel*, by Byron in *Childe Harold*, and by Thomson in *The Castle of Indolence*. The last alone imitates Spenser's allegorical imagery. There are also imitations by Gilbert West, by Campbell in *Gertrude of Wyoming*, by Shelley in the *Revolt of Islam*, and by Scott in his *Vision of Don Roderick*.

125. We should fail to do justice to the progress of our nation, if we left unnoticed the improved moral tone already ^{Improved tone of literature.} observable in popular fiction. 'O ye knights of England,' exclaims Caxton, in his Epilogue to his *Order of Chivalry*, 'what do you now but go to the baynes (baths) and play at dice ; and some not well advised use not honest and good rule, ageyn all order of knighthood. Leave this, and read the noble volume of St. Grael, of Lancelot, of Tristram, . . . and many mo.' He evidently thought the prose romances better employment than the common amusements of his age. Yet Ascham, in his *Schoolmaster*, too justly characterises 'these books of chivalry, read for pastime and pleasure,

^a Campbell.

as excelling only in open men of slaughter and bold bawdry.' 'Those be counted the noblest knights,' he adds, 'that kill most men without any quarrel, and commit foulest adulteries with subtlest shifts; as Sir Launcelot, with the wife of Arthur his master; Sir Tristram, with the wife of King Mark, his uncle. This is good stuff for wise men to laugh at, or honest men to take pleasure in.'^a In Spenser, at all events, as in most poets of his class, this corrupt taste has given place to a style of writing, as superior in purity, as it is in beauty and in vigour.^b

SECTION III.—FROM SPENSER TO MILTON.

126. The poets of Spenser's age, including the first fifty years of the seventeenth century, are very numerous. Ellis reckons a hundred as belonging to the reign of Elizabeth alone; and Drake has made a list of more than two hundred, though many of these have written only short pieces.^c We must confine our notice, therefore, to the chief of these, and shall do them more justice, if we classify them according to their schools, rather than enumerate them in chronological order.

127. The immense popularity of Spenser naturally created imitators, though these are fewer than might have been supposed. The brother poets, Phineas and Giles Fletcher, are among the earliest and the most successful. Both were clergymen settled in East Anglia, sons of Dr. Giles Fletcher, and cousins of the dramatist.

The chief work of Phineas Fletcher is *The Purple Island*, published in 1633, but written some time before. The title is poetical enough, but when explained, loses nearly all its beauty. The poem is really an elaborate and minute account of the body and mind of

^a Hippisley's Chapters, p. 240.

^b In Wesley's recommendations to young men preparing for the ministry, he advises them in their second year to combine with the study of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures, the reading of the *Faery Queen*. So the apostle Paul may have studied the comic writers of Athens, from whose works he quotes.

So Chrysostom studied Aristophanes; Bossuet, Homer; and Sharpe—whose popular eloquence Burnet commends—Shakespeare. In Spenser as in Milton, the student has imagery, sentiment, and diction, all combined.—See WILLMOTT'S *Lives of the English Sacred Poets*, i., 18.

^c *Shakespeare and his Times*, vol. i., p. 674.

man.^a For five cantos the reader is treated with the anatomy of the human frame, purple with blood. In the sixth canto the author describes the intellectual and moral powers of the soul. Intellect is the Prince of the Isle, with his wife Voletta or Will, a lady very liable to faint, though restored by Repentance. He has as counsellors Fancy and Memory, Common Sense, and the five external senses. The isle is assailed by the vices, and at length the virtues are victorious, through the interposition of an angel; who, the poet tells us, is King James. A similar allegory may be found in the *King Hart* of Gawain Douglas, and in the *Mansoul* of John Bunyan. The *Holy War* of the latter is redeemed from extravagance and insipidity by the skill and obvious moral purpose of the whole. In the *Purple Island* there is the same monotony as in the *Faery Queen*, with a good deal of easy and even beautiful versification; but the allegory is tedious, and the subject one which a true poetic instinct would have rejected.

128. Giles Fletcher published only one poem of any length, entitled *Christ's Victory and Triumph*. It appeared in 1610.

Giles Fletcher. The subject is felicitous, and is handled with a massiveness and grandeur that certainly strike the imagination.^b It shows greater vigour, but less sweetness and less smoothness than the *Purple Island*.^c Spenser's Cave of Despair and his Bower of Bliss are both imitated, unless indeed both master and disciple copy Tasso. Giles has the higher honour of

^a Fond man that looks on earth for happiness,
And here long seeks what here is never found!
For all our good we hold from heaven by lease,
With many forfeits and conditions bound;
Nor can we pay the fine and rentage due:
Though now but writ and sealed and given anow,
Yet daily we it break, then daily must renew.

P. FLETCHER, *Purple Island*.

^b Among the companions of offended Justice, Fletcher reckons:—
Famine and bloodless Care and bloody War,
Want and the want of knowledge how to use
Abundance, Age and Fear that runs afar
Before his fellow Grief, that aye pursues
His winged steps; for who would not refuse
Grief's company, a dull and raw-boned spright,
That lanks the cheeks, and pales the freshest sight.
Unbosoming the cheerful breast of all delight.

Christ's Victory, Canto 1.

^c Hallam, ii., 28.

being followed by Milton in parts of his *Paradise Regained*. Both brothers were endowed with minds eminently poetical, 'and were not inferior in imagination to any of their contemporaries.'^a They retain, says Campbell, 'much of the melody and luxuriant expression' of Spenser himself. Each uses a stanza of his own,—Phineas of seven lines, and Giles of eight. In the preface to *Christ's Victory* the author defends religious poetry with an earnestness and skill not unworthy of Spenser. With the Fletchers allegorical poems cease, till the style is revived by Dryden in his *Hind and Panther*, and by Thomson in his *Castle of Indolence*.

129. The narrative poets of the period are Samuel Daniel (1562–1619), Michael Drayton (1563–1631), William Browne (1590–1645), and in part Drummond and Davenant; to these may be added the name of Sir John Denham (1615–1668).

Daniel was born near Taunton, and was educated under the patronage of the Pembroke family. In 1529 he entered as a commoner at Magdalen Hall, Oxford, where he devoted himself chiefly to the study of history and poetry. In 1603 he was appointed Master of the queen's revels, and lived in Old Street, St. Luke's, where, as Fuller tells us, 'he would lie for months to enjoy the company of the Muses.' Among his human friends were Camden, Selden, Shakespeare, Marlowe, and Chapman. Coleridge, who was a warm admirer of Daniel's works and character, thinks it his highest praise, that he formed the mind of the great Countess of Pembroke, and that in turn her mind inspired his. In his old age he turned farmer, and died at Beckington, in Somerset.

His *History of the Civil Wars* between York and Lancaster is a poem in eight books, and was published in 1604. By contemporary critics he is spoken of as the 'polisher and purifier of the English tongue;' and his style is certainly the clearest and purest of his age. His correct taste, calm sense, and moral feeling, Hallam warmly praises; but he wants force and life, and his verse is in consequence but little read. His *Musophilus, containing a General Defence of Learning*, is also a thoughtful and elaborate work, with the same excellences and faults. As a prose chronicler, his merits are described elsewhere (see par. 315).

^a Hallam

On the death of Spenser, Daniel was thought worthy to succeed him as poet laureate, and in that character supplied several masques for the court, but he retired before the growing ascendancy of Jonson.^a

130. Drayton occupies a higher place than Daniel. He was born at Atherstone, and seems to have owed much of his education to the kindness of the Countess of Bedford, and other titled friends. In 1598 he published *The Barons' Wars*, and *England's Heroical Epistles*. In these works 'we see symptoms of that taste for poetised history, as it may be called, which marked that age, and which was fully developed in the historical drama.'^b *The Barons' Wars*, it may be added, contains several passages of beauty. Parts of it were known to Milton, and have been imitated by him. The metre is the Ariosto stanza of eight lines, resting, as Drayton describes it, on two last lines as a base.^c

Drayton's more important work, the *Polyolbion*, appeared partly in 1613, partly in 1622. It is a poem of thirty thousand lines, written in Alexandrine couplets, a measure not pleasing to the ear, though, from the flow of the verse and the even tenor of the whole poem, it reads better than might have been supposed. The subject of the poem is unique. It is a topographical delineation of England, and is composed with such accuracy and fulness of legendary and other learning, that Hearne and Wood quote the book as an authority in English antiquities. Of course it appeals more to the understanding than to the fancy, and is more adapted to instruct the mind than to touch the feelings. Yet it has great merit; it contains few languid or mean passages, and the language is strong, varied, and sufficiently figurative. If not now read, it is chiefly because such information as it gives can be more readily learned in prose than in verse.

^a 'His diction is easy, his language natural; and there is a fine philosophic vein flowing through all he wrote.'—MRS. S. C. HALL.

He speaks of his own want of success with some sadness:—

I still have done the fairest offices
To virtue and the time; yet nought
prevails,

And all our labours are without success,

For either favour or our virtue fails.

Dedication to *Philotas*.

'Well-languaged Daniel, as Browne calls him in his *Britannia's Pastorals*, was one of Southey's favourite poets.'—WARTER.

^b Chambers, i., p. 105.

^c See *Preface to the Barons' Wars*.

131. Browne belongs to the class of descriptive rather than of narrative poets, though his writings are also partly pastoral. He adopts Spenser as his model. He was born at William Browne. Tavistock, and seems to have caught from the scenery of his native county his taste for description. After being educated at Oxford, he entered at the Inner Temple, but devoted himself chiefly to poetry. In his twenty-third year he published the first part of *Britannia's Pastorals*, and three years later, in 1616, the second part. In 1614 appeared the *Shepherd's Pipe*. It is inferior to his other poems; but the fourth eclogue is written on a plan that closely resembled that of the *Lycidas* of Milton, and in *Lycidas* there is also a faint resemblance of some of its images and sentiments. From the *Britannia*, Warton quotes some lines that remind the reader of the morning picture of *L'Allegro*.^a

While still in the prime of life he took his leave of the Muses, and returned to Oxford as tutor of the Earl of Carnarvon, who fell at the battle of Newbury, in 1643. He afterwards resided in the family of William, Earl of Pembroke, and died at Ottery-St.-Mary—the birthplace of Coleridge—in 1645. As recently as 1852 a third part of his *Britannia's Pastorals* was printed from the original manuscript still preserved in the Cathedral Library at Salisbury.

The *Pastorals* are written in heroic couplets, and were praised by Drayton, Wither, and Jonson. They contain much beautiful description, given with grace and sweetness, though, as Campbell says, 'it is the beauty of mere landscape and allegory, without the passions that constitute human interest.'

132. William Drummond (1585-1649) was one of the most eminent of Scotch poets. He was born at Hawthornden, his father's estate, was educated at the university of Drummond. Edinburgh, studied civil law in France, and returning home gave himself to literature. During his residence at Hawthornden he was on the eve of marriage, when the sudden death of the lady to whom he was betrothed affected him deeply, and

By this had chanticleer, the village cock,
Bidden the goodwife for her maids to knock;
And the swart ploughman for his breakfast stayed,
That he might till those lands which fallow laid.

compelled him to seek relief by travelling. During the eight years he was on the Continent he mixed largely in society, and collected a number of manuscripts and books, some of which are still preserved in the library of his own university.

On settling again at his seat he married, hoping for a life of ease and literary culture. But the times were against him. The civil war had broken out, and he was summoned to supply his quota of men for the cause he detested. The execution of Charles I. is said to have hastened his own death, which took place at the close of the same year, 1649.

Drummond was intimate with Drayton and Jonson. The latter visited him at Hawthornden in the spring of 1619. Drummond kept notes of their conversation, and chronicled some of the personal failings of his guest. These notes have exposed Drummond's character to the charge of meanness or of inalignity; but as they were private memoranda, never published by him, nor apparently intended for publication, and as most of them speak of faults which none question, he ought to be freed from this charge.^a

His first publication was a volume of *Occasional poems*; his second the *Flowers of Zion*. His *Tears on the death of Moliades—Prince Henry*—was written in 1612. His *Wandering Muses, or the River of Forth feasting*, a descriptive poem written on the occasion of King James revisiting Scotland, appeared in 1617.

The humour of his Macaronics, in Scotch and Latin, and the elegance of his sonnets, have been sufficiently praised. These last are written in pure English, and are free from conceits, often showing much pathos and tenderness. His verses are remarkably harmonious, rich in thought and in fancy, and Hallam notes that he concludes the sense in each couplet as regularly as Pope. Milton has copied more than one of his images in his *Lycidas*.^b

133. Sir William Davenant (1605-1668), whose life is more

^a These Notes, as given in Laing's edition (*Shakespeare Society Transactions*), abound in concise judgments on the poets and literary men of the time, and have considerable value.

^b Sad violet, and that sweet flower that Inwrought with figures dim, and on the
bears edge,
In sanguine spots the tenor of our Like to that sanguine flower, inscribed
woes. with woe. *Lycidas*.
Epitaph on Prince Henry.

The reader will see how Milton adorns, even when borrowing.

closely connected with the history of the stage than with the progress of poetry, was born at Oxford, and was Davenant. the son of a vintner. The idle tradition, which Pope rehearses, that he was a natural son of Shakespeare, has no authority. In 1628 he began to write for the stage, and in 1638, on the death of Ben Jonson, he was made poet laureate. In the civil wars he sided strongly with the Royalists, and was knighted; but on the decline of the king's cause he retired to France, where he wrote part of his *Gondibert*. Trying to reach Virginia, the ship in which he sailed was taken, and he was lodged in the Tower. After two years' imprisonment he was released, it is said by Milton's good offices, a kindness which Davenant was able to repay after the Restoration. He died in 1668, after a life of astonishing activity, superintendent of one of the London theatres. His works were printed in a large folio volume in 1673.

Gondibert, which was published in 1650, is a heroic romance, with too much of mere fancy to justify us in placing it among historical epics. The scene is laid at the court of one of the Lombard kings; but the plot is defective in interest and in unity. The poem contains about six thousand lines, and is not complete. The metre, the four-line stanza with alternate rhymes, was copied by Dryden in his *Annus Mirabilis*, and is masculine, though it becomes monotonous. To the poem is prefixed a preface, which in taste and judgment may be regarded as a precursor to Dryden's admirable introductions to his plays. The style is clear and in vigorous English. Dryden acknowledges other obligations to Davenant, and among these is his first admiration for the genius of Shakespeare.

134. To the class of philosophic, rather than of descriptive poems belongs the *Cooper's Hill* of Sir John Denham, Denham. first published in 1643.

Denham was the son of a chief baron of the Irish Exchequer, and came to London on the appointment of his father to the same office in the English Exchequer. At Oxford, where he studied, he was noted for his love of play, and the same propensity followed him to Lincoln's Inn. To avert his father's anger, and apparently in the hope of curing the habit, he wrote a penitential *Essay on Gaming*. The remedy, however, was not effectual, and

after his father's death he gambled away nearly all his property. During the civil war he sided with the king, and had several appointments. On the Restoration he was made surveyor of the royal buildings, and was knighted.

His *Cooper's Hill* is partly descriptive. The scene is laid on an eminence near Windsor, where he takes a survey of the landscape, from the tower of St. Paul's on the eastern horizon, to that of St. George's at Windsor. These, with the river at his feet, the ruins of an old abbey, the plains of Runnymede, and a stag hunt which he describes with much force, are the chief objects on the canvas, all the rest being filled with philosophic, and somewhat striking reflections. The poem is not an ordinary one, and once had a wide reputation. The couplets are vigorous and rhythmical, the thought is close, and the language nervous and appropriate. At the same time it must be admitted, that there is nothing to warm or touch the heart. Pope's epithet, 'majestic Denham,' Hallam thinks too flattering.

135. The imaginative allegory of Spenser produced a natural reaction. In the later years of queen Elizabeth, and especially in the reign of James I., a large section of English poets, had acquired a taste for philosophy. Sententious reasoning and remote analogies were more welcome to them than nimble fancy and obvious resemblance.* Sometimes they have been divided into two schools, the metaphysical and the philosophic. But they may be fairly regarded as one: they agree in appealing to the reason rather than the imagination, and are generally distinguished by lack of simplicity and pedantic learning or equally pedantic ratiocination. In some of the writers of this class the analogies they trace are mere conceits, and the reasoner overlies the poet. But in others we have vigorous

* Sismondi has well described our metaphysical or fantastic poets, when speaking of the Neapolitan Marini, he describes him 'as the celebrated innovator on classic Italian taste, who first seduced the poets of the seventeenth century into that laboured and affected style, which his own richness and vivacity of imagination were so well calculated to recommend. The most whim-

sical comparisons, pompous and overwrought descriptions, with a species of poetical punning and research, were soon esteemed under his authority, as beauties of the first order.'—*Lit. of the South of Europe* (Roscoe), ii., p. 262. It is as a poet of this school only that Cowley is entitled to the praise of Clarendon 'as having made a flight beyond all men.'—*Autobiog.* i., 30.

thinking, combined with beautiful imagery, and even with tender feeling, unsurpassed till we reach Pope's age.

The chief writers are Sir John Davies (1570-1626), Fulk Greville, Lord Brooke (1554-1628), Dr. John Donne (1573-1631), Richard Crashaw (died 1650), William Habington (1605-1654), and Abraham Cowley (1618-1667).

136. Davies, an English barrister, and afterwards chief justice of Ireland, was the author of a long philosophic poem entitled *Nosce Teipsum; or, the Soul of Man and the Immortality thereof*. Davies.

It was first published in 1599, and went through four editions in the author's lifetime. It is one of the earliest poems of the kind in our language, and is as remarkable for its ingenious similes as for its logical truth. It contains lines, says Hallam, which outweigh much of the descriptive and imaginative poetry of the last two centuries, 'whether we estimate it by the pleasure they impart, or by the intellectual power they display.' The versification is the four-line stanza—the quatrain—so familiar in Davenant and in Dryden.^a His general style is neither artificial nor careless, 'while for precision and clearness, for felicity and strength, it has never been surpassed.'^b This poem is as much religious as it is philosophical. He shows with great beauty, how God made the soul in his own image,^c and how it is again to be renewed.

It may be added that the first reports of law cases published in Ireland were made by Davies, whose preface to the volume is said 'to be the best that was ever prefixed to a law work.'^d

137. Lord Brooke, 'friend to Sir Philip Sidney,' as he calls him-

* The sense of feeling, Davies thus illustrates:—

Much like a subtle spider, which doth sit
In middle of her web, which spreadeth wide;
If aught do touch the utmost thread of it,
She feels it instantly on every side.

The Soul and the Immortality thereof.

A stanza that Pope condenses into a single couplet:—

The spider's touch, how exquisitely fine,
Feels at each thread and lives along the line.

Essay on Man.

Milton and Pope are good examples of the skilful appropriation and improvement of the thoughts of their predecessors.

^b Southey.

^c Nabum Tate's preface to his republication of the *Nosce Teipsum*.

^d See the Memoir prefixed to Mr. George Chalmers' reprint of Davies' *Law Tracts*.

self in the inscription placed upon his grave, is the author of *A Treatise on Human Learning*, *A Treatise on Monarchy*, Lord Brooke. and *A Treatise on Religion*. These poems show deep reflection and extensive learning; but the language is obscure. and the rhymes and metre are cumbrous and unskilful. It is his merit that he discusses themes which were hereafter, in the writings of Harington and Locke, to excite wide interest. Southey thinks that Dryden's tragic style, which is very different from the ease and simplicity of his prose, is formed on Lord Brooke's, more than on that of any other author.

138. Donne, Crashaw, and Cowley, are called by Johnson metaphysical poets, a title he gives them to indicate that for direct thought and natural imagery they substitute conceits, and remote, often merely verbal, analogies. Perhaps the title is not quite accurate, fantastic being a somewhat more satisfactory term; and certainly there is much in all these poets that is natural and truly poetical. Still the title may fairly be retained, and it must be admitted, that there is enough in their writings to justify the application of this epithet to them.

Its appropriateness may be illustrated by a single example. Donne, whom Johnson regards as the founder of the school,* has to describe a broken heart; he enters a room where his mistress is present:

Love alas!

At one first blow did shiver it as glass.

This image he wants to use so as to please the reader's fancy, and perhaps to excite his feeling; and he thus proceeds:—

Yet nothing can to nothing fall,
Nor any place be empty quite;
Therefore I think my breast hath all
Those pieces still, though they do not unite.
And now, as broken glasses show
A hundred lesser faces, so
My rags of heart can like, wish, and adore,
But, after one such love, can love no more.

139. Donne, related through his mother to Sir Thomas More

* See Johnson's *Lives*, and especially his *Life of Cowley*.

and to Heywood the epigrammatist, was of a Catholic family, but after much consideration he joined the English Church.
 Donne.

At the age of forty-two he became a clergyman, and was made in succession chaplain to James I., preacher at Lincoln's Inn, and Dean of St. Paul's. He died in 1631, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. His memoir, by Izaak Walton, is one of our classical biographies.

His works consist of sermons which were celebrated in their age, satires, elegiacs, and religious poems, and were collected and published in 1650 by his son. In his own day he had very considerable reputation as a poet; and though he was little thought of in the eighteenth century, in our own his reputation has revived, and he has now many admirers. His faults are his conceits and his inharmonious metres. His excellences consist in his learning, his subtle fancy, his terse and forcible style. His wit is very caustic, yet often playful, and he is the first to write satire in rhyming couplets—the metre carried to such perfection by Dryden and Pope.

140. Crashaw was the son of a preacher at the Temple. The date of his birth is uncertain; but in 1637 he was chosen a Fellow of Peter House, Cambridge, having been sent
 Crashaw.

to that college from the Charterhouse. With an enthusiastic attachment to religious forms he became a Roman Catholic, and, unlike his contemporary Chillingworth, who had for a time embraced the same views, he remained in that community, and is among those whom Archbishop Usher censures. He had, as Hallam thinks, 'a soft heart and feeble judgment.' After he left Cambridge he went to France, where the friendship of Cowley obtained for him the notice of Henrietta, the queen of Charles I. He became secretary to one of the cardinals, and a canon of the church of Loretto. He died about 1650.

His chief works are translations. Among these the more important are *The Massacre of the Innocents*, by Marini, one of the *Concetti* of the Italian school, the *Dies Iræ*; his *Musical Duell*, a translation, though without acknowledgment, from a poem by Strada, the Jesuit. Crashaw, however, adds to it many lines and fancies of his own. He translated also several of the Psalms; his versions of the hundred and thirty-seventh and twenty-third being the best known. In 1646 appeared his original

pieces, *Steps to the Temple*, *The Delights of the Muses*, and *Carmen Deo Nostro*, etc.

Pope, who largely uses Crashaw, and acknowledges his obligations to him, says that he must be considered rather as a versifier and wit than a poet; his excellences consisting in pretty conceptions, glittering expressions, and something of a neat cast of verse.^a Coleridge, who was better able to appreciate him, speaks more favourably of his ability. He praises his imagination, 'his power and opulence of invention,' and thinks the lines on St. Theresa the finest Crashaw has written, combining, as they do, richness of thought and of diction. 'These verses,' adds Coleridge, 'were present to my mind while writing the second part of *Christabel*.'^b As a religious poet he deserves still higher praise. His *Psalms*, his *Hymn to the Nativity*, and his *Hymn to the Morning* may be found in many collections. In a volume of Latin poems he published while at Cambridge occurs the well-known conceit on the miracle at Cana:—

Lympha pudica Deum vidit et erubuit.

'The modest water saw its God and blushed.'

141. Among the metaphysical or fantastic poets is sometimes reckoned William Habington (1605-1654), though he belongs as naturally to the same class as Quarles. His father and uncle are said to have been implicated in Babington's conspiracy, and the latter was executed in consequence. His mother was a daughter of Lord Morley, and is believed to have written the famous letter of warning which led to the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot. The family were Roman Catholics, and the son studied at St. Omer's. He afterwards married Lucy, daughter of the first Lord Powis, and celebrates her under the title of Castara. When about thirty, he published his poems, *The Mistress*, *The Wife*, and *The Holy Man*, each containing several pieces written on a plan afterwards adopted by Cowley. The last, *The Holy Man*, is superior to the rest in vigour and freshness. Southey thinks Habington the freest from licentiousness of all the writers of his age, and he himself says that he hopes 'a chaste muse will prove more acceptable and will weigh heavier in the balance of esteem than the opposite.' The wooing which his

^a Letter to Henry Cromwell, *Literary Correspondence*, p. 302.

^b *Letters and Conversations* of Coleridge, i., 196.

poems describe is 'aristocratic and virtuous,' and ends 'in satisfied conjugal affection.'^a

142. Cowley, a writer of the raciest and clearest prose, exhibits the bad qualities of the metaphysical school in the greatest perfection, though he has excellences, and was the most popular poet of his time. He was born in London, and was the son of a stationer in Cheapside. His father dying, probably before his son's birth, the widow gained him admission into Westminster School, whence he went to Trinity College, Cambridge, and afterwards to Oxford. Taking part with the royalists, he accompanied queen Henrietta to France, where he resided for twelve years, acting as secretary, and being intrusted with the deciphering of the correspondence between the queen and her friends. In 1656 he returned to London, where he published his poems, professing to be of no party. On the death of Cromwell he went again to France, and at the Restoration hoped to receive some appointment under the crown. His claim, however, was overlooked; indeed he was suspected by the government of Charles II., as during his residence in London he had been suspected by the Puritans—in both cases probably unjustly. Ultimately he obtained an allowance of 300*l.* a year, and lived in the later years of his life at Chertsey. He was an active member of the Royal Society founded in that reign.^b He died in 1667, and was interred with great pomp in Westminster Abbey, the king 'affirming that he had not left a better man behind him.'

Cowley commenced to write at a very early age, and when in his thirteenth year published a volume of poems. His poetical works have been divided into four parts, viz., 1. *Miscellanies* (including his *Poetical Blossoms*; his *Anacreontics*, among the happiest of his pieces, racy and spirited; his *Lines on the Death of William Hervey*, his college friend; his *Elegy on the Death of Crashaw*, his finest work^c in Johnson's opinion); 2. *Mistress, or Love Verses*, 'full of analogies that have no semblance of truth,

^a Masson's *Milton*.

^b Bacon at last, a mighty man, arose
Whom a wise king and Nature chose
Lord Chancellor of both their laws.
Ode to the Royal Society.

^c 'The first couplet,' says Hallam, 'is very beautiful, but the poem contains little else of much value.'
Poet and saint! To thee alone are given
The two most sacred names of earth
and heaven.

except from the double sense of words and thoughts that unite the coldness of subtilty with the hyperbolical extravagance of counterfeited passion; 3. *Pindaric Odes*, full of beauties and of blemishes; 4. *Davidis*, a poem on the life and troubles of David. This last was not finished, and contains many noble lines. Hallam speaks highly of the beauty of particular passages, or rather lines, in all his works, but feels strongly his faults; Johnson, who has written his life with great care, speaks more highly; Cowley's own contemporaries, most highly of all.^a

143. The conceits of the school of poets just named are an evidence of declining taste: if it were needed, additional evidence might be found in the lyric poems of the age. These lyric poets. poems, however, extend over seventy or eighty years, reckoning from the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth, and many of them are of great beauty. Some, indeed, have never been surpassed.

These lyrical poems appeared sometimes in the separate volumes of their authors, but still oftener in popular collections of poetry, which began at this time to be formed. The earliest was, as we have seen, Tottel's *Miscellany* (1557). The second was published in 1576, and was quaintly called *The Paradise of Dainty Devices*, with which John Boddendam's name is connected, and which contains pieces by between twenty and thirty different writers. The third was *The Gorgious Gallery of Gallant Inventions*, edited by Thomas Proctor (1578); and the fourth, *A Handful of Pleasant Delites*, by Clement Robinson (1584). In 1600 appeared *England's Helicon*, with pieces by Sidney, Raleigh, Marlowe, Breton, Lodge, Greene, Shakespeare, and others; and in 1602 Davison's *Poetical Rhapsody*. Later and enlarged editions of this last were published in 1608 and in 1621. In the next fifty years many collections were published, including *Sonnets and Madrigals* by Byrd, Wilbye, etc. The two principal of these collections, the *Paradise of Dainty Devices* and the *Helicon*, have been published by Brydges, and can easily be compared, as they lie side by side in the same volume. The last contains some of the best lyrics in our language. Here are found the

^a Who now reads Cowley? If he pleases
yet,
His moral pleases, not his pointed wit;

Forgot his epic, nay Pindaric, art;
But still I love the language of his heart.
POPE.

song of Marlowe, 'Come live with me, and be my love,' and the equally beautiful answer of Raleigh, 'If that the world and love were young.'

The lines on the *Soul's Errand*, sometimes ascribed to Sylvester, sometimes to Raleigh, sometimes to Pembroke, are in Davison's *Rhapsody*.

Many of the lyrics in the *Paradise of Dainty Devices* and most of the *Helicon* are on love or on simple passion. The former are generally defective in taste and in simplicity; they are also characterised by a tone of sadness (like the rest of the poems of the book) which it is not easy to explain. Some ascribe it to the melancholy spirit of the Petrarch poetry, others to the reflective seriousness produced by the religious changes of the age, and others to the stern persecuting tendencies of the reign of Mary. The latter are nearly all graceful and simple, neither ancient nor modern, but belonging in style and in thought to all time. Love in them is generally sportive, playful, and triumphant. Towards the close of the reign of Charles I. lyrics are often deformed by verbal fancies and mere conceits, as a little later they are by levity and licentiousness. In Milton, Marvel, Herbert, and Wotton, they include a wider range of subjects, and give expression more largely to religious sentiments, to political feeling, and to philosophy itself. From their days to the days of Burns and Cowper the poetry of simple feeling is almost silent in our literature, though later and towards our own age it gives some of its purest and noblest utterances.

144. Besides the miscellaneous pieces published in these works, there are poems of this age that deserve special mention. In Venus and Adonis. 1593 appeared the *Venus and Adonis* of Shakespeare, 'the first heir of his invention,' and in the following year *The Rape of Lucrece*. In 1609, his sonnets were published—a hundred and fifty-four in all—addressed by the publisher, Thomas Thorpe, to W. H., probably William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke. The sonnets are divided into two or more series, but really relate to the same period of the poet's life. They set forth an attachment to some woman,—an attachment that does not seem to have touched his heart very deeply, and which was overpowered by his attachment to his friend. This last is described in language so strong as to

Sonnets.

seem adulatory and extravagant. These sonnets are attributed to Shakespeare, and it is certain that he tried this kind of composition and excelled in it. Still, the volume was long overlooked, and some have maintained that it is altogether unworthy of Shakespeare's fame. It is now however admitted that the sonnets are remarkably beautiful in language and in imagery, while they bear frequent traces of the reflective power that characterised the great dramatist. The same excellences belong to the other works of the poet; yet we wish, with Hallam, that he had never written them. The *Venus and Adonis*, with fine descriptive passages, is licentious: *Lucrece* must have been written hastily, though it is rich in pathos and in reflection; while in the *Sonnets*, there is an amount of weakness and folly which every admirer of Shakespeare must be unwilling to associate with his name. The *Passionate Pilgrim*, ascribed to W. Shakespeare, and published in 1599, is a collection of poems to which Shakespeare contributed only two sonnets and some verses from *Love's Labour Lost*: the other pieces are by Marlowe, Raleigh, and Bamfield. The use of Shakespeare's name was a trick of the bookseller's.

145. The sonnet, it may be added, is a kind of composition which abounds in this age. Spenser, Shakespeare, Drummond, Daniel, Drayton, are all sonneteers, though they have departed from the true type. The sonnet is of Italian origin. Its ideal is, that it contain one theme running through the fourteen lines, and that these be connected by rhymes so distant as to compel the reading of the whole in order to catch the thought. The Italian rules require the same rhymes in the first, fourth, fifth, and eighth lines, and the same in the second, third, sixth, and seventh: for the last six, the rhymes may be either *ab, ab, ab*; or, *abc, abc*; or, *abc, bac*. This system of versification, admitting but two rhymes in the first eight lines, is well suited to the Italian language, in which rhyming syllables are very numerous, but not to English. Hence there is amongst us a strong tendency to make the sonnet consist of three quatrains of alternate rhymes followed by a rhyming couplet—the worst form for the sonnet, because it naturally makes the last two lines epigrammatic, throwing all the point into them. This was the common form in the time of Shakespeare.

Besides the pieces of Shakespeare, there are in this age lyric poems by Suckling (1608-1641), Jonson (1574-1637), Raleigh (1552-1618), Carew (1589-1639), Lovelace (1618-1658), Herrick (1591-1674), Wither (1588-1667), Browne (1620-1666), and Waller (1605-1687).

146. Jonson's minor poems are nearly all beautiful: nor has his taste in poetry ever been excelled. Among his best-known Jonson's minor poems. pieces are his songs, 'Drink to me only,' 'See the chariot at hand,' 'Follow the shadow' and his epitaphs on the Lord Herbert and the Countess of Pembroke.

147. Raleigh's short poems display imagination, energy of thought, and great delicacy of expression. Spenser's sonnet in Raleigh. his praise, and his sonnet in praise of Spenser,* are proofs of the genius of both. One of the best specimens of his versification is an epitaph on Sir Philip Sidney, written in the metre of Tennyson's *In Memoriam*, and not unlike that poem in its spirit.

148. Carew occupies one of the first places of his class, both in time and in excellence. His longest piece is a masque entitled Carew. *Cælum Britannicum*, and was set to music by his friend, Dr. Lawes, the poetical musician of that age. His songs alone are now read. Strictly speaking, there is nothing great about them, but they are very finished and beautiful, though there is much licentiousness mingled with his grace. Clarendon remarks of his poems that 'for the sharpness of his fancy and the elegance of his language, they are at least equal, if not superior, to any of that time; but that his glory is, that after fifty years of his life spent with less exactness than it ought to have been, he died with the greatest remorse for the license' of his writings. Like most of his school, his love of conceits was insuperable, and showed itself even in grave themes. Thus he speaks in one of his epitaphs of the soul of the daughter of Sir Thomas Wentworth, as having—

Broke the outward shell of sin,
And so was hatched a cherubim.

Sir John Suckling is a writer who excels nearly all others

* 'Methought I saw the grave where Laura lay.'

in gaiety and ease. He was the son of the comptroller of the household of Charles I. He served under Gustavus Adolphus, and in the civil war raised a regiment which was famous for its cowardice and finery. The grace of his songs is said to be inimitable. It is to him we owe the often-quoted image of the lady dancing:—

Her feet beneath her petticoat,
Like little mice stole in and out,
As if they feared the light.

Richard Lovelace is best known by a single song, *To Althea*, in which occur the lines,—

Stone walls do not a prison make,
Nor iron bars a cage;
Minds innocent and quiet take
That for an hermitage.

Byron's image in the *Bride of Abydos*, 'The mind, the music breathing from her face,' has been censured as fanciful. Sir E. Brydges defends it, and notes that the same image is in Lovelace, who speaks of the *music of her face*. Lovelace's other poems are all inferior, though there are taste and nature in them. His *Odes*, *Sonnets*, and *Songs*, were published in 1649.

149. One of the most extraordinary of our lyric poets is Robert Herrick. He was born in Cheapside, London, and was presented by Charles I. to the vicarage of Dean Prior in Devonshire. After about twenty years of residence, he was sequestered in the civil war, and, rejoicing in his freedom from the 'rude salvages' of Devon, came and resided at Westminster, being supported chiefly by royalists. He dropped the title of reverend, and in 1647, published his *Noble Numbers; or, Pious Pieces*. In 1648 appeared *Hesperides; or, the Works of Robert Herrick, Esq.* After the Restoration, he was replaced in his vicarage, and died in 1674.

His poems were long neglected, but they have since found many admirers. The secular poems, written probably in his youth, are sportive and fanciful, with more than occasional licentiousness. Great gaiety and natural tenderness, with language at once vigorous and picturesque, are his excellences. His religious poems are less joyous and natural than the rest, but

Willmott warmly praises them. The *Litany to the Holy Spirit* is certainly impressive, as is his *Christmas Carol*, and *The White Island; or, the Place of the Blest*. His life is said to have been unspotted by the licence which his earlier songs express, and he has touchingly mourned over his 'unbaptised rhymes.'^a

150. George Wither is classed with Milton among the Puritan poets, and was one of the most voluminous writers of his age.

He was a native of Hampshire, and received his education at Magdalen College, Oxford. In 1613 he published a satire entitled *Abuses Stript and Whipt*, for which he was thrown into prison, where he composed the *Shepherds' Hunting*, one of the most beautiful of his pieces. In the civil war he raised a troop of horse for the Parliament, and was taken prisoner. When in danger of being executed, Denham is said to have saved his life by a joke. He besought the royalists to spare Wither, on the ground that so long as Wither lived he (Denham) was not the worst poet in England. After his release, he became a major-general in Cromwell's army, and acquired considerable property in return for what he had lost in the public cause. At the Restoration he was stripped of all, and was again thrown into prison. In 1663, he was released under bond of good behaviour, and died in London four years later.

In 1622, he published a collection of his poems, with the title, *Mistress of Philarete*, and in 1635, his collection of *Emblems, Ancient and Modern*. A catalogue of his numerous works may be found in Brydges, many of them being mentioned in Willmott.

Hallam reckons his lines *On his Muse*, which may be found in Ellis, as superior to almost all the lyric poetry of that age. Among his assailants are Jonson (who makes him the original of his *Chronomastix*, 'the prince of libellists,' in his masque of *Time Vindicated*), Heylin, Butler (the author of *Hudibras*, who puts him with Prynne and Vicars), and Taylor, water poet and royalist. Among his modern admirers are Southey

^a 'For every sentence, clause, and word,
That's not inlaid with Thee, O Lord,
Forgive me, God, and blot each line
Out of my book that is not Thine;

But if 'mongst all Thou findest one
Worthy Thy benediction,
That one of all the rest shall be
The glory of my work and me.'

who quotes and praises him, ascribing to him felicity of expression, tenderness of feeling, and elevation of mind;^a Charles Lamb, who deems him 'full of inward sunshine;' and Willmott, who says that all he wrote is the working of an amiable and virtuous spirit. His *Prison Lays*, he thinks, have a 'sweetness irresistibly touching,' and in his religious poems he is very faithful 'to nature and to truth.'

151. Among the lyric poets of this period, though they may with equal propriety be placed in the next, are Browne and Waller.

Browne. Alexander Browne (1620-1666) is well known in the history of the civil wars as a strenuous royalist, and as one of the songsters of his party. He was an attorney in the Lord Mayor's Court, London, and a man of great weight. Many of the songs and epigrams that were published against the Rump Parliament are ascribed to him, and in his *Diurnal* and *Political Satires*, we have probably an accurate though too strongly coloured picture of the times. Izaak Walton has sketched his character in what he calls '*A humble eglog written on the 29th May, 1660.*' His pieces are thought to have had no small influence in hastening the Restoration. His love and drinking songs—

'That we
Have sung so oft and merrily,'^b

are decent and humorous. His *Palinode* seems to intimate that later in life he had not found the results of his wit very satisfactory. He joined Faushawe, Cowley, and others in a translation of Horace.^c

152. Edmund Waller (1605-1687) was an amatory poet, inferior to some of his class in feeling and imaginativeness, but superior to many in vigour, and to nearly all in his powers of versification. His poems are as polished as modern-verse, and have therefore received a higher place than their intrinsic merits deserve.

He was born at Colehill, and was heir to a large property.

^a Mr. Taylor, in *Lives of Uneducated Poets*.

^b Walton.

^c To him we owe the lines on a coy young lady:

'You say you're fair, you know
'Tis our fancy makes you so.'

He was a cousin of John Hampden, and was also related to Oliver Cromwell. While yet young he entered Parliament. On the death of his first wife, a London heiress, he became the suitor of Lady Sidney, daughter of the Earl of Leicester. Penshurst rang with the praises of *Saccharissa*, but in vain. His failure he describes by a happy appropriation of the fable of Apollo and Daphne—‘I caught at love, but filled my arms with bays.’ As a member of Parliament he took the popular side; but joining in a plot to surprise the city militia and to let in the king’s forces, he was tried, imprisoned, and fined 10,000*l*. On his release he went abroad, and lived for a time in great splendour in France. During the Protectorate he returned, and when Cromwell died, wrote one of his most vigorous poems. On the Restoration he welcomed the king in another poem, and on Charles remarking that it was inferior to his previous composition, the author gave the ready and witty reply, ‘Poets, sire, succeed better in fiction than in truth.’ He afterwards sat as member for Hastings, and served in all the parliaments of Charles’ reign. Burnet notes that he was the delight of the House of Commons. He died at Beaconsfield, in 1687; and in the churchyard of that place, where Edmund Burke was also buried, a monument has been erected to his memory. His collected poems were published by himself in 1664, and went through numerous editions, the edition of 1690 containing all his pieces.

In the dedication prefixed to his works Fenton speaks of him as ‘maker and model of melodious verse,’ and he has certainly more elegance and felicity of expression than any of his contemporaries. Dryden, Pope, and Prior concur in praising him. ‘The excellence and dignity of rhyme,’ says Dryden, ‘were never fully understood till Waller taught it in lyric, and Denham’ (or ‘Davenant’ Prior writes) ‘in epic poesy.’ This praise, however, Campbell has shown to be excessive. The ten-syllabled rhymed verse, for which it is said we are under such obligation to Waller, was used by Chaucer in his *Knight’s Tale*, by G. Douglas in his *Virgīl*, by Spenser in *Mother Hubbard*, by Donne, Hall, and Marlowe in their *Satires*, by Ben Jonson in his commendatory verses, by Beaumont in *Bosworth Field*, by Drummond in his *Forth Feasting*, and by the translators, Golding, Sandys, and May. Campbell selects from these authors, and compares them with Waller and Denham, showing how little comparatively we owe

these last. The fact is that neither Dryden nor Pope was acquainted with our earlier poetry; and they have praised Waller unduly, doing justice neither to his predecessors nor to their own originality and force. His panegyric of Cromwell, Johnson praises in warm terms. Of these lines some are grand, some are graceful, and all are musical. Such a series of verses had rarely appeared before that time in the English language.

153. Two classes of writers remain, the satirists and the religious poets. To the former belong Gascoigne (1537-1577), Joseph Hall (1574-1656), and Marston (fl. 1600); to the latter Southwell (1560-1595), George Herbert (1593-1632), Sir H. Wotton (1568-1639), George Sandys (1577-1643), Francis Quarles (1592-1644), and Henry Vaughan (1618-1666); besides those whose history has been already given, Donne, Crashaw, Fletcher, Wither and others.

154. The earliest specimen of English satire is the *Steel Glass* of Gascoigne. It is written in blank verse, of which it is one of the first examples. It 'holds the mirror up to nature,' and reveals the manners and follies of the time. There runs throughout a quiet vein of sly sarcasm. Gascoigne's minor poems show a good deal of gaiety.

155. Joseph Hall was born in Leicestershire, and was Bishop of Norwich. He is better known as a prose writer than as a poet. His satires were published in 1597-1599, under the title of *Virgilemiarum*, 'Rods,' and present some pictures of the anomalies of human nature, and some faults of his age, sketched with great force and with no small precision. Warton has carefully analysed them, and warmly praises their humour and their versification; 'The fabric of the couplets approaching the modern standard.'^a Of the six books he describes the first three as 'toothless'—the last three as 'biting.' Their faults are obscurity and abruptness. His *Mundus Alter et Idem* is the counterpart of More's *Utopia*: it is a satirical fiction describing the vices of existing nations. Hall claims in one of his couplets to be the founder of English satire; and, taking satire in its moral and dignified sense, Campbell admits his claim, pre-

^a *History of English Poetry*.

ferring him to Skelton, Wyat, and Gascoigne. His satires were all published before the close of the sixteenth century, and he therefore takes an early place among the poets of this period.^a

156. Of Marston but little is known. He published *Certayne Satires* in 1598, and in 1599 *The Scourge of Villany*. He also wrote comedies, which he hoped might rival those of Marston. Jonson, in whose *Poetaster* he figures as Crispinus. His satires are decidedly inferior to Hall's, and are but poor.

157. Robert Southwell was born in Norfolk, and was educated at Douay, where he joined the Society of the Jesuits. He was afterwards chaplain to the Countess of Arundel, and Southwell. in 1592 was committed to the Tower on the charge of sedition. After an imprisonment of three years he pressed for a trial, and was condemned and executed.

His productions are very numerous, and were very popular, as many as eleven editions being published between 1593 and 1600. The *Triumph over Death* is one of the best of his prose pieces, and was written on the character of Lady Sackville. He shows in his poetry great simplicity and elegance of thought, and still greater purity of language. He has been compared in some of his pieces to Goldsmith, and the comparison seems not unjust. There is in both the same naturalness of sentiment, the same propriety of expression, and the same ease and harmony^b of versification; while there is a force and compactness of thought,^c with occasional quaintness not often found in the more modern poet. Jonson warmly praises the *Burning Babe* as a poem of great beauty.

158. George Herbert is one of the orbs that turn 'around

^a In Satire 7, Book 3, he gives a description of the fashionable gallant, who professes to keep open house, and yet cannot command a meal, generally dining each day, as he expresses it, with Duke Humphrey. It was the practice then for gallants to walk before dinner in the middle aisle of old St. Paul's, where there was a tomb supposed by mistake to be that of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester. To dine with him, therefore, was to have a walk instead of a dinner.

^b 'I feel no care of coin,
Well-doing is my wealth:
My mind to me an empire is
While grace affordeth health.'

^c 'Men must with sound and silent faith
receive
More than they can by sense and
reason learn,
God's power our proof, His works our
wits exceed,
The doer's might is reason for the
deed.'

The Christian's Manna.

meek Walton's heavenly memory.'^a He was born at Montgomery, in Wales, and was brother of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, and a member of the Pembroke family. He was educated at Westminster School, and when fifteen years of age was elected to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he became public orator. In that office he formed the acquaintance of Lord Bacon and Bishop Andrewes. He afterwards translated into Latin part of *The Advancement of Learning*, having as his coadjutors Ben Jonson and Hobbes. Among his contemporaries at Cambridge must have been, at Christ's College, Milton, 'the lady of his college'; Fanshawe, a member of Jesus', and translator of the *Pastor Fido*. Herrick was at the same time at St. John's, Giles Fletcher at Trinity, his brother Phineas at King's, Jeremy Taylor, then a beautiful youth, was a sizar at Caius, Thomas Adams the preacher, and Fuller the historian, and Cromwell, and Montague, afterwards Earl of Manchester, were at Sidney, while elsewhere at the university were Calamy and Mede.

Having resolved to enter the Church, he became after a time rector of Bemerton, a living given to him by king Charles I. It is interesting to note, that during Charles' imprisonment at Carisbrooke, the poems of Herbert, and the works of Sandys and Hooker, were among his chief favourites.

Herbert had a deep sense of the responsibility of his office. When left alone in the church to 'ring himself in,' he was found after a long interval lying prostrate before the altar. At Bemerton he remained till his death, in 1632, in the thirty-ninth year of his age.

His principal production is *The Temple; or, Sacred Poems and Private Ejaculations*. It was not published till after his death, but it at once enjoyed a wonderful reputation. When Walton wrote (1670), twenty thousand copies had been circulated. His prose work, *The Country Parson*, is equally worthy of his fame though on other grounds.

Among the most beautiful of the pieces in *The Temple*, are his lines on 'Virtue'^b and on 'Sunday';^c but in all his poems there is

^a Wordsworth.

Sweet day! so cool, so calm, so bright,
The bridal of the earth and sky

The dews shall weep thy fall to-night
For thou must die.'

^c O day most calm, most bright,
The fruit of this, the next world's bud.'

a depth of reflection and power of striking sentiment often very suggestive. 'The quaintness of his thoughts,' says Coleridge, '(not his diction, than which nothing can be more pure, manly, or unaffected), has blinded modern readers to the general merits of his poems.' 'I myself confess,' says Baxter, 'that next to Scripture poems there are none so savoury to me as Mr. George Herbert's. I know that Cowley and others far excel him in wit and accurate composition, but he . . . speaks like a man that believed in God, and whose business in the world is most with God : heart-work and heaven-work make up his books.'^a

159. One of the imitators of Herbert, and not unworthy of his model, is Henry Vaughan (1618-1695), the 'Silurist,' so called from the district of Wales in which he was born. In Vaughan.

1635 he entered at Jesus' College, Oxford, being seventeen years of age. His friends intended him for the law; but on the commencement of the civil war he returned home to Brecknockshire, and followed 'the pleasant paths of poetry and philology.'^b He afterwards studied physic, and became a practitioner of some eminence in his native place. He died in 1695, at Llansantfriad, near Brecknock. His chief works are his *Silex Scintillans*, or *Sacred Poems*, and *Olor Iscanus*, a collection of select poems and translations, 1651. Campbell pronounces him 'one of the harshest even of the inferior class of the school of conceit.' But this judgment is not just. As a religious poet, at all events, he not only shows vigour and originality, but has much 'picturesque grace.'^c His poem on *Early Rising and Prayer* is in Herbert's best style, and his lines on the *Retreat*, with its sight 'of the shady city of palm trees,' are both striking and beautiful.

160. Sir Henry Wotton, better known as a politician than as a poet, was born at Bocton Hall, in Kent. After receiving his education at Winchester and Oxford, he attached Wotton. himself to the party of the Earl of Essex. Foreseeing the fall of that nobleman, he visited the continent, and was afterwards sent by James I., whose favour he had gained, as ambassador to Venice. It is to him we owe the punning definition of one

^a *Poetical Fragments*, 1681.

^b Anthony à Wood.

^c Willmott, i., 298.

holding his office. 'An ambassador,' says he, 'is an honest man sent to *lie* abroad for the good of his country.' Towards the close of his life he took deacon's orders, to qualify him to be Provost of Eton, where he died in 1639.

His writings were published in 1651, under the title of *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, and his life has been written by his friend Walton, who boasts that he had often 'fished and conversed with him.' He was rather the scholar and the patron of letters than himself a poet. Yet he appreciated true poetry, for he enthusiastically praised Milton's *Comus*, and he has written some beautiful pieces, among which his lines on *A Happie Life* are mentioned with admiration by Drummond.

161. George Sandys was the youngest son of the Archbishop of York. After leaving the university he travelled through a great part of Europe and Palestine. He also visited Virginia, and Drayton speaks of him as treasurer of the company there.^a The journal of his travels is written with much clearness and simplicity; and it is said that Addison, in the history of his Italian tour, took Sandys as his model. On his return he resided chiefly with his sister near Witney, where he had much intimacy with Lord Falkland, who has addressed to him several of his poems.

In 1621 he published the second edition of his translation of the *Metamorphoses of Ovid*, in 1636 his *Paraphrase of the Psalms*, in 1642 a translation of the *Song of Songs*, and the *Passion of Christ*, a Latin tragedy by Grotius. He died in 1643.

Sandys' *Ovid* is greatly admired by Pope; and Sandys himself Dryden reckons the best versifier of his age. The *Paraphrase of the Psalms* Burney deemed 'the most harmonious in our language.' In his religious poems there is the same even glow as in Herbert, with a more flowing style, though without his quaintness and pathos.

^a This visit is sometimes spoken of as conjectural; but Sandys himself, in a poem entitled '*Review of God's Mercies to him in his Travels*,' speaks of the perils from which he had been preserved in America:—

'From the bloody massacres
Of faithless Indians; from their treacherous wars.'

His *Ovid* he translated while in Virginia; and it is claimed as one of the earliest American books.—See DUYCKLINCK'S *Encyclopædia of American Literature* vol. i.

162. Francis Quarles was born near Romford, in Essex, took his degree of B.A. at Cambridge in 1608, and soon after entered as a student at Lincoln's Inn. He was cup-bearer to Quarles.

Elizabeth the queen of Bohemia, secretary to Archbishop Usher (who warmly praises him in a letter to Vossius), and chronologer to the city of London. This last was the title of the city poet, an office previously filled by Middleton and Jonson. The last occupant of it was Elkanah Settle, 1723-1724. In the civil war Quarles sided with the court, and was so harassed by the opposite party, that the vexation he suffered is said to have hastened his death. Among his friends was Drayton, the epitaph over whose grave at Westminster was written by Quarles.

His principal poems are *The Feast for Worms; or, The History of Jonah*, which he calls 'his morning muse,' probably therefore one of his earliest pieces; the *Quintessence of Meditation*, which Fuller the historian praises, and which seems to have a good deal of the strength, though without the polish, of Pope; his *History of Queen Esther*; *Argalus and Parthenia*, not a worthy specimen of his style; *Sion's Elegies*, a paraphrase of the Lamentations; his *Emblems*, of which the first edition appeared in 1635; and his *Hieroglyphics*. These *Emblems* were illustrated in the first editions by most ridiculous prints; and yet, as Southey has noted, it is the prints that have been most popular, while the poems have been neglected. It is owing to both, however, that Quarles became so early what Philips, Milton's nephew, calls him, 'the darling of our plebeian judgments.'

After the Restoration Quarles was completely forgotten, and Pope even gives him a place in the *Dunciad*. The better taste, or, as Campbell says, the more charitable criticism, of modern times has admitted him into 'the laurelled fraternity of the poets,' and he is now admired for his quaintness, vigour,* and occasional beauty.

Emblems, compositions which unite poetry and pictures to inculcate lessons of moral wisdom, had been used by Wither; but the *Pia Desideria* of Hermann Hugo seems to have suggested Quarles' plan; while on the other hand Quarles' point, and his union of wit with devotion, are said to have aided Young in the

* 'Tis vain to fly . . . the further off we go,
The swing of Justice deals the heavier blow

This figure is not unworthy of Milton.

composition of his *Night Thoughts*. It is worth noting that in some modern editions of the *Emblems* the pictures alone remain, another text having been substituted for what Quarles wrote.*

In 1641 he published the *Enchiridion*, a collection of brief essays and aphorisms. The style is affectedly antithetical, but vigorous, and sometimes even eloquent. He fairly fulfils his own rule, though not perfectly: 'Clothe not thy language,' says he, 'either with obscurity or affectation . . . he that speaks from the understanding to the understanding is the best interpreter.'^b

163. Besides the greater names already noticed, there are others more or less illustrious, and belonging to different schools of poetic composition. Among these are Barnes, author of *The Divine Centurie of Spiritual Sonnets* (1595); Henry Constable, author of *Spiritual Sonnettes* (1590), a favourite of Jonson's, and a writer of much 'ambrosial music';^c Davison, editor of the *Political Rhapsody*, and author of many sonnets and versions of the Psalms; Sylvester, the translator of *Du Bartas*, a worthy friend of Bishop Hall's, and a poet who won the affection of Milton and of Dryden, and whose whole works were published in 1633 and again in 1644; Dr. H. King, chaplain of James I., and Bishop of Chichester, who published in 1657 a volume of *Poems, Elegies, Paradoxes and Sonnets*, of which *Sic Vita* and the *Dirge* are best known; Corbet (1582-1635), the merry Bishop of Norwich, whose poems were collected and printed in 1647; William Cartwright (1611-1643), Ben Jonson's adopted poetical son, who wrote, says Jonson, 'like a man,' and whose poems were received with extraordinary applause; Thomas Randolph (1605-34), author of five dramatic pieces and of *Miscellaneous Poems*; John Cleveland (1613-1658), a vigorous satirical writer, whom Butler partly imitated, though his poems are spoiled by conceits; James Shirley (1594-1666), who published a volume of poems in 1646, though his best-known

* Among his best pieces is one on delight in God only:

'I love, and have some cause to love the earth,' etc.

^b His bathos is sometimes ridiculous enough. Thus, in the emblem on *Man and Tennis*:—

'Man is a tennis, his flesh the wall,

The gamesters God and Satan; the heart's the ball,'

etc. for twenty lines.

^c Jonson.

piece, *Death's Final Conquest*, occurs in one of his dramas; John Chalkhill (1683), whose pastoral romance, *Thealma*, is warmly praised by Izaak Walton, and who is described as the friend of Edmund Spenser: the scene is laid in Arcadia, and the poem contains a description of the golden age, and then of the iron age, injured by tyranny and wrong: the plot is obscure, but there are fine lines, the measure being in heroic couplets varied, like Milton's *Lycidas*, by breaks in the middle of the line.

164. It has been usual to speak of Milton as the poet of the Commonwealth, forming with Wither and Marvel a small but noble band. Truth compels us to say that this Milton. classification is not just. Milton's sympathies are well known. As a prose writer his finest pieces are in defence of freedom and of the government of Cromwell. His public life was spent, and his severest sacrifices incurred, in the service of the Protector. In all his poetry, moreover, there is the seriousness and noble sentiment of an earnestly religious man. But as a poet he stands alone. Wither was in later life the poet of the Roundheads, as Butler was the poet of the Cavaliers, and each defended a cause that was dear to him as he best might. But no such statement can be made of Milton, nor must we claim for a party, even though it be that of his own friends the Puritans, what he himself meant for mankind.

In an important sense Milton belonged to the school of Spenser. 'We poets,' says Dryden, 'have our lineal descendants and clans, as well as other families, and Milton has acknowledged to me that Spenser was his original.* From Milton himself we gather that Spenser and Shakespeare were his favourite poets for style, and yet more for his imaginativeness and beauty; but, though he belongs to Spenser's school, and is properly an imaginative poet, this classification fails to represent his merits. He is, indeed, inferior on the whole to Shakespeare; but for sublimity, grandeur, and imaginativeness combined, he is second to none in the whole range of authors, ancient and modern.

165. Milton was born in Bread Street, London, on the 9th of December, 1608, and came of a gentle stock. His father, who had been disinherited for embracing the Protestant faith, was a

money scrivener, and must have acquired a respectable competence, as he retired to a country house at Horton, in Buckinghamshire. The father united to other accomplishments some

His life, minor poems, etc.

proficiency in music, and the son was skilled in the same art, adding his testimony to that of Luther,—as Oberlin and Legh Richmond added theirs—that it exercises a holy and cheering influence on the character. Milton's first preceptor was Thomas Young, a Puritan minister of great learning and worth, and his earliest studies were chiefly poetical. In the same street in which Milton lived was the office of Lownes, the Puritan printer, from whom he probably borrowed the works of Sylvester and Spenser, both great favourites with the poet. In his childhood he must have given proof of extraordinary powers; and his father designed him for the church. In this plan Milton himself concurred, but 'coming to some maturity of years,' he preferred 'blameless silence' to what he called 'servitude and forswearing,' and consecrated himself to the service of patriotism and literature. That he was sincere in his scruples no one can doubt who knows the man, or who reads that sonnet of his on entering his twenty-third year, in which he resolves to walk under the never-sleeping watchfulness of the 'Great Taskmaster's eye.' In his fifteenth year he was sent, already a scholar, to St. Paul's School, and two years afterwards to Christ's College, Cambridge, where he complained, as Robert Hall did nearly two centuries later, that the country wanted trees and shade. In 1632 he left Cambridge, after taking his Master's degree, and resided for five years at home, continuing his studies till he had gone the round of all learning, adding to his stores from philosophy and theology, and from the literature of every age and almost of all countries. By this time, indeed, his acquirements were as remarkable as his genius.

Poetical genius is of very uncertain development, sometimes showing itself early and sometimes late in life. The best poetry of Chaucer and Dryden, and all the poetry of Cowper were written in their mature age. On the other hand, Pope 'lisp'd in numbers,' and he never excelled the pieces he wrote when twenty. Tasso, before he was nineteen, had sketched part of the *Jerusalem Delivered*, and Boccaccio composed stories when in his ninth year. Cowley's poems were written in his childhood. Schiller was a poet at fourteen, and Klopstock at nineteen. Mil-

ton belonged to the same class. Aubrey states that he was a poet before he was ten years old. Some of his versions of the Psalms, including the 136th ('Let us with a gladsome mind'), were written before he was sixteen. In his twenty-first year he composed his 'Hymn to the Nativity,' the finest ode, as Hallam thinks, in our language. His 'Sonnet to Shakespeare' was written in 1630, and was prefixed in 1632 to the second folio edition of Shakespeare's works, and is probably the first piece of his that appeared in print—an honour that Hallam seems inclined to confer upon his 'Sonnet on entering his Twenty-third Year.' During his stay at Horton (1632-1638) he wrote the short poetic portion of the masque of the *Arcades*, and the most graceful and fanciful of all his poems, the *Comus*. Both seem to have been written in 1634—the first for the Countess Dowager of Derby, an early patron of Spenser, then residing at Harefield Place, near Horton, and the second for the Earl of Bridgewater. *Comus* was written at the request of Henry Lawes, the musician, who taught music in the earl's family, and is based on an incident that occurred to some young members of the family who were lost in Haywood Forest, near Ludlow. The original of the lady in *Comus* was the daughter of the Earl of Bridgewater, and the patron and friend of Jeremy Taylor. The masque was published by Lawes, though without Milton's name, in 1637. It shows the extent of his reading, and in the melody of its versification, the sweetness of its imagery, 'and Doric delicacy of its songs and odes,' as Sir H. Wotton expressed it, it has never been surpassed. Three years before it was written, Richard Baxter, then a lad, resided for a year and a half in Ludlow Castle, and was displeased, as he tells us, with the tippling and profanity of the place. Had he stayed a little longer he might have seen, in *Comus*, a stage play rebuking the revelry which he condemned.* To the same period (1637) belong *Lycidas*, a monody on the death of his college friend King, and *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, two of the most perfect gems in our literature, though these last were not published till 1645.

Beautiful as these earlier poems of Milton are, they seem to have received but little attention at first. Wotton warmly praised *Comus*, as we have seen. Archbishop Sancroft is known to have admired the *Ode to the Nativity*, and some of the Psalms.

* Masson's *Life*, i., p. 571.

But Pope and Warburton were the first formally to notice the volume that contains them (published in 1645), though seventy years after it was published. Now, however, it is admitted that *Comus* is at once the most imaginative, the most melodious, and the most classical of all our masques. 'The very want of what may be called personality, none of the characters having names except Comus himself, who is a very indefinite being, enhances the ideality of the fiction by an indistinctness not unpleasing to the imagination.'^a *Lycidas*, which Johnson treats with contemptuous depreciation, is regarded by Warton, and afterwards by Hallam, as a good test of real poetic feeling. *L'Allegro* and especially *Il Penseroso* 'satisfy the critics and delight mankind.' In the *Ode to the Nativity*, a grandeur and simplicity, a breadth of manner, an imagination at once elevated and restrained reign throughout; while the *Sonnets* have obtained of late years the admiration of all real lovers of poetry.^b Even without his epics, these minor poems alone would have rendered their author immortal.^c

In 1638, when Milton was about thirty years old, he visited the continent, where he remained for fifteen months. During that time he travelled to Florence, Rome, and Naples, returning homewards by the 'Leman Lake' to Geneva and Paris. Everywhere he was received with respect and admiration, numbering among his friends Galileo, then a prisoner in the Inquisition, Manso, the friend and biographer of Tasso, and Diodati, the exile for conscience' sake at Geneva. His personal beauty, his great learning, and his skill in Italian and Latin verse, seem to have excited universal surprise.

On his return, which was hastened by the mutterings of the coming storm, he at once took a side and defended freedom. He entered upon this struggle with all the ardour that might be expected from his temperament and convictions, and with this date commences the second period of his life. Between 1640 and the Restoration (1660) all his great prose works, except the *History of England*, were written. The third period, the period of his epics, begins with the Restoration.

^a Hallam, *iii.*, 46.

^b Hallam.

^c Some of the first of his sonnets come later. It is of the sonnet in Milton's hands that Wordsworth says.—

The thing became a trumpet, whence
he blew

Soul-animating strains alas too few!
Among the most interesting on poetic,
or on personal grounds, are *i.*, *vii.*, *viii.*

On Milton's arrival in London he took pupils, among whom were his nephews, J. and E. Philips, both men of some eminence, and he is said to have given them an education at once thorough and comprehensive. On Sunday he read with them the Greek Testament, and gave them besides a scheme of theology founded chiefly on the writings of Dutch divines. In 1641 he began his career as a prose writer. Laud was now defending ceremonies and church discipline in relation to them. Usher and Hall, with greater learning, were defending episcopacy. Milton threw himself with his scholarship into this struggle, and wrote vehement treatises on both subjects. The initials of the names of his associates (Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy, etc.) formed the war-name of Smectymnuus, and in 1642 he published his *Apology* for that writer, incidentally vindicating his own character from the aspersions that had been cast upon it. The notice which this piece contains of his personal habits is highly interesting; and among other things he hints that the man who is hereafter to write laudable things ought himself to be a true poem, 'to have in himself the experience and practice of all that is praiseworthy.' In his *Reason of Church Government* he intimates still further the kind of work he is contemplating. 'Time serves not now, and perhaps it might seem too profuse to give any certain account of what the mind, at home in the spacious circle of her musing, hath liberty to propose to herself, though of highest hope and hardest attempting; whether that epic form whereof the two poems of Homer and those other two of Virgil and Tasso are a diffuse, and the Book of Job a brief model; or whether the rules of Aristotle herein are strictly to be kept, or nature to be followed, which in them that know art and use judgment is no transgression but an enriching of art; and, lastly, what king or knight before the Conquest might be chosen in whom to lay the pattern of a Christian hero.' He then proceeds to explain his plans, which, though plucked from him by 'abortive and foredated discovery,' he hopes one day to fulfil, and expresses the deep regret with which he embarks in the troubled sea of noisy and hoarse disputes, and is taken from 'beholding the bright countenance of truth.'

xvi., xviii., xix., xx., and xxii. Macaulay thinks they display a sobriety and greatness of mind without a parallel. They remind us, he adds, of the Greek

Anthology, or still more 'of the collects of the English Liturgy.'—*Edinburgh Review*, Aug. 1825, art. 'Milton.'

In 1643 Milton married Mary Powell, the daughter of a royalist gentleman of respectability in Oxfordshire. He seems to have known the family in his student days; but the alliance must have been hastily formed, and it proved unhappy. After a temporary separation, in which both parties are to be pitied, and during which Milton wrote his pamphlets on *Divorce*, he received her to his home again, and gave generous shelter to her family after the triumph of the Republican party. In 1644 appeared his Tractate *On Education*, and his *Areopagitica*, or *Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing*, the most eloquent prose production of his pen, a production that entitles him, as Sir James Mackintosh expresses it, 'to be considered the first defender in Europe of a free and unfettered conscience.' In time he was not the first, but he certainly was the first in eminence and power. His book on Education was written at the request of his friend Hartlib, whom Cowley proposed as a model of the professors of his imaginary college. The system he proposes is a beautiful dream; though with a preference for the ancients, even in philosophy and metaphysics, such as was hardly to be expected in so sweeping a reformer.

In 1649 he was appointed Latin or Foreign Secretary to the Council of State, with a salary of 300*l.* a year, which he soon shared with Meadows, and in 1657 with his friend Marvell. The publication and rapid circulation of Bishop Gauden's *Icon Basilike*, then supposed to have been King Charles' own production, had meanwhile produced a great sensation, and in the same year appeared Milton's *Eiconoclastes*. In the following year was published his reply to Salmasius, the most learned man in Europe after Grotius, who had defended the claims and conduct of King Charles. In the first of these pieces Milton shows what he deems the true character of the martyr, and in the second he defends the rights of the people against the divine right of kings. Hobbes, who had his own way of defending tyranny, professed himself unable to decide whose language was best, or whose arguments were worst. Milton's style even Johnson has warmly praised; and for the argument the Council of State formally declare 'their resentment and good acceptance of the same.' Milton also received the congratulations of all the leaders of his party, and the compliments of the foreign ministers then in England.

For nearly ten years past the eyesight of the poet had been failing, owing, as he tells us, to the 'wearisome studies and midnight watchings' of his youth. The last remains of this blessing he sacrificed to his *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano*, and in 1652 he became hopelessly blind. This defence produced a reply, in which Milton's blindness is referred to as a judgment upon his abuse of his powers. In a second *Defence*, written with touching eloquence, he professes his belief that his blindness incurred in so noble a cause makes him belong still more to the protection and mercy of the Supreme Father. 'This high dispensation,' he adds, 'hath rendered us almost sacred, so that the darkness has been brought upon us not so much by the dimness of our eyes as by the shadow of His protecting wings.'

With this publication, Milton ended his controversial labours. With a pension of 150*l.*, he gave himself to those more congenial pursuits, from which he had been too long estranged. At the Restoration, the Act of Indemnity ultimately secured him from prosecution, and though he was for a time under concealment, and even in custody of the serjeant-at-arms, he was released through the interposition, it is said, of Sir William Davenant.

Milton's other prose works deserve mention. In 1661 he published his English *Accidence*, and in 1672, his *Logic* (*Artis Logicæ plenior Institutio*). Johnson, with noble eloquence, praises the dignity of this great man, who 'did not disdain the meanest services to literature,' but put the 'Epic lyre out of his hand to lighten the difficulties of humble learning.' In 1670 he published *Six Books of the History of England, reaching to the Norman Conquest*. 'The style of this history,' says Warburton 'is one of great simplicity, contrary to his custom in his prose writings, and is the better for it; but he sometimes rises into a surprising grandeur in the sentiment and expressions, as at the conclusion of his second book, and I never saw anything equal to this, but the conclusion of Sir Walter Raleigh's *History of the World*.' His *Treatise on True Religion* was printed in 1673. He wrote likewise a treatise on theology. The manuscript of this last was discovered, in 1823, in the State Paper Office. It was published in the original Latin, and translated by Dr. Sumner, Bishop of Winchester (Cambridge, 1825). The volume is written in a calm and reverent spirit, but confirms the opinion which the *Paradise Lost* first originated, that Milton, while believing in the

proper sacrifice of Christ, had adopted Arian views of His person and dignity. These views he must have adopted late in life, as in his early works he speaks of the Arians as 'no true friends of Christ.' Bishop Burgess, indeed, has questioned the genuineness of this work ; but there is no sufficient ground for this suspicion.

The study of these prose writings of Milton, especially of those written during the Commonwealth, is essential for any one who would rightly estimate his character. They were written in English or in Latin, and they bear all the marks of his genius, are crowded with learning, and yet the learning is fused by the writer's ardour into a mass of glowing argument of persuasive and even poetic eloquence. The style is highly Latinised in its fabric and in its inversions. It shows also a tendency, common to so many of his contemporaries, to sink from the highest flights suddenly to the ground. But still loftiness is more sustained than in most of the writers of that age, and it exhibits much of the force and beauty for which his poetry is so remarkable. Coleridge thinks it the model style of a philosophical republican, as Cowley's is of the first-rate gentleman. Hume's criticism on Demosthenes is not inapplicable to Milton : 'he displays vehement reasoning, disdainful anger, fearlessness, freedom, all hurried along with a violent inflammation of language, and involved in a chain of elaborate argument.'^a

His prose works, as a whole, 'deserve the attention of every man who wishes to become acquainted with the full power of the English language. They abound with passages, compared with which the finest descriptions of Burke sink into insignificance. They are a perfect field of cloth of gold. Not even in the *Paradise Lost* has the great poet ever risen higher than in those parts of his controversial works, in which his feelings, excited by conflict, find a vent in bursts of devotional and lyric rapture. It is, to borrow his own majestic language, a sevenfold chorus of hallelujahs and harping symphonies.'^b

Whatever may be thought of his political views, it is impossible to doubt that Milton was influenced by feelings of the loftiest patriotism. If his anger seems intemperate, let it be remembered that he lived in the midst of the battle, when the passions of all parties were goaded into fury. To feel strongly

^a Willmott, li., 80.

^b Macaulay. Hallam's estimate of

Milton's prose style is unusually cold and guarded.

to speak gently at such seasons is the gift of few, and it may even be questioned whether, during the strife, such a combination of qualities is for men even possible.

In 1664 Milton married his third wife, and when the plague broke out, in 1665, he retired to Chalfont in Buckinghamshire, where his Quaker friend Elwood, offered him what he calls 'a pretty box,' as a temporary residence. On Elwood's afterwards visiting him, Milton delivered to him a manuscript, which, says Elwood, 'he bade me to take home and read at my leisure. . . I found it to be that excellent poem, the *Paradise Lost*.' This poem, which we light upon thus unexpectedly, occupied seven years in the composition, having been begun in 1658, and it had probably been the subject of meditation long before. When ready for the press, a difficulty arose about licensing it, several passages being supposed to contain political allusions.

Paradise Lost.

At length the license was granted, and Milton at once disposed of the poem to S. Simmons in consideration of 5*l*. then paid, and an additional 10*l*. on the sale of three thousand copies. It appeared in 1667 'in small quarto, neatly bound, and at the price of three shillings.' In two years 10*l*. had been paid—a fact that indicates what is now considered to have been a good sale. Dr. Barrow, the physician, Andrew Marvel, and John Dryden, all praised it, the last pronouncing it 'the grandest and most sublime poem ever produced.'^a When, in 1688, Tonsen published the folio edition, the most eminent men of the age were among the five hundred subscribers. Addison's papers in the *Spectator* first made it known to the general public, and it has been since his day one of the glories of England.

The *Paradise Lost* was first written in ten books or cantos, but in the second edition was divided so as to make twelve. It begins with the Council of Satan and the fallen angels, the description of the erection of Pandemonium, and ends with the expulsion from Paradise. The subject of each book the reader can easily learn for himself from Milton's own outline.

This theme is admitted to be the finest ever chosen for a heroic poem, as it is the best adapted to Milton's genius. The *Iliad*, the *Æneid*, the *Divine Comedy* are all wanting in epic completeness, in closeness of connection, or in general interest. The *Odyssey*, the *Pharsalia*, the *Thebaid*, *Jerusalem Delivered*, epics of the

^a Preface to *The State of Innocence*.

second class (though some of them nearly approach the first), are liable to the same exceptions. For the most part they appeal only to a class. The *Paradise Lost* is the epic of the race.

It has been customary to compare Milton with the other three great epic poets. Homer, whom he is least like, he resembles in his mastery of his own tongue, and in the simple grandeur of some of his descriptions. Virgil he resembles in grace and melody. But it is with Dante he has been most often compared. The two were not unlike in their personal history. Both were statesmen, both were lovers, both had been disappointed in public life and in love. In Dante this experience had produced only bitterness: in Milton it had worked 'the peaceable fruits of righteousness.' The *Divine Comedy* is an exhibition of pride struggling with misery, nor is there any work which is so uniformly mournful: the intensity of feeling becomes even unbearable. The *Paradise Lost* justifies the ways of God to man, 'imbreeds and cherishes the seeds of virtue and public civility, allays the perturbations of the mind, and sets the affections in right tone, celebrates in glorious and lofty hymns the throne and equipage of God's almightiness, and what He works and what He suffers to be wrought with His Providence in His Church.'^a In Dante, the noble and generous spirit succumbs: in Milton, the strength of his mind and the confidence of his religious faith overcome every calamity. Though ever serious, and even sometimes stern, there is in all his writings a beauty and a tenderness which the Italian never reached. To take a single example, his character of Eve has been quoted as an evidence of the bitterness of disappointed hope and of his contempt for woman.^b Yet in spite of all that Milton must have suffered, we feel that in the domestic life he sketches, there is all the warmth and glow of Oriental manners, all the gallantry of mediæval chivalry, with all the quiet affection of an English home.

Dryden, who generally appreciates Milton's excellence, sneers at Satan as his *hero*, and modern critics have felt attracted by the force of his intellect to admire and to pity him. It is true, as Coleridge finely remarks, 'that around this character the poet has thrown a singularity of feeling, a grandeur of soberness, and a ruined splendour, which constitute the very height of poetic

^a *Reason of Church Government.*

^b *Quarterly Review*, June, 1825.

sublimity;’* but, on the other hand, he has carefully marked in him his intense selfishness, has shown his pride and sensual indulgence, his ambition and cunning, in a way that must excite disgust, though not unmingled with awe.

In carrying out his plan, the arrangement of the *Paradise Lost* is admirable. Every part succeeds in an order at once noble and natural. In the incidents and personages are found great simplicity, wonderful narrative power, and the utmost richness of invention; while the style is in beauty and grandeur worthy of the theme. Sometimes he condenses a long history into a few sentences; sometimes he presents spiritual existences, even a hell, with a vividness which rivals the memory or the senses; while the details of his pictures are filled in from nature, and story, and art. The first two books will give the best idea of the poet’s power, and the reader can, by thorough study of these, judge for himself.

The metre of Milton in his *Paradise Lost*, though not invented by him, was first employed by him in an original epic poem, and is managed with a skill that makes it a new power in our literature. Hazlitt thinks it the only blank verse in the language except Shakespeare’s that deserves the name of verse. But this judgment is too sweeping. Blank verse was introduced into our literature by Surrey, and his translation of the second and fourth books of the *Æneid* is a good specimen of its suitableness for a heroic poem. Grimoald next used it; then Sackville in his *Gorboduc*, which appeared some five years after the *Æneid* of Surrey. The *Steel Glass* of Gascoigne (1576) is the next specimen, and then Peele, Marlowe, Jonson, and Shakespeare use it in their dramas. Jonson’s plays, especially, show a degree of majesty and beauty in metre not surpassed till Milton’s day.

In Milton’s preface to the *Paradise Lost*, he has defended its metre, ‘boasting of his ancient liberty from the troublesome and modern bondage of rimeing.’ Its excellence depends chiefly on two qualities—the variety of the pauses and the flow of the verses into each other; or, as he himself expresses it, the skill with which the sense is variously drawn out from one verse to another. ‘A comparison of his style with that of others,’ says Johnson, ‘will show that he excelled as much in the lower as in the higher parts of his art, and that his skill in harmony was not less than his

* *Remains*, p. 176.

invention or his learning.' It has been justly said, that 'the ever-changing cadence of Milton's metre is as beautiful in itself, and as delicately responsive to the impressions required to be conveyed, as anything that can be found in the multitudinous billow-like harmonies of the Homeric hexameters.'^a 'Was there ever anything so delightful,' says Cowper, 'as the music of the *Paradise Lost*! It is like that of a fine organ, has the fullest and deepest tones of majesty with all the softness and elegance of the Dorian lute; variety without end, and never equalled except perhaps by Virgil.'^b Johnson, who prefers the artificial heroic rhymes of Dryden, confesses that he could never read lines with pauses on the sixth syllable without feeling.

167. The companion-poem of the *Paradise Lost* is the *Paradise Regained*. It was suggested, as Milton tells us, by the questionings of Elwood, and is said to have been written at *Paradise Regained*. Chalfont. It consists of but four books, and its subject is simply the temptation. Bentley quotes *Paradise Lost*^c to show that Milton himself first deemed the restoration to Paradise as completed at the resurrection. Whether he avoided the grand theme of the death of our Lord from the consciousness of failing powers, or from certain changes in his belief such as have been already indicated, is not certain. But the fact remains: the whole poem is built upon the narrative of the fourth chapter of St. Matthew—a subject too narrow for the purpose of contrast with the subject of *Paradise Lost*, and too narrow, it might be supposed, for the display of his genius. The plan is undoubtedly wanting in dramatic completeness; yet Milton himself maintained that the poem was at least equal to its predecessor. It certainly shows his powers in their ripest form. Everywhere the most consummate art is apparent, and the fourth book, giving a description of the greatness of Rome and of the intellectual glory of Athens, proves that the poet had lost none either of his fancy or of his learning. If inferior to *Paradise Lost* in effectiveness, as most admit, it is still superior to any epic that has since made its appearance. It differs from *Paradise Lost* in the greater richness of its moral sentiment, and in appealing rather to the contemplative faculty than to the imagination.

^a Shaw.^b Letters.^c Book x., 182.

168. To the same period belongs Milton's last work, the *Samson Agonistes*, a tragedy constructed according to the rules of the Grecian drama. Looking indeed at our reverence for Scripture characters, and at the skill with which Samson's history is presented, the English reader will gather a juster conception of the manner of the Greek tragedians from this piece than from Greek plays. Coleridge, who sees Milton himself in all his characters, even in Satan and in Eve, justly thinks that in Samson we have the vehemence, the pride, the piety of its author, and the fallen condition of his party. Bishop Newton and Atterbury agree in deeming it equal to the finest tragedies of antiquity. Warton sees in it the style of Æschylus. Hurd pronounces it the most finished and the most artificial of all Milton's productions. Johnson questions its accordance with classical rules (while Hallam defends it in this respect), but admits that it abounds in wisdom and piety, in fruits of genius and learning; and Cumberland, an authority in matters of effect, 'feels the catastrophe to be unparalleled in terror and in majesty.' Amid these diversities of judgment, it may be safely affirmed that as a drama, *Samson Agonistes* is the least successful effort of Milton's genius. Its defect is in the quality which Coleridge notices; a quality which gives it personal interest, but takes from its effectiveness as a drama. The dialogue is soliloquy, the hero is the author; and this forced blending of the personal and the dramatic in the same piece, and under such circumstances, we feel to be an incongruous combination.*

Milton died on Sunday, the 8th of November, 1674, and was buried in St. Giles', Cripplegate, being followed to the grave by 'all his learned great friends then in London, not without a friendly concourse of the vulgar.' By his first marriage he had three daughters, whom he taught to read and pronounce several languages, though they knew only their own. They were living apart from him some years before his death, and he complains of them as 'undutiful and unkind.' His widow inherited a fortune of 1000*l.*, of which she gave 100*l.* to each of his daughters. Their acknowledgments of these sums still exist, and show that their education must have been defective. The first makes her mark, and the second misspells her name.

We may best close this review by adding the opinions of a few

* See Macaulay's *Review of Milton*.

critics, whose decisions might constitute authority if it were necessary to settle his claims by such an appeal. 'To many, Milton seems only a poet, when in truth he was a profound scholar, a man of vast compass of thought, imbued thoroughly with all ancient and modern learning, and able to master, to mould, to impregnate, with his own intellectual power, his great and various acquisitions. . . . He had that universality which marks the highest order of intellect.'^a 'In Milton there may be traced obligations to several minor poets, but his genius had too great a supremacy to belong to any school. Though he acknowledged a filial reverence for Spenser, he left no Gothic irregular tracery in the design of his own great work, but gave a classical harmony of parts to its stupendous whole. . . . He stood alone and aloof above his times, the bard of immortal subjects, and as far as there is perpetuity in language, of immortal fame.'^b 'The characteristic quality of his poem is sublimity. . . . He had considered creation in its whole extent, and his descriptions are therefore learned. He sometimes descends to the elegant, but his element is the grand. He can occasionally invest himself with grace, but his natural part is gigantic loftiness.'^c 'We often hear of the magical influence of poetry. The expression in general means nothing, but applied to the writings of Milton it is most appropriate: his poetry acts like an incantation.' 'It is impossible to conceive that the mechanism of language can be brought to a more exquisite degree of perfection.'^d 'Nothing was so unearthly as Milton's poetry: the most unpromising subject, after passing through his heated mind, comes out purged, and purified, and refined. . . . That which was by nature a frail and perishable flower, when transplanted by his fancy, becomes an immortal amaranth.'^e His most characteristic excellence in Macaulay's view is the 'remoteness of the associations by which he acts on the reader. He electrifies the mind through conductors, and his merit lies less in his meaning than in his occult power.' Chateaubriand pays the tribute of admiration to such paradoxes as 'darkness visible'—paradoxes that puzzled Bentley and other prosaic commentators, and Dr. Hamilton praises as his glory, 'the music, the opulence, and the sublimity' of his strains.

^a Channing.

^b Campbell. *Specimens*. Introduction, p. lxxx.

^c Johnson. *Life of Milton*.

^d Macaulay. *Edinburgh Review*

^e *Quarterly Review*, vol. xxxvi.

^f *Sacred Classics*, ii.

169. Closely connected with Milton in friendship and in public service is the name of Andrew Marvel (1620-1678). His father was Reader at Trinity Church, Hull. When fifteen years of age, he entered at Trinity College, Cambridge. After a college life of five years, he went abroad, and was for some time attached to the embassy at Constantinople. In Italy he met with Milton, and there commenced a friendship equally honourable to them both. In 1645 he returned to England, but of his employments for several years we have no account, beyond the fact that he was instructor to the family of Lord Fairfax, and of a Mr. Dutton, at Eton, who was then an object of interest to the Protector. In 1657 he was engaged as assistant to Milton in the office of Latin Secretary to Cromwell, the result, apparently, of an application of Milton's on his behalf made five years before. He sat in the Parliament of 1660 as one of the representatives of Hull, and was re-elected by that town as long as he lived. He was not, like Waller, a humorous member, but from his integrity and consistency he was greatly respected. He was one of the last members who received wages from his constituents. Among their expressions of goodwill is the frequent gift of a large barrel of ale, and among the proofs of his devotedness to their wishes is a series of letters extending over five hundred pages, with details of the proceedings of the House of Commons. The story of his refusal of a large bribe from Charles II., who greatly admired the man, is perhaps apocryphal. But there are many similar stories; and they illustrate the wit and integrity of the patriot as fully as if they were all literally true. He died in 1678, without previous illness or visible decay. The report that he was poisoned has never been substantiated; but when Hull voted a sum of money to raise a monument to his memory, the court interfered, and the project was abandoned.

His prose writings were very popular. In 1672, he attacked Parker in a piece entitled, *The Rehearsal Transposed*, and therein vindicates the character of Milton. His *Account of the Growth of Popery and Arbitrary Government in England* was one of the most powerful pieces of its day. His prose style is full of point, vigour, and wit. He is said indeed to have been the first to indulge in that sportive raillery which was afterwards carried to such perfection by Addison, Steele, and Arbuthnot; and he

* 'We still read Marvel's answer to it answers be sunk long ago.'—SWIFT'S *Apo'ogy for the Tale of a Tub*. Parker with pleasure, though the book

shows his open and generous temper in saying some of the finest things that were ever said of Charles I., and in praising the wit of Butler—his personal and political opponent.

Among our minor poets he claims an honourable place, and his poetic tastes must have at least softened and embellished his sterner qualities as patriot and controversialist. His song of *The Emigrants* (the Puritan exiles) in *the Bermudas*,^a his poem on *The Nymph Complaining for the Death of her Fawn*, and his *Thoughts in a Garden*, are full of tender and pleasant feeling, with occasional quaintness, but always with great delicacy of expression. His *Whimsical Satire on Holland* is in the style of Butler, though written before the *Hudibras* was published. It contains a good deal of droll exaggeration and grotesque fancy. This last phrase indeed describes a common quality of his writings, and is seen sometimes only in expression, but sometimes also in the thought; his lines *To His Coy Mistress*, reminding the reader of some of the comparisons of a modern wit—Sydney Smith.

170. Other minor poets of this period are Henry More (1614-1687), Joseph Beaumont (1615-1699), William Chamberlayne (1619-1689), Thomas Stanley (1625-1678), Charles Cotton (1630-1686), Wentworth Dillon Earl of Roscommon, (1633-1685), and John Wilmot Earl of Rochester (1647-1680).

More, the Platonist, is the author of a volume of philosophic poems, which contains his *Psychozoia; or, Life of the Soul*, first published in 1640. He was a most ardent student, and read till his mind was affected by his studies. He believed that he received supernatural communications, and had a kind of dæmon who prompted and directed him. He believed also that his body exhaled the perfume of violets. With these exceptions he was a man of very vigorous mind, the correspondent of Descartes, the friend of Cudworth, and, as a divine and moralist, one of the most popular of his age. It is honourable to both parties that, while the Republican inquisitors ejected Crashaw and Cowley from the university, they allowed More 'to dream with Plato in his academic bowers.'^b

His poems are a strange blending of classic philosophy and

^a The last lines seem to have been in Moore's ear when he wrote his *Canadian Boat Song*:—

'And all the way, to guide their chime,
With falling oars they kept the time.

^b Campbell.

Gothic romance, and are written with great earnestness and solemnity. He professes to have followed Spenser, whose *Faery Queen* was read by More's father in winter evenings, but his melody is a very faint echo of Spenser's music. His *Song of the Soul*, Southey severely condemns; and there is, it is to be feared, little hope of a successful appeal from his decision. More's glory is, that he attacked Hobbes' philosophy in a way that excited the admiration both of that writer and of Addison, who in the *Spectator* has strongly recommended his ethical system.

171. Joseph Beaumont, a contemporary and opponent of More, was chaplain to Bishop Wren, and may claim a place here as the author of *Psyche*, an elaborate composition representing the intercourse of the human spirit with Christ. Southey thinks it does not deserve to be kept from oblivion; but Pope notes that it contains many flowers worth gathering, though it must be confessed we sometimes grow weary before we can find them. There is evidence in the works of Milton, Pope, Collins, and Southey, that they had all read him, and had taken hints from his pages.

172. Nor ought Ken to be omitted. He was educated at Winchester, and was, in 1666, elected fellow of that foundation.

At that time, Morley was Bishop of Winchester, and Izaak Walton, who had given Morley a home in the days of the Commonwealth, had now come to pass the evening of life with his friend. It was in that company Ken composed, for the use of the Winchester scholars, the three hymns, on *Morning*, *Evening*, and *Midnight*, by which he is best known. His chief eminence, however, he gained as preacher and bishop. Bowles conjectures, with much reason, that he was the original of Dryden's 'Good Parson,' as was Wycliffe probably of Chaucer's.

173. Stanley, Cotton, and Rochester, are chiefly lyric poets. Stanley is best known as the editor of *Æschylus*, and author of the *History of Philosophy*. His *Poems*, published in 1651, contain several translations from Anacreon, Moschus, and others, besides original verses. These last are distinguished by richness of style and of thought, and by variety of metre, though occasionally deformed by the conceits of

Stanley.
Cotton.
Rochester.

the Cowley school. Cotton is immortalised as one of the friends of Walton. He had a house on the Dove in Derbyshire, where he and Izaak used to fish and talk. He also wrote *Travesties* of the *Æneid* not creditable to him, and imitations of Lucian, translated the *Horace* of Corneille, and the *Essays* of Montaigne, besides some lines of true poetry. He went to Ireland as captain in the army, and his *Voyage to Ireland*, seems, as Campbell remarks, to be an anticipation of Anstey's *New Bath Guide*. His invitation to Walton to visit him contains flowing and even touching stanzas. The Earl of Rochester was one of the most profligate members of a profligate court. His letters to his wife however, show him to have been a man of tender and playful feeling, while the *Memoir* by Bishop Burnet gives a striking history of his repentance. That chapter of Isaiah, in which sixteen hundred years before, a treasurer of Queen Candace found peace, was the means of giving a like blessing to this English earl and wit. Burnet's *Memoir* Johnson describes 'as one which the critic ought to read for its elegance, the philosopher for its arguments, and the saint for its piety.' Rochester's poems are for the most part in keeping with his life—gay, easy, and graceful; some of them sweet and musical, many of them licentious. They give glimpses at the same time of a vigorous mind and fertile imagination. Their author died from physical decay at the early age of thirty-three.*

174. The poems of Chamberlayne and of Roscommon are of a different order, though neither can claim more than a third or Chamberlayne. fourth-rate place in our literature. Chamberlayne resided at Shaftesbury in the reigns of Charles I. and II. His chief work is *Pharonnida, a Heroic Poem*, published in 1659. The scene is laid partly in Sicily, but chiefly in Greece, and the poem itself contains an almost endless succession of plots and adventures. The imagery is often very beautiful, and the emotions excited and described strong and passionate, but the style is slovenly and the whole piece wearisome. Among his excellences may be mentioned his keen perception of natural beauty. Indeed he has given several descriptions of the

* It is to Rochester we owe the epitaph on Charles II., written at that monarch's request and made the ground of the disgrace of the writer :—

'Here lies our sovereign lord the king,
Whose word no man relies on;
Who never said a foolish thing,
And never did a wise one.'

glories of the morning, in a manner not unworthy of Milton. His works were long neglected till, in 1819, Campbell called attention to them by quoting largely in his *Specimens* from the *Pharonnida*. Roscommon was born in Ireland, and was godson of Strafford. He died in 1684, repeating in his last moments some of the lines of his own translation of the *Dies Iræ*. He was buried with great pomp in Westminster Abbey. The piece on which his reputation chiefly depends is his *Essay on Translated Verse*. This poem was long popular: both Dryden and Pope praised it, and the former tested the accuracy of its rules by his own practice. The language is always harmonious, and the versification smooth, but it wants vigour. It is greatly to his credit that, though he lived amid scenes that must have made vice familiar, his pen is free from licentious influences. He deserved in this respect the honour Pope has given him:—

‘ In all Charles’s days,
Roscommon only boasts unspotted lays.’

175. The poet of the Royalist party of the Civil War was Samuel Butler (1612–1680). It has been usual to set him against Milton, and to regard the one as the poet of the Republicans, and the other of the Cavaliers. But this comparison is unjust to them both. Milton is not properly a Republican poet, while as a poet he is as superior to Butler as Spenser is to Skelton. In his own class, indeed, Butler stands unrivalled ‘first and last,’ as his epitaph expresses it; but the class is a very different one from that to which the author of *Comus* and of *Paradise Lost* belongs. It is Butler’s praise that of burlesque satire, the satire that depends for its effectiveness upon the contrast between the style and the sentiments, or between the adventitious sentiments and the subject, he is perfect master. He has also adorned his work with great learning, and with thoughts that are occasionally beautiful and profound. No book was more applauded or admired by his contemporaries, who, alas, read the poem and left the poet to die in want, and to be buried in an obscure grave by a comparatively humble friend. But to compare him with Milton is to confound the lowest steps in the temple of poetry with the highest, and a tickled fancy with the noblest emotions of sublimity and beauty.

Butler was born in 1612, and was educated at the Free School

in Worcester. He is said, by his brother, to have been at both universities, but Johnson thinks it more likely he was at neither, and that he acquired his great learning by means more creditable to his own diligence than to his teachers. As a young man he became clerk to a Worcestershire justice, and after some time, was received into the family of the Countess of Kent, through the influence, it is said, of Selden, who was steward and, it is hinted, husband of that lady. Here he had the use of a good library, quiet retirement, and the company of intelligent men. Still later he is found in the family of Sir Samuel Luke, one of Cromwell's officers; and here he found the originals of those characters he was afterwards to paint. The first part of his poem was probably written at this time. On the Restoration, he obtained some humble preferment, and published, in 1663, the first part of *Sir Hudibras*. It was at once introduced to the court, by the influence of the Earl of Dorset, was immediately studied, and praised by all the party. The following year the second part appeared, and again the author was praised. But praise was his only reward. Clarendon, indeed, promised him a 'place of great value,' but beyond a promise he seems never to have gone. In spite of all these discouragements, Butler published, in 1678, the third part of his poem, which, however, was still unfinished, and unfinished it has remained. He died in 1680, worn out by deferred hope. He was buried in the churchyard of Covent Garden, and forty years later a Lord Mayor of London erected a monument to his memory in Westminster Abbey.

176. The history of Butler's chief poem is taken from the *Don Quixote* of Cervantes, 'a book,' says Johnson, 'to which the highest mind may be indebted without disgrace.' The aims of *Hudibras*. the two, however, are very different. Cervantes seeks to make Quixote ridiculous and lovable, and succeeds; Butler to make Hudibras ridiculous and detestable. The folly of degenerate chivalry is the subject of the first; the vices and the hypocrisy of the Republican party of the second; and it will be seen that Butler's subject is the more difficult of the two. Detestation and ridicule are opposite feelings, and yet, if Hudibras may only be taken as a specimen of his friends, the laughter and the abhorrence are both complete.

There is properly in this poem no plot. Sir Hudibras and his

squire (who are supposed to represent a Presbyterian, Sir Samuel Luke, and an Independent) go forth to stop the amusements of the common people, against which the Rump Parliament had passed some severe Acts. It is in the description of the scenes in which they mingle, in his sketches of character, and in the most humorous dialogue in which the two heroes indulge, that the power of the book consists. Portraits of cheats of every kind are drawn, analogies are brought in from widely-scattered sources, and the whole is set off with a depth of real wisdom that is sometimes very instructive. Many of the couplets have become proverbial, and are quoted by multitudes who know not whence they come.

Of course it is not his business to sketch the nobler qualities of the Puritans, and we should probably do even Butler injustice, if we regarded his satire as intended to describe the whole party. Johnson, indeed, notes that some of his attacks are plainly and even absurdly unjust. He blames the Puritan swords and the Puritan astrology, whereas their swords proved sharper and heavier than those of the cavaliers, and in astrology the Puritans were certainly not more superstitious than their neighbours—the time of the attempted escape from Carisbrook having been carefully fixed at Charles' request, by some star-gazing friend. But if we regard the book as a description of pretenders to sanctity, of quacks in politics and in learning, it may be read with great admiration. Many of its allusions, indeed, are now unknown, or need historical research to make them intelligible to us, and many of its analogies are mere conceits. Moreover we know the life only from the pictures, and we cannot delight in the pictures from our knowledge of the life. Hence the poem, as a whole, is tedious. Still, it is a most amusing and witty satire, showing wonderful skill in extracting jests from the driest stores, and written in a style at once varied and idiomatic. The metre is the octo-syllabic line of the *Trouvères*, of the old Norman romances, and of the legends of the Round Table. The humour is augmented when we remember the stately incidents that were once described in similar lines. It must be added that parts of *Hudibras* are marred by the grossness of the allusions.

The other poetic writings of Butler are of the same class, and are marked by the same pointedness of wit, and variety of allusion. In *The Elephant in the Moon* he attacked the Royal

Society, which had been recently formed, and which deserved better treatment at his hand. Herein, however, he only followed the wits of his day. A volume of posthumous prose writings contains sketches of characters in the manner of Earle, Feltham, and Fuller.

SECTION IV.—DRYDEN AND POPE AND THEIR SUCCESSORS.

THE ARTIFICIAL SCHOOL OF POETRY.

177. Writers who are fond of tracing the influence of foreign literature upon our own, note that Chaucer writes after the manner of the Provençals, though his poems are improved by the study of early Italian models, Boccaccio and Petrarch; that Surrey, Wyatt, and Vaux must have studied the works of Ariosto and Tasso—the second Italian school—and have formed their lyric poetry on those models; that Spenser based his poems on Provençal models, guided in part by the authors of the later Italian school; and that our metaphysical or fantastic poets borrow from the third Italian school, of which Marini was the founder. The poets of the Restoration—Dryden, Addison, Prior, and Pope—are admirers and imitators chiefly of French poetry.

178. There is no doubt truth in this connection of our English poets with the principal foreign schools. Dryden not only imitates the French poets in the use of rhyming heroic metre in his dramas, but both he and Pope show much of the transparency of language and vigour of style that distinguish French writers. There is however, a principle of classification that gives a juster conception than this of the poets of whom we have now to treat. Chaucer is largely the poet of character and of practical life. Spenser and Milton are both poets of imagination, the former romantic, and the latter classical. The fantastic poets, Donne, Crashaw, Cowley, and Sprat, are poets of conceits; Dryden and Pope are poets of art, portraying character and teaching truth with a measure of good sense, vigour, harmony, and clearness, such as had never been equalled. Of their school they are immeasurably the first, though that school is certainly not the highest in poetry.

179. Of Dryden's life and dramas, a fuller account will be

found elsewhere. As a poet his is the great name in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Born in 1631, Dryden.

he was in his thirty-sixth year before he wrote any poetry (except his dramas) likely to establish his fame. His *Astræa Redux* on the Restoration, had appeared a few years before, and displayed the harmony and point which Denham and Waller had taught the public to expect, even in second-rate poets. But it was not till 1667, when his *Annus Mirabilis* appeared, that the poetical qualities were recognised, which raised him above the crowd. This poem was intended to commemorate the calamities of the preceding year—the plague, the great fire, and the Dutch war. The sentiments have no moral dignity: he praises unduly a king who disgraced the throne: he praises unduly a war which is now regarded as one of the most humiliating of our history. Of imagination the poem is utterly destitute; but the style is that of a master, throughout vigorous and majestic. The metre, the four-line stanza with alternate rhymes, is borrowed from Davenant's *Gondibert*. It is not favourable to quickness of movement, but it is favourable to vigorous language and to condensed thinking; and in these qualities the poem certainly excels.

Between the publication of this piece and the next, more than a dozen years elapse. During that period Dryden was busy writing for the stage, and was perfecting himself in a metre (the heroic couplet) which he afterwards used in most of his poems. Its fitness for striking epigrammatic sentiment, especially in satire, is undoubted, and yet Dryden was the first to use it with ease, rapidity, and effectiveness. Occasionally the sense runs beyond the second line, and the heroic triplet becomes necessary. This however, does not often happen, and when done it is with little injury to the emphasis or to the harmony of the verse.

This metre he first used in his *Absalom and Achitophel* (1681), a poem half polemic and half satirical. It contains a large number of finely-drawn portraits. Among these Shaftesbury, Buckingham, Settle, and Titus Oates are the most remarkable. Thoroughly to appreciate the satire we need to know the personal history of the men; but even to the literary student, who knows but little of the political history, the sketches have great vigour and beauty. The second part of the poem, published in 1681, contains only two hundred lines of Dryden's—the characters of

Settle and Shadwell under the titles of Doeg and Og—the rest being written by Tate. The *Medal*, a third satire, which appeared in March of the same year, is directed against Shaftesbury alone, and is generally regarded as inferior to the *Absalom*.

In all these pieces appears an excellence unknown in previous satirical writings. From Skelton to Marvel the satire is generally so severe and coarse, that it excites disgust in the reader. In Dryden it is always so tempered with discretion and wit, that our feeling is with the writer even when our judgment is against him.

Mac Flecknoe (1682) is a personal literary satire on Shadwell, his rival. It is one of the earliest personal satires in our language, and even the subject fails to bring out Dryden's qualities. Yet the excellence of the poem is better sustained, Hallam thinks, than in any preceding composition of equal length. Flecknoe, it may be added, is the name of an Irish poet of but small powers, and Shadwell is represented by means of the patronymic prefix as the heir of his genius and fame.

The foregoing are Dryden's satirical pieces. His didactic poems are the *Religio Laici* (1682), and the *Hind and Panther* (1687). Scott notes that Dryden's excellence consists in the power of reasoning and of expressing the results in appropriate language; and nowhere else does this excellency more strikingly appear. The latter poem was written by Dryden as a recent convert to Romanism, which he then deemed the winning side, and he was one who never spared a weak or conquered foe. The fable is clumsy and ridiculous: yet many are ready to listen to the arguments of the Hind and the replies of the Panther, who would turn away from the discussions of a priest and parson, and it must be admitted that the grotesqueness of the whole is part of its power. Both poems contain sketches of great beauty and interesting allusions to the history and convictions of the writer. The wit is always sharp and ready, and the reasoning often close and cogent. Many of the lines are among the most musical in our language. The beginning of each poem has been specially praised in this respect.

Dryden's fame as a lyric poet rests chiefly on his *Ode to St. Cecilia*, and partly on his *Ode on the Death of Mrs. Killigrew*. The latter is much applauded by Johnson: the former was once deemed the finest ode in our language, but modern criticism

assigns it a lower place. A most energetic lyric it certainly is, and it is remarkable for the raciness and vigour of its expressions, and the general adaptation of the language to the sentiment. The narrative part of the poem describes the passions excited in the mind of Alexander by the harper Timotheus, each strophe painting a vision and exemplifying the vision it paints. The poem concludes with an allusion to the supposed invention of music by Cecilia. The whole is said to have been written in a few hours.

Dryden's powers as a narrative poet are seen chiefly in his latest productions, the *Fables* and stories modernised from Boccaccio and Chaucer—the most popular probably of his works. The versification in all, is admirable; the great fault is the want of that power over emotion, which gives to narrative poetry its great charm, a want owing largely to deficiency of feeling in Dryden himself. He lacks sympathy with his heroes, and he fails to describe the circumstances which are calculated to excite feeling. His paraphrase of Chaucer's Tale of Palamon and Arcite (the *Knight's Tale*), and of Chaucer's character of a good parson, may be mentioned as instances in which he has failed even to preserve the pathos of his model. The feeling all evaporates, the nicer touches of character disappear, though there are many beautiful lines and happy expressions which a careful reader will probably never forget.*

As a translator he owes less to his version of Virgil than to his versions of the satires of Juvenal and Persius, and of some of the Odes of Horace. The fact is, that he wanted the grace of the Mantuan poet, while between him and the Roman satirists, there was much in common, the same energy of expression, the same power of declamation, the same fondness for what is coarse. The sense he sometimes misses, but the general spirit he has caught and represented to perfection.

* 'I admire Dryden's talents and genius highly; but his is not a poetical genius. The only qualities I can find in Dryden that are *essentially* poetical, are a certain ardour and impetuosity of mind, with an excellent ear. It may seem strange that I do not add to this, command of language; *that* he certainly has, and of such language too—as it is desirable that a poet should possess. But it is not language that is in the highest sense of

the word poetical, being neither of the imagination nor of the passions, I mean the amiable, the ennobling, the intense passions. I do not mean to say that there is nothing of this in Dryden; but as little I think as is possible considering how much he has written. . . . There is not a single image from nature in the whole of his works.'—WORDSWORTH, *Lockhart's Life of Scott*, ii., p. 287.

180. It deserves special mention, that Dryden's finest prose writings were prefixed to his poems. His *Essay on Dramatic*
 His prose writings. *Poetry*, in which he discusses the disputed question as to the employment of rhyme in tragedy, originated in his *Dedication of The Rival Ladies*, and his *Treatise on Satire* was prefixed to his translation of Juvenal. In these and other prefaces he has travelled over nearly the whole field of criticism, as it was marked out in that day. His judgments on Chaucer, Shakespeare, Milton, and others, though not always such as later inquiry has confirmed, show the independence of his views and the catholicity of his taste. It is remarkable also that his taste kept bettering to the very last, Cowley and Sylvester having given place, as he tells us, to Shakespeare and to Milton. He is the first critic in our language that deserves the name.

181. It is curious to notice how, up to this time, nearly all criticism originated in questions connected with poetic composition.
 Criticism and poetry. The very earliest specimen of English criticism is found in 'certain notes' of instruction concerning the making of verse or rhyme in English (1575) by George Gascoyne. It consists of but ten pages, and yet contains a good deal of judicious thought. Webbe, the author of *A Discourse of English Poetry* (1586), discusses the use of Latin metres and their adaptation to our English tongue. Puttenham's *Art of English Poesie* comes next, and was published in 1589: 'it is well written in measured prose.' He praises Sidney and Spenser; and for ditty and amorous odes, Raleigh; while Gascoyne is praised for good metre and a plentiful vein. Sidney's *Defence of Poesie* is hardly critical: he rather 'avoids critical censures, and aims only at defending his art,'^a and yet written as it was in answer to Gosson,^b and against the men who deemed poetry a useless exercise of our powers, and not comparable for discipline to philosophy or history, it must have called attention to critical questions of the most important kind. All these works, however, are very inferior to Dryden's prefaces.

182. The other poets of the age of Dryden are but little known. In this respect, their history differs from that of the inferior poets of the preceding age, many of whom, though long neglected, have regained esteem and are more
 Other poets of Dryden's age.

^a Hallam.

^b Gosson's *School of Abuse*, 1579, was dedicated to Sir P. Sidney.

highly appreciated by a class of modern writers than they were by their contemporaries. Nor is it difficult to account for the inferiority of the poets of the time of Charles II. and of William. The Restoration made a marked change in the poetry of the age, even more than in the prose. 'The lyre was carried from the temple to the Theatre,'^a and some of the best authors devoted their strength to writing for the stage. The artificial taste, moreover, introduced in the reign of Charles II., and the low moral tone of society, tended to destroy in poets everything natural and generous. Their ambition came to be, to write like men of the world. Soaring fancy, deep emotion, even new imagery they renounced, and hence they differ only in the ease and harmony of their versification, or at most in their good sense and acuteness. The Revolution effected no change for the better: the artificial taste remained, and, though public morality improved, yet the theatre still claimed the services of the wits, while the state of public affairs absorbed the attention of men of intellectual power. Of the twenty or thirty poets who may be said to have flourished between the death of Milton and the noonday splendour of Pope's fame, by far the greater majority might be blotted from our literature and not be regretted or even missed.

183. William Cleland (1661-1689) satirised the Jacobite army in a piece known as the *Island Host* (1678), but is best known

by a wild fanciful poem entitled *Hallo my Fancy*.

Minor Poets. Thomas Shadwell (1640-1692), the rival of Dryden and Poet Laureate after him, has some comic power, and gained credit for his plays. Charles Sackville, Earl of Dorset (1647-1705), was the friend of Butler, of Waller, and of Dryden. He is excessively praised by Prior for two or three brief pieces, but they contain little worth remembering. Sheffield, Duke of Buckinghamshire, a Privy Councillor of James II. and of William, wrote a poem entitled an *Essay on Satire*, which Dryden is said to have improved, but it bears no marks of that master's hand: and an *Essay on Poetry*. This last is his best piece and was praised by both Dryden and Pope. It is written in heroic couplets, and is said to have suggested Pope's *Essay on Criticism*. It contains no poetry but is sensibly and sometimes forcibly

^a Willmott.

written. John Pomfret (1667-1703) is the author of some *Pindaric Essays*, and of a poem called *The Choice*, which describes a country life. Similar scenes are painted by Swift in his imitation of the sixth *Satire* of Horace, and later by Thomson and Cowper. The glow and beauty of these last paintings have completely eclipsed their predecessors. Nevertheless both Johnson and Southey speak of *The Choice* as once the most popular poem in our language. John Phillips (1676-1718), is now known only from a parody on Milton's epic, entitled *The Splendid Shilling*. He also imitated the *Georgics* in a poem *On Cider*. Both evince talent, though not of the highest kind, nor employed for the noblest purpose. In 1699, Sir Samuel Garth, an eminent physician, published a poem entitled *The Dispensary*. It is mock-heroic, and was written on the war then waging between the College of Physicians and the Apothecaries. The latter had claimed the right to prescribe as well as compound medicines: the former threatened to compound as well as prescribe. The college gained a temporary victory; but in 1703 the House of Lords decided that the Apothecaries were entitled to fill both offices. The piece consists of six cantos, and ridicules some of the most eminent apothecaries of the day. It passed through several editions, and each edition was enlarged and, it is said, improved. The versification is smooth and forcible, and is one of the earliest specimens of carrying the sense beyond the rhyming couplet without requiring in all such cases a third rhyming line. The poem is now little read, but lines are still occasionally quoted from it. Another physician, Sir Richard Blackmore (1676-1729), wrote an epic poem, *Prince Arthur*. It was composed, as he says, while he passed up and down the streets, or, as Dryden says, 'to the rumbling of his chariot wheels.' In his poem on *The Creation*, which Johnson includes in his edition of the poets, he seeks to demonstrate the existence of a Divine eternal mind. The poem wants neither 'harmony of numbers, accuracy of thought, nor elegance of diction,'^a and the whole unites ornament with strength, and ease with closeness. Addison warmly praises it, and even compares it with the *Paradise Lost*.^b Blackmore was satirised by Pope and greatly admired by John Locke. Thomas Parnell (1679-1718), was of Irish birth, an accomplished scholar, and Archdeacon of Clogher. His poems are hymns, translations,

^a Johnson.^b *Spectator*, 339

songs, and epistles. His most celebrated piece is *The Hermit*, which Pope pronounced 'very good.' The versification is smooth and the style at once grave and picturesque. His *Fairy Tale* Goldsmith deems one of the finest productions in any language, and the *Night Piece on Death* he preferred to Gray's *Elegy*, a preference, however, in which few modern readers will concur,—the metre alone (eight-syllabled lines) being fatal to it. Parnell found fast friends in Bolingbroke, Pope, Arbuthnot, and Gay. His versification is remarkably melodious; without the vigour of Pope, but also without his mannerism. Ambrose Phillips (1675-1749), owed his fame in part to the writings of Addison and Pope. His first published poems were printed in the same volume with Pope's first poems, the *Pastorals* of Phillips being the first piece in Tonson's Miscellany (1709), as Pope's *Pastorals* are the last. Tickell praised Phillips' pastorals as the best in the language. Pope answered by a comparative criticism on both, giving the preference to Phillips, but taking care that in the quotations his own should have the advantage. Phillips' *Pastorals* are poor compositions, it must be confessed, but he was an easy versifier, and Goldsmith praises the opening lines of his *Epistle to the Earl of Dorset*, as 'incomparably fine.'^a Certain short pieces by which he paid court, as Johnson says, to all ages and characters, procured him the nickname of *Namby Pumbly*. The title was first given him by Carey, the dramatist, and was at once adopted by Pope as suitable to Phillips' 'eminence in the infantile style.'^b Like many of the literary men of that age, Phillips received from government several appointments, from which he obtained a respectable competency.

Jonathan Swift (1667-1745), though entitled to a high place among the prose writers of his age, is but an indifferent poet. It is difficult to forget the man while reading his works; and in poetry his character certainly detracts from the value of all he has written. 'His muse,' says Smollet, 'is mere misanthropy' and nastiness. Yet if these qualities can be forgotten, his satire is often just and admirable, while his humour is always pleasant when

^a 'From frozen climes and endless tracts
of snow,
From streams which northern winds
forbid to flow,' etc.

^b C. G. To Miss Charlotte Pulteney
in her Mother's arms. May 1, 1724.

'Timely blossom, infant fair,
Fondling of a happy pair,
Every morn and every night
Their solicitous delight,' etc.

The *sevens*-metre of our hymns.

not coarse. His *Baucis and Philemon* (1708), his *Rhapsody on Poetry* (1733), and the *Cadenus and Vanessa* are the pieces best known. Goldsmith, Swift's countryman, finds many of his poems very fine, but the beauty is all of a low kind, and the reader is never sure in what depths a decent and even noble beginning may end. Thomas Tickell (1686-1740), the friend and admirer of Addison, is now known best by his *Elegy* on the death of that eminent man, and by his ballad of *Colin and Lucy*.^a He also translated the first book of the *Iliad*, which was published at the same time as Pope's. Addison and the Whigs praised Tickell's, the production of one who was *Whigissimus*, as Swift called him: the Tories praised Pope's. Among the unhappy results of this rivalry was the breach of the friendship that had subsisted between Addison and Pope, a breach never healed. To this quarrel we owe Pope's *Character of Atticus* a piece of satire written with some truth, but with more malignity. Tickell's satire, composed *in imitation of the Prophecy of Nereus*, to ridicule the Earl of Mar and the Jacobite rising of 1715, contains some vigorous lines.

184. A fuller notice seems due to Prior, Gay, Addison, and Ramsay. Matthew Prior (1664-1721) was born near Wimbourne in Dorsetshire, was educated at Westminster, and afterwards, through the patronage of the Earl of Dorset, at St. John's, Cambridge. Through the influence of the same friend he was appointed in succession secretary of several embassies, and entered Parliament in 1701 as member for East Grimstead. After joining the Whig party and celebrating the victories of Blenheim and Ramilies he deserted to the side of their opponents on the impeachment of Lord Somers. He afterwards accompanied Lord Bolingbroke to Paris, where he remained till he rose to the rank of ambassador. On his return to England he was imprisoned for his supposed share in the Treaty of Utrecht. After an imprisonment of two years he was released without trial,

^a 'He taught us how to live; and (oh! too high
The price for knowledge) taught us
how to die.'

Tickell's *Ode on the Death of Addison*.
'One of the finest in the language,'
Goldsmith: preferred by Johnson to
Lycidas.

'I hear a voice you cannot hear,
Which says I must not stay;
I see a hand you cannot see,
Which beckons me away.'

Tickell's *Colin and Lucy*. 'Perhaps
the best in our language,' Goldsmith,
'The prettiest in the world,' Gay.

and found himself at fifty-three, and after all his public employments, with no other means of support but his Cambridge fellowship. He was then advised to publish an edition of his collected works, and raised by it four thousand guineas,—a sum which was doubled by a generous gift of Harley's, Earl of Oxford. This provision he enjoyed only a short time, dying at Wimpole, Lord Oxford's seat, in his fifty-seventh year.

His poems are of different styles and on different themes : songs, epigrams, tales, and odes. One of the earliest was the story of the *City and Country Mouse*, written by him in conjunction with Charles Montague in ridicule of Dryden's *Hind and Panther*. His *Henry and Emma* is a ballad formed on the model of the *Nut-Brown Maid*, but without the charm and simplicity that distinguish that poem. His latest production was *Solomon*, an epic poem on a religious theme, deemed by himself and by Cowper his ablest piece. His characteristic, however, is humour and vivacity, and what Cowper calls 'the charming ease' of his style ; and these qualities are certainly most seen in his shorter pieces. Even metaphysics he can clothe, as in his *Alma*, with gay and genial pleasantry. He is said to be one of the last of our poets who rely for ornament on pagan machinery. Venus and Mercury, Diana and Jupiter, appear in a way that provokes Johnson's contempt. Cowper says more charitably, 'there is a fashion in these things which the doctor seems to have forgotten.'^a It must be added that sometimes he is grossly licentious even for that age.

185. John Gay (1688-1732), the most good-humoured and the best beloved of the wits of Pope's day, was a Devonshire man, born near Great Torrington, and was apprenticed to a silk mercer in London. Not liking this business he threw himself upon literature for support, and was soon made secretary to the Duchess of Monmouth. When twenty-six years of age he published his *Shepherd's Week*, in *Six Pastorals*, written to ridicule those of Ambrose Phillips. They display so much humour and give so many entertaining sketches of country life, that they became popular as serious compositions. A year later appeared his *Trivia*, or *the Art of Walking the Streets of London*, and *The Fan*, a poem in three books. The first is a mock-heroic piece, painting, with the minuteness of Teniers, the dangers and

^a *Letter to Unwin*, 1782.

sights of the London streets, the hint being taken from Swift's *City Shower*.

Anxious for public employment Gay became, for a short time, in 1714, secretary to Lord Clarendon. This dignity however, soon ended and left him little the richer. In 1720 he published his poems by subscription, and obtained thereby 1000*l*. By his dramas and operas he amassed altogether about 3000*l*., and was towards the close of his life, received into the family of the Duke of Queensberry. Here his sole occupation was the composition of his *Fables*, and occasional correspondence with Swift, Pope, and other friends. He died at the early age of forty-four, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. Pope has well sketched his character—

‘Of manners gentle, of affections mild,
In wit a man, simplicity a child.’

His *Fables* are among the best in our language, and, though without the profuse wit and naïveté of La Fontaine, he shows great ease of versification and much good-natured humour. *The Hare with many Friends* and the *Court of Death* deserve mention. His *Black-eyed Susan*, and ‘that pretty ballad,’ as Cowper calls it, ‘’Twas when the seas were roaring,’ are among the best known of his minor poems. His *Beggars’ Opera*, a ‘Newgate Pastoral,’ though not without political allusions, was written at the suggestion of Swift, and is still popular for its music. It brought its author large gains, displaced for a time the Italian opera, and originated the English opera, a kind of light comedy blended with song. The *Beggars’ Opera*, seeking to make rogues attractive, cannot be commended for its moral tendency.

186. The fame of Joseph Addison (1672–1719) rests rather on his prose writings than on his poetry. It was the latter, however, that first gave him distinction, and some of his pieces are still popular. He was the son of an English Dean, and was born at Milston in Wiltshire. At Oxford he wrote with success Latin poetry, and when twenty-two years of age sent an address in English verse to Dryden. In 1693 Dryden published in his *Miscellany* a translation, by Addison, of the fourth *Georgic*, and Dryden warmly commended ‘his ingenious friend.’ In the following year he sketched the characters of Chaucer, Spenser, Milton, etc., in an *Account of the Greatest*

English Poets, though these sketches do his fancy or poetic taste small honour. *A Poem to His Majesty, Presented to the Lord Keeper*, secured a pension of 300*l.* a-year, which enabled him to visit Italy. While abroad he wrote his *Poetical Letter*, to Charles, Lord Halifax (1701), the 'Charles Montague' of Prior, and the great patron of literature in that age. This letter describes the 'classic ground' on which Addison had trod, and it is preceded by what Goldsmith calls a vein of political thinking, new in the poetry of that period: 'had the harmony of the poem resembled that of Pope's versification it would have been the finest in our language.' With the death of William, Addison's pension ceased, but soon after he gratified the Lord Treasurer Godolphin by a poem, *A Gazette in Rhyme on the Victory of Blenheim*, and the closing verses so pleased his lordship^a that he gave the poet a Commissionership of Appeals, an office in which he had the honour to succeed John Locke.

Soon after, Addison was made Under-Secretary of State, and went to Ireland as secretary to Wharton. He then entered upon his career as essayist. In his *Tatler*, *Spectator*, and *Guardian*, he first displayed that delicate humour, knowledge of the world, quiet and refined observation, which all readers now associate with his name. In his graver papers he also displays a degree of imagination and critical taste, and even of deep feeling, which as yet none of his friends had supposed him to possess.^b After the publication of *Cato* he married (1716) the Countess Dowager of Warwick, to whose son he had been tutor. The marriage was not a happy one. The history of Dryden and of Addison in this respect is a warning against the 'heraldry of hands, not hearts.' In 1717 he was made Secretary of State. The office he held only for a short time; he wanted the ready resource, 'the small change,'^c as he himself expressed it, of an effective parliamentary orator. On more than one occasion it is said, also, that his fastidiousness overpowered his skill, and he was

^a 'So when an angel, by Divine command,
With rising tempest shakes a guilty land,
Such as of late o'er pale Britannia passed,
Calm and serene he drives the furious blast,
And, pleased th' Almighty's order to perform,
Rides in the whirlwind and directs the storm.'

^b See his papers on Milton and Westminster Abbey, and his *Vision of Mirza*.

^c 'He could draw bills for a thousand pounds, but had not a guinea in his pocket.' is Johnson's report of this saying.

obliged to get a clerk to draw up documents which he could not write to his own satisfaction. On his retirement from the Secretaryship he received a pension of 1500*l.* a year, and busied himself with a work on the *Evidences of the Christian Religion*, which, however, he left incomplete. He died at Holland House at the early age of forty-seven.

His Traveller's Hymn, 'How are Thy servants blessed, O Lord,' his Retrospect, 'When all thy mercies O my God,' and his versions of the 19th and 23rd Psalms are well known. The Traveller's Hymn was an early favourite of Robert Burns. Nor should his translations of classic authors, Ovid especially, be left unmentioned.

187. Before a more natural strain of poetry had become popular in England, Scotland possessed several poets whose lyric effusions had much of the simplicity and tenderness which are supposed to belong to a quiet pastoral life. Among these, the family of the Sempills, lairds of Renfrewshire, is illustrious. To Robert Sempill (1595-1669) we owe the introduction of a new kind of stanza which Ramsay and Burns made popular.* His son Francis is the author of some well-known rustic songs,—*Maggie Lauder* and the oldest version of *Auld Lang Syne*. Early in the eighteenth century (1708), James Watson of Edinburgh, published a *Choice Collection of Comic and Serious Scots Poems*, and a little later (1719), a pretended fragment of an old heroic ballad, *Hardyknute*. This last was a great favourite with Gray and with Percy, who included it in his *Reliques*, and especially with Walter Scott, who speaks of it as the first poem he ever learnt, and as the last he should forget.

But the great name in this department of Scottish poetry is that of Allan Ramsay, who founded the first circulating library in Scotland, established the first theatre, which his countrymen pulled down; but is still better known as the representative in the early part of the eighteenth century of the fun and simple tenderness of Scottish life.

Ramsay (1686-1757) was born in Lanarkshire, where his father had charge of some lead mines. After receiving a moderate

* 'Is there a man whose judgment clear
Can others teach the course to steer,
Yet runs himself life's mad career
Wild as the wave.

Here pause—and thro' the starting tear
Survey this grave.'
BURNS'S *Bard's Epitaph*

education at the parish school, he was bound apprentice to a wig maker—an employment which some of his biographers are very careful to distinguish from the humbler calling of barber. Whatever its honours or profits, however, Ramsay left it as soon as he had finished his apprenticeship. In his twenty-fourth year he married the daughter of a writer or attorney. As a means of support he published some small poetic productions in a cheap form; and soon after set up as a bookseller near ‘Niddry Wynd.’ In that capacity he prepared a new edition of King James’s *Christ’s Kirk on the Green*, to which he added two stanzas of his own, displaying genuine humour and a perfect knowledge of the Scottish tongue. One of these stanzas, describing how a drunken husband was won home from the village ale-house by the gentle persuasion of his wife, has been made the subject of one of Wilkie’s finest paintings. In 1724 he published *The Tea-table Miscellany*, a collection of songs written by himself, Mallet, and others, and *The Evergreen*, a collection of poems from the Bannatyne MSS., written before 1600. Instead of simply transcribing these last he often adds to them. One of the poems, *The Vision*, is the offspring of his own brain, and shows high powers of poetry. In 1725 appeared his pastoral drama, *The Gentle Shepherd*, the first rudiments of which had been published some years before in the form of two pastoral dialogues. The piece was republished in London and in Dublin, and received the warm admiration of Pope, Gay, and the public generally. It is a genuine pastoral, and is unlike most of the pastoral poetry of modern Europe. The characters are peasants, and though the Shepherd and his Mistress are seen to be equal to any position, they preserve the simplicity and the habits of their own sphere with complete consistency. Many of the verses of the poem have passed into proverbs, and still continue the delight of the classes they describe. A second volume of poems appeared in 1728, and in 1730 he published a collection of Fables. The *Epistles* of the former no doubt suggested those of Burns, and several of the stanzas may fairly be compared with those of Scotland’s greatest lyric writer; but as a whole they are inferior. Ramsay’s lyrics want grace and delicacy, but some of them, as *The Yellow-haired Laddie*, are still favourites.

At the age of forty-five he ceased to write for the public, and he died at Edinburgh in his seventy-second year. His habitual

cheerfulness and racy humour make his biography pleasant reading. His eldest son rose to eminence as a painter, and is not unknown as a man of letters.

188. Already have we seen a marked change for the better in the social position of literary men in the fifty years that elapse between Milton and Pope. The feeling of Lord Burghley when he expressed surprise at Queen Elizabeth's bounty to Spenser, 'All this for a song,' was shared by many of the statesmen of the following reigns. During eleven years *Paradise Lost* yielded 15*l.* to its author. At the close of the century, Dryden the poet, who was at the head of the literary men of England, received only 300*l.* for ten thousand lines, such as no other man in England could have written. Within the first few years of the eighteenth century, however, John Gay, a poet of no first-rate ability, cleared 1000*l.* by a volume of his poems, and before Pope was thirty he had laid aside between 6000*l.* and 7000*l.*, the fruits of his pen.

This change cannot be ascribed to any wide extension of literary taste. The public had not yet begun to buy books or to read them. It was chiefly through subscriptions that these large sums were raised, and subscription lists succeeded only when taken under the patronage of men of rank or station. The fact is that in the reigns of William III. and Anne, literary merit often introduced its possessor into the most distinguished society, and to the highest favours of the State. The Earl of Dorset, the ablest noble poet of the court of Charles II., had used his influence in support of this practice; and Montague, Earl of Halifax, who owed his own introduction into public life to his poem on the death of Charles, and to his share in *The City and Country Mouse*, continued the system to which he was himself so largely indebted. Prior, as we have seen, was employed in several important embassies, as were Stepney and Gay. Swift, but for the personal feeling of the Queen, would have been raised to the Episcopal Bench, not certainly for his theology, but for his wit. Ambrose Phillips was Judge of the Prerogative Court in Ireland; Tickell was made secretary to the Lords Justices. Nicholas Rowe was not only poet laureate, but manager of a department of the Customs, clerk to the council of the Prince of Wales, and secretary to presentations to the Lord

Chancellor. Congreve was rewarded for his first comedy with places which made him independent for life. Steele held various offices, from Superintendent of the Royal Stables, to Commissioner in Scotland of Forfeited Estates. Addison, it is well known, was Secretary of State. These appointments, honourable and profitable as they must have proved to those who held them, indicate a readiness among both the great parties into which the kingdom was now divided to patronise literature with a beneficence that must have been a common advantage, showing itself in other forms, and influencing the position of all literary men. It was the Augustan age of literature, at least in this respect, that its patrons were in high places, and were prepared to give to it substantial rewards.

With the accession of the House of Hanover and of Walpole there is a marked change. Walpole had himself no taste for learning, no admiration of genius. He must have noticed that some of the men whom the favour of Halifax had put in office were poor debaters and worse men of business. He therefore changed the system so far as to reward scribbling rather than genius. Not Kensington, but Grub Street; not the House of Commons, but the King's Bench; not Westminster Abbey, but the parish vault, became the temporary or the lasting abode of men who, had they lived thirty years before, might have been intrusted with an embassy. It is true that literature declined, and that the thirty years which follow the middle of the century have few great names of which to boast; but this fact does not explain the neglect with which genius was treated. Thomson, Collins, Johnson, Fielding, were some of the most eminent men of the middle of the eighteenth century; yet they were all four arrested for debt, and some of them gained their livelihood with the greatest difficulty. To these times, however, we have not yet quite come.

189. The most brilliant name in the first half of the eighteenth century, and one of the most brilliant in our literature, is that of

Pope. Alexander Pope. He was born in London in 1688,

and claimed to be of 'gentle blood.' His father, the son of a clergyman, was placed in a mercantile house at Lisbon, and there became a Roman Catholic. His mother was of the family of the Turners, of Towthorpe, in Yorkshire. Soon after

the poet's birth his father retired to a small estate at Binfield, near Windsor. Pope was partly educated by the family priest, and partly at a Catholic seminary near Twyford. In his twelfth or thirteenth year he returned home, and devoted himself to a course of self-instruction, completing a plan of study, 'with little other excitement than the desire of excellence.'^a When eleven years old he persuaded some friend to take him to Will's Coffee House, where he obtained a glance of 'glorious John' Dryden, a circumstance of which he was ever after fond of boasting.

As a boy he was of dwarfish size, and as a youth was always feeble, though with a remarkably expressive face, and eyes full of fire and tenderness.

Even before his twelfth year he had written several pieces; but his literary life can hardly be said to begin before he was sixteen. He then wrote some of his *Pastorals* (on the Seasons), translated part of Statius, and composed verses in imitation of Waller, Dryden, and other poets. His *Pastorals* were published in 1709, in Tonson's *Miscellany*, and in 1711 appeared his *Essay on Criticism*, the finest piece of argumentative poetry in our language. 'This alone,' says Johnson, 'would have placed him among the first critics and the first poets, as it exhibits every mode of excellence that can embellish or dignify didactic composition.' It must have been written when he was only twenty-one. Its precepts may be found substantially in Horace, as they had already been given by Boileau; but the force and delicacy with which they are set forth, the melody and terseness of the versification, are entirely the poet's own. The *Essay* was soon followed by *The Rape of the Lock*. This poem is founded on a frolic of Lord Petre's, who cut off a lock of hair from the head of Arabella Fermor, maid of honour to queen Anne. This incident caused an estrangement between their families, and Pope wrote his piece 'to laugh them together again.' As the poem now stands it is a small epic of five books, in which are described Belinda's toilette, the council of the sylphs under their leader Ariel, the fatal catastrophe, the loss of the lock, the grim abode of Spleen and the gnomes, the fearful combat between beaux and belles, and the final elevation of the lock of hair as the constella-

^a Johnson.

tion of the Tress of Berenice. All this is set forth with inimitable grace. As originally written the piece was without the supernatural agents which now form so important a part of the epic, and was even then described by Addison as 'a delicious little thing.' Its mimic divinities are a happy substitute for the classic deities of older writers, and for the personified abstractions of the romantic school, and correspond exactly to the mock-heroic character of the whole. As an example of mock-heroic poetry it is unrivalled, blending as it does the most delicate satire with the most lively fancy. Still it is mock heroic, and to a true epic is what a set of Dresden-china figures is to a noble group of statuary.

Two years later appeared his *Windsor Forest*, written after the plan of Denham's *Cooper's Hill*. This poem, though less artificial than those that belong to Pope's after life, shows the same faults of character. The scenes he describes must have been familiar to him—the glades of the forest, the 'purple dyes' of the 'wild heath;' yet there is the same want of depth of feeling which we note in his other writings. In his *Temple of Fame*, a vision after Chaucer, published by Pope in 1715, there is a winter scene described with great force and naturalness.

Meanwhile Pope was preparing to translate Homer. As early as 1713 he issued proposals for this work. The first four volumes appeared in 1715, and the whole by 1720. The *Odyssey* appeared five years later. Of this last he himself translated only twelve books out of the twenty-four, the rest being intrusted to respectable contemporary poets,—E. Fenton (1683-1730), and William Broome (1689-1745): the last, it is generally thought, compiled the notes. From these two works Pope is said to have cleared between 8000*l.* and 9000*l.* Both translations are written in the rhymed decasyllabic verse, which Pope had done so much to perfect. However beautiful this metre may be for some purposes, as the garb of Old Homer it is singularly inappropriate. Pope's translation has also a double fault: he adds false ornaments, and he fails to mark the discriminations in speech that belong to Homer's descriptions. Pope's *Iliad* is in short 'a pretty poem, but not Homer.'^a It has, nevertheless, won the admiration and quickened the taste of thousands in whose esteem it has all the excellence, and, what must be deemed in a transla-

^a Bentley.

tion, all the faults, of an original work. It is now generally admitted that if Pope had translated Virgil, and Dryden Homer, each translator would have done more justice to the peculiarities of the originals.

While busy with the *Iliad*, Pope removed from Binfield to Chiswick, where he resided for about two years, till the beginning of 1716. He then removed with his mother, now a widow, to Twickenham, and there spent the rest of his life. When at Chiswick he published his collected works. In this volume first appeared the *Elegy to the Memory of an Unfortunate Lady*, *The Epistle from Sappho to Phaon*, a poem taken years before from the *Heroides* of Ovid, and *The Epistles of Eloisa to Abelard*, founded on a touching story of mediæval times. The subject of the first of these poems is a real story of disappointed love; and the subject of the last an unhallowed passion, followed by penitence and a life of devotion. Both poems are artificial in their arrangement and diction, yet both contain passages of great beauty, while the last abounds in imagination and feeling. One passion at least the poet has portrayed with great power and skill.

All the later years of Pope's life were spent in easy, if not in opulent circumstances. His father had retired from business with a fortune of 20,000*l.*, but had feared to invest it, so that on his death the principal was considerably diminished. Pope's own savings, however, and his economy, had done much to replace this amount, and certainly his position was one of great honour and comfort. He lived in familiar intercourse with most of the courtiers, statesmen, orators, and literary men of his age, Swift and Atterbury, Addison and Bolingbroke (St. John), Arbuthnot and Warburton, Prior and Gay.

Having completed the translation of Homer, he next published an edition of Shakespeare, in six volumes, quarto. The preface he prefixed is one of his best prose productions, but his notes are of little value. In fact he wanted the peculiar knowledge of Elizabethan literature, and, it may be added, of the English language, as well as the diligent research that are so essential to the elucidation of Shakespeare's text. Hence his work was deemed by the public not at all equal to the contemporary edition of Theobald, the work of a far inferior man and a mere literary drudge. This superiority Pope never forgave, and revenged himself somewhat

meanly by giving to Theobald a place of great dignity in the *Dunciad*.

In 1727-1728 he published, in connection with Swift and Arbuthnot, three volumes of *Miscellanies*. Part of this work was devoted to the *Memoirs of Martinus Scriblerus*, a treatise on the abuses of learning and the mistakes of philosophy: it is a kind of literary Don Quixote. The *History of John Bull*, by Arbuthnot, given in the same volumes, is admirably told, but the prose writing generally is inferior, and very prone to degenerate into personalities and mere invective. Here, however, may be found some of the best of his satirical poems.

Pope belonged to a race proverbially irritable. His success, the malignity and vanity of his disposition, his impatience of all rivalry, the unworthy tone of his remarks on the comparatively low social position of many of the literary men of his age, all combined to make him enemies. At once to punish, and, if possible, to crush them all, he wrote the *Dunciad*, the most savage and powerful literary satire in any language. It first appeared in an imperfect form in 1728, then enlarged with notes in 1729. The prince of dunces in these editions, is Theobald: in the edition of 1743, to which a fourth book was added, the chief place is reserved for Colley Cibber, actor and dramatic author, and certainly not deserving of this bad eminence. The idea of the poem seems to have been taken from Dryden's *MacFlecknoe*. The throne of Dulness is left vacant by the death of Shadwell, and the poets of the time are made to compete for the dignity. The *Dunciad* abounds in personalities, and is an example of the highest power prostituted to a selfish end. Yet there are passages of great truth and beauty scattered over it, and at the close the author gives a sketch of the decline and corruption of taste and learning in Europe which may be fairly reckoned among the finest bursts of his genius.

In the four following years (1731-1735), Pope was occupied in the composition of his *Epistles* addressed to Arbuthnot, Burlington, Bathurst, Cobham, and others. These were evidently suggested by the *Epistles* of Horace. Their tone, half satirical, wholly familiar, rendered them very charming and popular. At the same time appeared his noblest work, the *Essay on Man*, in four Epistles addressed to Bolingbroke. This Essay is part of a course of moral philosophy which the poet had projected. In the first

Epistle man is regarded in relation to the universe, in the second to himself, in the third to society, and in the fourth to happiness. The theories advocated are neither new, nor are they always just; while religiously regarded the poem is lamentably defective. Yet the exquisite vigour and conciseness of the language, the melody of the verse, the aptness of the illustrations, have made the whole a favourite with nearly all writers. There is probably no piece of equal length (out of Shakespeare or Milton) that has supplied to our current literature a larger number of phrases and sentiments remarkable for their mingled truth and beauty.

And now the dark period of the poet's life was near. His friends were fast leaving him; Swift was imbecile, or rather idiotic; in 1732 he lost Atterbury and Gay; from Addison he had been long alienated; in 1733 was taken from him his mother, to whom he had been fondly attached, and whose age he had soothed with a woman's tenderness. His own maladies increased, and were now aggravated with dropsy and asthma. Between 1735 and 1739 he published his *Imitations of Horace*, poems moral, critical, satirical, containing sometimes the noblest thoughts, and still oftener the fiercest denunciations. In 1742 and 1743 he added the fourth book to the *Dunciad*, announcing the establishment of the kingdom of Dulness throughout the earth. The excitement consequent upon the threatened arrival in Scotland of the Pretender, and the proclamation of the government forbidding Roman Catholics from appearing within ten miles of London, all told upon his physical condition; and an 'additional proclamation,' as he terms it, 'from the Highest of all Powers' summoned him away. He died at Twickenham on the 30th of May, 1744.

Besides the pieces already mentioned, Pope wrote an *Eclogue on the Messiah*, an adaptation of the *Pollio* of Virgil to a sacred theme; an *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day*, an inferior imitation, apparently, of Dryden's, but illustrating the power of music from the story of Orpheus. He composed also a number of *Epitaphs*, many of them remarkable for their skill and elegance. 'No man,' says Macaulay, 'ever paid compliments better than he: his sweetest confectionery had always a delicate yet stimulating flavour, which was delightful to palates wearied with the coarse preparations of inferior artists.' Some of Pope's earlier imitations of Chaucer and Ovid have all his smoothness of versification, with

a measure of licentiousness for which Pope is as responsible as the original writers.

190. His character and the character of his poetry, have been already indicated in the preceding sketch of his life. Both have been warmly assailed, and as warmly defended.

Character of his poems. His character was undoubtedly a collection of contradictions. He appreciated excellence, and has admirably described it: yet he was guilty of meanness which it is impossible to defend. He was a steadfast and even a tender friend, a dutiful and loving son: yet his fierceness and petulance and jealousy were unbounded and inexcusable. As a poet he is one of six to scenes from whose works is assigned an honourable place in our new Houses of Parliament—his compeers Chaucer, Shakespeare, Milton, Spenser, and Dryden. Yet he is not to be compared with Shakespeare or with Milton. He has none of the universality of the first, none of the sublimity of the second. He never describes man or nature; and there is but little of insight or power in his delineations of virtue. The men and women of the eighteenth century are his themes, and his greatest approach to sublimity is in description of malignant passion. Yet for wit, strong sense, taste, the mastery of masculine English, terse and beautiful versification, he is almost unrivalled and certainly unsurpassed,—a greater poet in this respect than his master, Dryden.

The terms in which critics describe him will vary of course with their tastes. Men who prefer argumentation to imaginativeness, vigorous style to exuberant fancy, who deem didactic and ethical poetry the first of all, will give him a very high place, as Johnson and as Lord Carlisle* have done. Happily we are freed from the necessity of criticising such decisions. It is enough to define his class, and to give him in that class a first place. Whether the class itself is the highest is another question.

191. The charm and success of Pope's poetry produced a large number of imitators. Didactic poems blossoming into satire in Smartiads, Hilliads, etc., antithesis and easy rhythm soon ending in monotony, became the rage. The

His successors.

* See *Johnson's Life*, and the Earl of Carlisle's *Lecture on the Poetry of Pope*. There is a good discriminative article in the *Edinburgh Review* for 1803.

Roscoe's Life, Pope's Works, vol. II., and *Campbell's Specimens*, Introduction, lxxxvii., are well worth consulting.

public grew fatigued with repetitions of his manner : till towards the close of the century the poetry of nature and passion regained its popularity, and the influence of Pope ceased except in the taste it had created for correct language and polished versification.

And yet the more distinguished of Pope's contemporaries and successors adopted a style of their own. Edward Young is decidedly original in his best pieces. Thomson, who survived Pope by only four years, never copied his satire or wit, but by his glowing descriptions of natural beauty, and his true poetic feelings, vindicated his right to the dignity of Spenser's disciple. Gray and Collins aimed at the imagery and magnificent phraseology of the lyric and Pindaric ode. Akenside was a scholar of Pope's only in his theme, and discussed in melodious blank verse the doctrine of ideas, and *The Pleasures of Imagination*; while Armstrong discussed in the same metre the *Art of Preserving Health*, and Dyer *The Art of Sheep Shearing*. Some of the best of the second-rate poets, as Shenstone and Mason, had a manner of their own. In all these, however, and in others besides, the influence of Pope is seen, either in the themes they have chosen or in the melody of their verse. Johnson copied Pope's style closely in its ethical tone, its antithetic forms, and generally in the vigour and rhythm of its versification, as also did Goldsmith, and Campbell, and Byron. These last, it may be added, are disciples of Pope chiefly in the polish of their verses : in them all there is a lyrical power and a depth of feeling such as Pope never displayed.

192. Edward Young (1681-1765), author of the *Night Thoughts*, was born at Upham, near Winchester, of which parish his father, afterwards Dean of Salisbury, was rector. Young.

He was educated at the Winchester School, and afterwards at New College, though not as resident. In 1708 he obtained a law fellowship at All Souls, Oxford. Four years later he began public life as courtier and poet,—his first attempt at verse being an *Epistle* to Lord Lansdowne. After writing several minor pieces, he produced in 1721 his tragedy, *The Revenge*. It is written with all the elaboration of the French school, but contains many touches of meditative thought, such as rendered his later works popular. Previous to the publication

of this drama he probably went to Ireland with the Duke of Wharton, 'the scorn and wonder of his days,' and he certainly gave up a position in the Exeter family to serve the Duke. After spending some time abroad he returned to England, and between 1725 and 1729, published *Characteristical Satires on the Universal Passion, the Love of Fame*. For this poem the Duke of Grafton presented him with 200*l.*, and he probably received other sums from the ministry of that day. It is now known that he was in receipt of a pension of 200*l.* a year from 1725 till his death. *The Love of Fame* was warmly praised by Johnson and Warton. It abounds in epigrammatic lines, and is at once keen and powerful. It occupies, in Johnson's judgment, a middle place between the *Satires* of Horace and those of Juvenal, possessing the gaiety of the first with the severer morality of the second. Yet as it touches only on the surface of life 'its power is exhausted by a single perusal.'

When upwards of fifty, Young, despairing apparently of political power, entered the church, and in 1728 was made chaplain to George II. Two years later his college presented him to the living of Welwyn, where he spent the rest of his days. In the year 1731 he married a daughter of the Earl of Lichfield, with happier results than followed a similar union in the case of Addison and of Dryden. During the remainder of his long life he made several attempts to obtain preferment, but without success: indeed it is humbling to read the letters and appeals which he addressed to men in power on this theme.

In the early years of his clerical life he published several lyrics, but of these he had, at length, the good sense to think but indifferently. To his wife and to her two sons by a former marriage he was warmly attached. The wife of one of these, Mrs. Temple, the Narcissa of the *Night Thoughts*, died at Nice in 1736, and four years later her husband, the Philander of Young; in the following year Mrs. Young herself. To these successive bereavements, and to the anxiety of the poet on behalf of his own son, the Lorenzo, perhaps, of his pen, we owe the *Night Thoughts*, their gloom and sadness. The first part of this poem appeared in 1742. Its faults are obvious: between the nine books there is no connection, each book being independent of the rest; the style is very strained and artificial; there is a strong tendency to say witty, smart things, to load his pictures with horrors, to write sensation-

ally rather than simply. And yet, though the genius of the writer is not sufficient to vivify the entire mass, the poem contains many beauties: it abounds in sublime expression, profound thought, striking imagery, and it sets forth the great truths of religion with energy and feeling. Johnson had said that the power of the *Night Thoughts* is in the whole, not in particular lines: Campbell affirms, on the contrary, that it is not in the whole but in particular lines, in 'short, vivid, and broken gleams of genius.' Both theories are just: particular beauties may easily be selected so 'as to delight and electrify a sensitive reader,' and yet it is not one or two of these that justify the popular impression which the poem has produced, but the large number of them, extending as they do over several books, and suggesting not only the idea of power but of creative genius. It must be added, however, that the poem has been spoken of, as Goldsmith remarks, with exaggerated applause or contempt, as the reader's disposition has turned to mirth or to sadness.^a

193. Among his prose writings the following deserve mention: *A True Estimate of Human Life*, containing many pointed aphorisms and sketches of character; the *Centaur not His prose*. *Fabulous*, directed against the fashionable scepticism and vices of the age, and closing with the melodramatic picture of the death of Altamont, supposed to represent Lord Euston, whose 'name will continue to fester in the infamy of years;' and his *Suggestions on Original Composition*. This last was written when the poet was eighty years old, and was addressed to his friend Richardson, the author of *Clarissa*. The book was reviewed and warmly praised by Goldsmith:^b it is written with freshness and precision.

194. The only poem of the eighteenth century that resembles the *Night Thoughts* is the *Grave* of Robert Blair^c (1699-1746). The author was minister of Athelstaneford in Blair. East Lothian, and was succeeded in that office by Home, the author of *Douglas*. He was cousin of Hugh Blair, the well-known Professor of Rhetoric, and his son was long eminent as a lawyer. Blair himself was a man of liberal education and of

^a See some critical remarks in Bulwer's *New Phædo*.

^b *Critical Review*, 1760.

refined taste. As a preacher he is said to have been earnest and imaginative. Southey speaks of his poem as an imitation of the *Night Thoughts*; but it was published in 1743 under the care of Dr. Doddridge, and it was written, as the author states, many years before. The poem wants the harmony of a complete work, but contains many passages that are striking and impressive: it was a great favourite with Robert Burns. Between 1747 and 1785 it went through eight editions.

195. James Thomson (1700-1748), the author of the *Seasons*, was born near Kelso, and was the son of the minister of the parish of Ednam. While yet a boy he gave evidence of poetic taste, and in his eighteenth year was sent to the university of Edinburgh. On the death of his father he went to London, and became tutor to the son of Lord Binning. Some of his descriptions of winter having attracted the notice of his friend Mallet, he advised him to write a connected poem on that subject, and in 1726 *Winter* appeared. *Summer* was published in 1727; and in 1728 he issued proposals for publishing by subscription the *Four Seasons*. Among his guinea subscribers, numbering three hundred and seventy, Pope occupies an honoured place. In 1731 Thomson visited the continent as travelling companion to the son of Sir Charles Talbot, Bishop Butler's friend, and afterwards Lord Chancellor. On his return he published his poem on *Liberty*, and obtained the Secretaryship of Briefs in the Court of Chancery, an office he held till Lord Talbot's death. A pension of 100*l.* a-year from the Prince of Wales, and the office of Surveyor-General of the Leeward Islands, the duties of which he fulfilled by deputy, placing him in comparative opulence, he retired to a residence near Richmond, where he spent the remainder of his life in lettered ease and the enjoyment of nature and the society of his friends. Here he finished his *Castle of Indolence*, which he published in the spring of 1748. A sail from Hammersmith to Kew, taken after a warm walk from London, gave him a cold which ended in fever. After a short illness he died in August of the same year. He was buried in the churchyard at Richmond, and, in 1762, a monument was erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey.

Between the publication of his *Seasons* and the *Castle of Indolence* he wrote the tragedies of *Sophonisba*, *Agamemnon*, and

Edward and Eleonora; but none of these pieces contributed materially to his fame. In conjunction with Mallet, he wrote also the masque of *Alfred*, in which occurs the lyric song of *Ruler Britannia*.

The publication of the *Seasons* forms an era in the history of our poetry. It indicates a return to nature; and its descriptions of natural beauty are written with such fidelity and feeling that it excited the interest and sympathy of all classes. Its faults are owing chiefly to the exuberance of the author's style and thoughts, qualities that show themselves in declamation and digression. While he dwells on the grand scenes of nature, and appeals to the common feeling of man in relation to them, his exuberant and ambitious style may be tolerated and even admired; but when he descends to minute descriptions, and to humorous scenes, the want of keeping between the thought and the utterance offends the taste, and produces effects that are grotesque and even ridiculous. It must be added, however, that all through his poetic career, Thomson was improving in this respect. The first edition of his poem differs from the second, and the second from the third, while every alteration he made is an improvement; the language becomes more appropriate and the thought more delicate. Several suggestions of Pope, to whom Thomson had given an interleaved copy of his poem, are adopted in the latest edition.

It has been customary to compare Thomson and Cowper, and the comparison is not without interest. They agree in their admiration of nature, and largely in their tenderness of feeling, in humanness of taste and emotion. Cowper has less enthusiasm. Few passages of his are equal in power to some of Thomson's, the Hymn of the Seasons for example, and the description of the Earthquake of Carthage; but in the harmony of his later verse, in the ease, variety, and grace of his style, Cowper is immeasurably superior.

In the *Castle of Indolence* the faults of style disappear, and we have the art of the poet as well as his genius. It is his chastest if not his best work. The materials of the poem are taken originally from Tasso, but Spenser is his English model. Of the *Faery Queen* it is the most perfect imitation, without servility, ever made. West copies Spenser's style only: Thomson has his genius as well as his diction.

Johnson justly praises his originality both of thought and of

metre. 'His blank verse is no more the blank verse of Milton than the rhymes of Prior are the rhymes of Cowley: his numbers, his pauses, his diction, are of his own growth, without transcription, without imitation.'^a

196. Gilbert West (1706-1756) is known in literary history as translator of the *Odes* of Pindar, and has prefixed to his version a dissertation on the Olympic Games. In Dods-
West. ley's collection several of his poems appear, and among them a poem on *The Abuse of Travelling* (1739). It is written in the style of Spenser, and is warmly praised by Gray. Coleridge gives his pieces 'the merit of chaste and manly diction,' but thinks them 'cold and dead-coloured.' For his *Observations on the Resurrection*, the University of Oxford conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws. In later life he was Clerk of the Privy Council, and was on terms of friendship with Pitt and Lord Lyttelton: the latter dedicated to him his *Life of St. Paul*.

197. John Dyer (1699-1758), a Welshman, was born at Aber-
glasslyn, and was intended by his father for his own profession,
Dyer. that of solicitor. The son, however, after receiving his education at Westminster, preferred art to law, and rambling through his native country filled his portfolio with sketches of the most beautiful scenery. During one of these excursions he wrote *Grongar Hill*, a descriptive moral piece, which was published in 1726 in Lewis's *Miscellanies*. He afterwards made the tour of Italy in the spirit of an artist and poet, and, besides studying pictures, wrote another poem on the *Ruins of Rome*. This he published on his return in 1740. He then married a descendant of Shakespeare and entered into orders. His longest poem, entitled *The Fleece*, appeared in 1757. The theme, like others of the same age, is certainly not a happy one,

'The care of sheep, the labour of the loom:'

yet it contains many poetical passages and received the admiration of Akenside.

^a *Lives of the Poets. The Castle of Indolence*, is 'unquestionably one of the most magnificent specimens of verse in any language.'—MONTGOMERY, *Lectures*

on Poetry, p. 182: 'The sublimest production of its kind since the death of Milton.'—AIKEN.

His pictures of natural scenery are well drawn and beautifully coloured. Wordsworth praises also his imagination and the purity of his style. His earlier poem is the foundation of his fame.

198. The life of Samuel Johnson (1709-1784) is the history of the literature of the middle half of the eighteenth century. It is enough to state its leading facts and to refer the student to his earliest or latest biographies, Boswell's inimitable gossip, Carlyle's striking article, or Lord Macaulay's brilliant sketch. Johnson was born at Lichfield on the 18th of September, 1709, and was the son of a respectable bookseller. The father contrived to give the son a good education and entered him at Pembroke College, Oxford, in 1728. The father, however, was unable to maintain him there, and Samuel left the university without a degree. He was for a short time an usher in a private school at Market Bosworth. Having married a widow, Mrs. Porter, who was twice his age, he started a school of his own. He had three pupils, one of whom was David Garrick. After an unsuccessful career he left the neighbourhood of Lichfield, where he had been recently residing, and came to London, bringing with him *Irene, a Tragedy*, and his old pupil Garrick. Here he began his profession of public writer, critic, poet, essayist, philologist, and moralist, struggling with poverty, and ultimately gaining for himself a first place among the men of his age.

In 1738 appeared his *London*, in imitation of the third satire of Juvenal, 'one of those imitations,' says Gray, 'that have all the ease and all the spirit of an original.' In 1749, appeared *The Vanity of Human Wishes*, an imitation of Juvenal's tenth satire, a better poem than the preceding, with a deep 'and pathetic morality which has often extracted tears from men whose eyes wander dry over pages professedly sentimental.'^a His pictures of Wolsey and Charles of Sweden have all the vigour and harmony of Dryden. Both these poems illustrate a truth upon which Goldsmith insists, viz., that in satire, the force of which depends on the characters and practices condemned, 'imitation will always give a juster idea of the ancients than translation itself.' His *Prologue on the Opening of Drury Lane*, is one of the finest in our language, and his lines *On the Death of Levett* are remarkably

^a Scott.

mournful and tender. Johnson's prose writings consist of contributions to *The Gentleman's Magazine*; *The Life of Savage* (1744); *The Rambler* (1750-1752); *The Dictionary of the English Language*, to which he devoted upwards of seven years; *The Idler* (1758-1760), another series of Essays; *Rasselas* (1759); *The Journey to the Western Highlands of Scotland* (1775); and *The Lives of the Poets* (1779-1781). For the selection of these *Lives* he was not responsible. The work was a bookseller's speculation; and the choice was determined by the likelihood of popularity. He is the author also of various speeches, sermons, and pamphlets, which last were published anonymously or under assumed names.

The degree of LL.D. was conferred upon him, first, by Trinity College, Dublin, and afterwards by the University of Oxford. In 1762 he received a pension from George III. of 300*l.* a-year, and this he enjoyed till his death on the 13th of December, 1784. He was buried in Westminster Abbey.

199. Thomas Gray (1716-1771) was born in Cornhill, London, where his father, like Milton's, was a money scrivener, in a respectable position. The father was of an overbearing temper, and his wife was compelled to separate from him. It was to her exertions in business that Gray was indebted for the advantage of a liberal education, first at Eton, where his uncle was assistant master, and then at St. Peter's College, Cambridge. Out of a large family Gray alone had the misfortune, as he expresses it, to survive his mother. This sad early history seems to have given a pensive tone to his whole character.

At Eton he made the acquaintance of Horace Walpole, son of the Prime Minister, and when his education was complete Walpole induced young Gray to join him in a tour through Italy and France. Walpole was fond of society and Gray of solitude; so that it is no matter of surprise that the friends parted before the tour was complete. To his friend West, Gray has given some striking, though somewhat affected, descriptions of this journey, and has enriched them with several poems, or fragments of poems, in Latin.

On his return Gray retired to Cambridge, and among its libraries and learned societies, with occasional visits to Stoke and to London, he passed the remainder of his life. He now for the first time turned his attention to English poetry. Previously he

had devoted his thoughts to the study of the classic languages, and had written pieces in Latin with great elegance. His Latin poems are among the finest specimens of that kind of composition in our literature. Classical study he still pursued, but his poetic compositions were henceforth only in his native tongue. In June, 1742, he wrote his *Ode on the Spring*, the first English poem he ever finished. It was written at Stoke Pogis, near Windsor, where his mother was residing, and was sent to his friend West, who then lay dead, though for some days Gray was ignorant of his loss. His death occasioned the beautiful sonnet which is inserted in Gray's works. In the following August he wrote the *Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton College*, and the *Ode on Adversity*. About the same time he began his *Elegy*, though it was not completed in its present form till three or four years later. The *Ode to Eton College* was published in 1747, and the *Elegy* in 1751. This last had been handed round in manuscript for some years, so that the publication of it was rather a necessity than a choice. It soon passed through a dozen editions. His *Pindaric Odes*, including his two great ones, *The Progress of Poesy* and *The Bard*, appeared in 1757, but met with little success. Gray's name, however, was now well known, and this same year he was offered the office of poet laureate, rendered vacant by the death of Cibber. Gray declined the appointment, but in 1768 he obtained the more lucrative, and, as he deemed it, the more honourable position of Professor of Modern History at Cambridge. This office he held for three years, but never entered upon its duties. He drew up, however, an admirable sketch of an inaugural speech, and prepared a plan of private instruction for his students. He was really too feeble in health to carry out his project, and in 1771 an attack of gout carried him off in the fifty-fifth year of his age. He was buried, according to his desire, by the side of his mother, at Stoke.

In 1765 he visited Scotland, and met his brother poet, Dr. Beattie, at Glammis: he also travelled through part of Wales and through the lake scenery of Cumberland. His letters describing these excursions are like the rest of his correspondence, remarkable for precision and elegance; for 'a dry scholastic humour,' and no less for touches of natural feeling that excite our love as much as our admiration.

200. The characteristics of Gray's mind appear in his poems in

all their glory. Like Milton, he had mastered all the classic poetry of antiquity, and much of the poetry of modern Italy; and, like Milton, he admired the creations of Gothic genius. The most cultivated classic of his age, he yet was among the first to welcome the Celtic strains of Macpherson's *Ossian*, and is known as one of the most skilful translators of the wild superstitions of the Norse nations; his *Fatal Sisters* and the *Descent of Odin* faithfully represent the abruptness and energy of the ancient bards. Add to these qualities fire and life, boldness of imagination, condensed and brilliant expression, deep and quick sympathy, and we have the secret of his success. His *Elegy*, which Johnson criticised too severely, and which Byron has warmly praised, has received the seal of universal acceptance, while his *Pindaric Odes* are, as compositions, unsurpassed for majesty and sweetness. If the meaning of his lines is occasionally latent, it is never indefinite or confused: repeated perusal may be necessary, but it is always rewarded, and as we read, beauties multiply and brighten to the view. His ear was exquisitely fine, and his versification has a harmony and variety found in few of our writers.

201. The name of Gray brings up by natural association that of William Mason (1725-1797), his friend and biographer. He was the son of a clergyman, was born at Hull, and was educated for the same profession. He became successively chaplain of George III., rector of Aston, and precentor of York. His most popular pieces are the dramas of *Caractacus* and *Elfrida*, *The English Garden*, Odes on *Independence*, *Memory*, *Melancholy*, and *Tyranny*, and several *Elegies*. His dramas are deemed by Southey to be greatly superior to those that were then popular, though encumbered with choruses. His Odes are inferior to those on the same subjects by Thomson and Shenstone, while his strained and alliterative style exposed him to the ridicule of Lloyd and Colman. Mason was a fervent admirer of Gray, and has often caught his spirit and copied his excellences.

His *Memoir and Letters of Gray* is generally regarded as the first specimen of that style of biography. The subject of the memoir tells his own story, and the reader's conception of his character is gathered from materials supplied in detail by the hero of the biography himself. Boswell states that in his *Life*

of Johnson, he adopted Mason's plan, as it was afterwards adopted by Hayley in his *Life* of Cowper, by Moore in his *Life* of Byron, and by Lockhart in his *Life* of Scott.

202. William Collins (1720-1759), another of our lyric poets, was a native of Chichester, where his father was hatter and alderman. Collins was admitted a scholar of Winchester School in 1733, and was first on the list for admission to New College, Oxford. As there was no vacancy on that foundation he entered elsewhere as a commoner. Three years afterwards he quitted the university with a high character for 'ability and indolence.' While yet a youth he published an epistle to Hanmer on his edition of Shakespeare, and a collection of *Persian or Oriental Eclogues*.

On leaving the university (1744) he proceeded to London, a literary adventurer, 'with many projects in his head, and little money in his pocket.'^a It was not, however, till 1747 that he published his *Odes*, and these seem to have been forced from him by his necessities. Unhappily they fell stillborn from the press, and the author was compelled to go abroad to escape from the pecuniary difficulties under which he was struggling. He first called in all the unsold copies of his *Odes*, burnt them, and then, raising a few guineas on a promised translation of Aristotle's *Poetics*, went to his uncle, who was serving with his regiment in Germany. On the death of this uncle Collins became entitled to a sum of 2000*l*. The first use he made of what was to him a fortune was to repay the sums that had been advanced to him. He hoped now to enjoy life, but it was too late; his mind and his body were both diseased. It was found necessary to place him under restraint. In that state, with intervals of gentle, quiet suffering, he remained till his death in 1759.

His poetic compositions fill but a few pages, and were at first coldly received. After his death, however, they began to be appreciated, and now he 'is of all our minor poets the one who has shown most of the higher qualities of poetry.'^b His *Ode to the Passions* especially, which may be compared with Dryden's *Alexander's Feast*, was soon extolled by the critics, and was frequently recited in the theatres. His *Oriental Eclogues* are also now recognised as among the earliest representations of Eastern

^a Johnson.

^b Hazlitt.

imagery and of Eastern life. Campbell thinks that his works, most of which were written before he was thirty, will bear comparison with whatever Milton wrote under that age. They exhibit, indeed, 'less exuberant wealth of genius, but more exquisite touches of pathos.' He certainly deserves to be reckoned with Jonson, Milton, Dryden, and Gray, among the first lyric writers in our literature.

203. Armstrong and Akenside are poets of another class, the one attempting to incorporate material science with poetry, and the other mental philosophy. John Armstrong (1709-1779) was born at Castleton, in Roxburghshire, where his father was minister, and was educated for the medical profession at the university of Edinburgh. After taking his degree he removed to London, where he took to literature, from inclination as well perhaps as from necessity. In 1744 appeared the poem on which his reputation chiefly rests—*The Art of Preserving Health*, and it was soon followed by two others on *Benevolence* and *Taste*. In 1760 he was appointed physician to the forces in Germany. On the peace in 1763 he returned to London, where he practised till his death in 1779. He was a man of more than ordinary taste in the fine arts, and of shrewd, caustic, conversational powers; yet if the character which Thomson gives him in the *Castle of Indolence* be just, the exercise of those powers must have been intermittent rather than continuous:—

‘ With him was sometimes joined in silent walk
One shyer still, who quite detested talk.’

Some of the stanzas of that poem, those, for example, that speak of the diseases arising from sloth, Armstrong wrote; and they form, it must be admitted, a quiet background to the strongly-coloured pictures of the *Castle*, rather than a prominent part of the scene.

The Art of Preserving Health is divided into four books, which treat of air, diet, exercise, and the passions. Milton, in the vision of Adam, has turned disease itself into a subject of sublimity. Armstrong claims the praise of having traced with poetic beauty both diseases and their remedies. His verse resembles Cowper's in its vigour, but it wants the imaginativeness and grace which distinguish the writings of that poet.

Various prose pieces, *Sketches by Launcelot Temple* (1758),

Miscellanies (1770), were written by Armstrong, but add nothing to his fame. The writer shows an increase of splenetic humour, creditable neither to his feeling nor to his philosophy.

204. Mark Akenside (1721-1770) the son of a butcher, was born at Newcastle-on-Tyne. An accident in his early years, caused by the fall of his father's cleaver on his foot, lamed him for life, and perpetuated the memory of his lowly birth. He received his education at the grammar school of that town, where Lord Eldon, Lord Stowell, and Lord Collingwood also received the rudiments of learning: he afterwards graduated at the universities of Edinburgh and Leyden. On his return to England he settled for a short time at Northampton, then at Hampstead, and finally in London. Here he gained ultimately the highest honours of his profession, and when he died was physician to the queen. His chief poem, on *The Pleasures of Imagination*, he completed before he left Leyden. On reaching London it was sent to Dodsley, who, by Pope's advice, purchased and published it. The sum he gave was 120*l.*, then deemed a large amount for such a work. It immediately gained a measure of celebrity which it has scarcely maintained. In later life Akenside altered it in parts without improving it: he made it, indeed, only more dry and scholastic, and is said to have remodelled some of the passages which in their primitive state are still most admired and popular. He also published a collection of *Odes*, and in 1746 he engaged to write in the *Museum*, a periodical then issued by Dodsley's house.

Akenside's genius was decidedly classical: he had extensive learning, lofty conceptions, and a true love and knowledge of nature. His Puritan origin and tastes gave an earnestness to his moral views which pervades all his writing. His ear, though not equal to Gray's, was correct, and his blank verse is free and beautifully modulated, deserving to be studied by all who would excel in that truly English metre. His philosophical ideas are taken chiefly from Plato, Shaftesbury, and Hutcheson. He adopted Addison's threefold division of the sources of the pleasures of imagination, though in his later edition he substituted another. The poem is seldom read continuously, but it contains many passages of great force and beauty; those for example where he speaks of the death of Cæsar, where he compares nature

and art, where he describes the final causes of the emotion of taste, and in a fragment of a fourth book, where he sketches the landscape on the banks of his native Tyne, and notes the feelings of his own boyhood. His *Hymn to the Naiads* has the true classic ring, and has caught the manner and the feeling of Callimachus. His inscriptions, those for example on Chaucer and Shakespeare, are reckoned among our best, and have been imitated by both Southey and Wordsworth. His odes are his least successful productions; his *Ode to the Earl of Huntingdon* having received most favour. Yet withal, his popularity was greater in his own day than it is likely to be in ours—popularity attributable to the influence of the writings of Gray, and especially to the revived study of Milton and other classic models through the notes and writings of Warton.

It may be added that, upon the question sometimes discussed, whether the progress of science is favourable to poetry, Akenside differs from Campbell. The latter speaks of poetic feelings that yield 'to cold material laws:' the former holds that the 'rainbow's tinctured hues' shine the more brightly when science has investigated and explained them.

205. Nature and description flourish again in Shenstone and Goldsmith. William Shenstone (1714-1763) was born at the Leasowes, in Shropshire, a small estate which he made by his taste, 'the envy of the great, and the admiration of the skilful.'^a He was first taught at a dame-school, and has immortalised his teacher in *The Schoolmistress*. In 1732 he entered Pembroke College, Oxford, and, on the Leasowes coming into his own hand, he retired to that place and there remained most of his life, influenced therein partly by his fondness for gardening, and partly by disappointed love and disappointed ambition. Here he wrote his pastorals and his elegies—works which, if not remarkable for genius, are certainly among the best of the class to which they belong. They abound in simplicity and pathos, though they are wanting in force and variety. Campbell thinks, and probably with justice, that if he had gone more into living nature for subjects, and had described their realities with the same fond and naïve touches which give

A more natural style of poetry:
Shenstone.

^a Johnson. 'Shenstone educated the nation into that taste for landscape gar-

dening which has become the model of Europe.'—D'ISRAELI, *Curios. of Lit.*

so much delightfulness to his *Schoolmistress*, he would have increased his fame.

His *Schoolmistress* was published in 1742, though it was written at college. The poem is a descriptive sketch in imitation of Spenser's style, 'so quaint and ludicrous, yet so true to nature,'* that it reminds the reader of the paintings of Wilkie or of Webster. His *Pastoral Ballad* is a happy specimen of that kind of composition, and, it may be added, one of the latest; the Arcadianisms in which it indulges having given place to the real-life descriptions which are found in Burns and Hogg. The whole is written in the well-known metre :—

‘She gazed as I slowly withdrew,
My path I could hardly discern;
So sweetly she bade me adieu,
I thought that she bade me return.’

His prose essays and letters occupy two volumes of the three of his works as published by Dodsley; the former are good specimens of English style; without the learning of Cowley, but with a good deal of his ease and elegance.

206. Oliver Goldsmith (1728–1774) was born at Pallas, county Longford, Ireland, and was the son of the curate of that parish.

His father afterwards became rector of Kilkenny Goldsmith.

West, in the county of Westmeath. In this district, Goldsmith spent his boyhood, and here, at Lissoy especially, a neighbouring hamlet, he found the materials for his *Deserted Village*. In 1745 he entered Trinity College, Dublin, as a sizar, and after a somewhat irregular course (for in his case ‘the child was father of the man’) he took his degree of B.A. in 1749. Aided by his uncle, he proceeded to Edinburgh, where he studied medicine for two sessions, still in difficulties, owing sometimes to his heedless extravagance, and sometimes to his generous disposition. He is next found at Leyden, having had a remarkable deliverance from shipwreck before reaching that place. In 1755 he set out on a pedestrian tour with, it is said, a guinea, a shirt, and a flute. In his journey he visited Flanders, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy, often earning a welcome, as he tells us in his *Traveller*, by his music. At Padua he stayed some months, and, there, is supposed

* Chambers.

to have taken his degree of doctor of medicine. In 1756 he reached England unknown and poor, but with dreams of fame and wealth. Here he first obtained a place as assistant to a chemist in Monument Yard. Then he commenced practice as a physician in a humble way at Bankside, in Southwark; then became reader and corrector of the press to Richardson, the novelist; then usher of a school at Peckham; then reviewer and critic to the *Monthly Review*. After a vain attempt to pass an examination at Surgeon's Hall, he gave himself up to literature, and lived thenceforward solely by his pen. In this character 'everything he touched he adorned,'^a and he became celebrated as prose writer, as historian, as novelist, and as poet. The style of everything he wrote is remarkable for its idiomatic clearness; as historian and naturalist his 'facts' are often erroneous or partial.

Among his most successful prose writings are his *Chinese Letters*, afterwards published under the title of *The Citizen of the World*, and the *History of England*, in a series of letters from a nobleman to his son: the latter was extensively popular, and was generally ascribed to Lord Lyttelton. In December, 1764, appeared his poem of *The Traveller*. It was immediately received with universal applause, and was pronounced by Charles J. Fox one of the finest poems in our language. Meanwhile, his pecuniary difficulties rather increased than diminished; and in 1766, Johnson, who had long been his friend, found him in his lodgings in great perplexity, threatened by the bailiffs without and by his landlady within. The sale of the *Vicar of Wakefield*, which Johnson effected for 60*l.*, gave him temporary relief, and secured for him a first place among the writers of his age. His ballad, *The Hermit*, came out in the following year; and in 1768, the publication of the *Good-natured Man* made a change in the reigning fashion of comedy, by substituting innocent mirth for questionable sentimentality. His *Deserted Village* appeared in 1770, and in 1773 his second comedy *She Stoops to Conquer*: between these two appeared his *Roman History*, and later, his *History of England* in four volumes, and his *History of Greece* in two. These were all written to order for the booksellers, but with a grace which no other man could have given to works executed in that way. His last and largest work is his *History of Animated Nature*, which was to be completed

^a Johnson's *Epitaph*.

in eight volumes, and was to be paid for at the rate of a hundred guineas a volume ; but before the work was completed, his health failed, and on the 4th of April he died in the forty-seventh year of his age. He was interred in the Temple burial ground, and a monument was erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey.

207. Goldsmith's character was a strange mixture of littleness and attractiveness. His vanity and thoughtless profusion—qualities that seemed to justify even Boswell in looking down upon him—are obvious enough. On the other hand, the simplicity, strength, and pathos displayed in his writings, his open-handed beneficence, running however sometimes into folly or even vice, and the tender affection which he inspired in men like Burke and Reynolds, are proofs that he had nobler qualities than cursory readers of Boswell's Johnson might suppose. But whatever may be thought of his personal character, of his writings there is but one opinion. His poetry enjoys 'a calm and steady popularity.' It has no traces of daring genius or of prolific invention, but it abounds in natural delicacy and correctness, with occasional elevated views of a philosophic kind ; the whole written with great harmony and terseness of style, and saturated with gentle and tender feeling.

The plan of the *Traveller* is natural and simple. The poet has reached some Alpine height, whence he looks down on the kingdoms below : he views the scene with delight, but sighs to think that the sum of human bliss is so small. Is there no spot, he is ready to ask, where true happiness can be found ? Natives of many countries are summoned, and each commends his own. The poet concludes that if nations are compared, their happiness will be found to be about the same ; and he illustrates his opinion by describing the manners and government of Italy and Switzerland, of France, Holland, and England. In beauty of description, in strong sententious reasoning, in bursts of true poetry, these lines have seldom been surpassed. His character of the men of England, Johnson used to read with great energy and feeling.

The *Deserted Village* professes to give the history of Auburn. Amid much beauty and truth, the author advocates the pursuit of agriculture, as more likely to conduce to the happiness of a people than the development of commerce or of manufactures ; condemns the luxurious and selfish spirit of hastily acquired

wealth, and complains that it generally produces the pomp and solitude of a feudal mansion, without its hospitality and protection. Johnson notes that the *Village* is somewhat an echo of the *Traveller*. Campbell thinks it the better poem. Macaulay thinks it inferior, too limited in its views, and somewhat incongruous in its details.^a Whatever be thought of these criticisms, or of the political economy of the poem, no reader will question the deliciousness of the fancy or the nobleness of the moral sentiment.^b

208. The obligations of our literature to the minor poets of this period we must summarise in a briefer form. We owe to—

WILLIAM SOMERVILLE (1692-1742)—squire and poet—the *Chase*, a poem in blank verse (1735), and *Occasional*

Minor poets:
Somerville, etc. *Poems* :

JOHN BYROM (1691-1763)—Manchester man and shorthand writer, tutor of Gibbon and of Horace Walpole—a felicitous pastoral piece entitled *Careless Content*, written in the very style of the age of Elizabeth, and extensively popular in that day :

MATTHEW GREEN (1696-1737)—a dyspeptic Custom-house clerk—the *Spleen*, a poem which Pope and Gray warmly praise, written in Hudibrastic verse, to cure the low spirits to which its author was subject :^c

RICHARD SAVAGE (1696-1743)—the reputed son of Earl Rivers—a volume of poems containing the *Wanderer* (1729), and the *Bastard* (1728), the latter written with much truth and earnest feeling :

WILLIAM OLDYS (1696-1761)—Norroy King at Arms, and author of a life of Raleigh—the Anacreontic lines, 'Busy, curious, thirsty fly :'

WILLIAM HAMILTON (1704-1754)—the 'volunteer laureate' of the Jacobites—the *Braes of Yarrow*, a ballad of real nature

^a He shrewdly remarks:—'It is made up of incongruous parts. The village in its happy days is a true English village; the village in its decay is an Irish village.'

^b In his ballad on *Edwin and Angeline* we have the lines:—

'Man wants but little here below
Nor wants that little long.'

Though the sentiment is borrowed from Young.

In his *Relatation*, a fragment on the character of Burke, Garrick, Reynolds, etc., there are several lines illustrative of his shrewdness and wit :

'And to party gave up what was
meant for mankind.'

^c Here is found the oft-quoted line,
'Throw but a stone, the giant dies.'

and pastoral simplicity; which suggested the three poems of Wordsworth on the same theme :

ISAAC HAWKINS BROWNE (1706-1766)—member of Parliament—imitations of Cibber, A. Phillips, Thomson, Young, and Swift (1736), in which he hits off their peculiarities with a skill unsurpassed either by Anstey in the *New Bath Guide*, or by the Smiths in the *Rejected Addresses* :

HENRY BROOKE (1706-1783)—an Irishman, early loved by Pope, Lyttelton, and Chatham—several dramatic pieces, of which *Gustavus Vasa* is best known; and a philosophical poem on *Universal Beauty* :

SIR C. H. WILLIAMS (1709-1759) some trenchant satires, and some gross poems, though fewer than are included in his collected works (1822) :

EDWARD MOORE (1712-1757)—son of a dissenting minister at Abingdon—a volume of *Fables for the Female Sex*, which rank next to Gay's; the effective tragedy of the *Gamester*; and several poems of which Goldsmith thinks highly :

RICHARD GLOVER (1712-1785)—London merchant, and member of Parliament—a poem written when the author was but sixteen, to the *Memory of Newton*, prefixed by Pemberton to his *View of the Newtonian Philosophy*; the publication of Green's poem on the *Spleen*; *Leonidas*, in nine books, afterwards increased to twelve, a poem praised by Fielding, by Lord Cobham, Chatham, and other friends of liberty, and even by Southey for a kind of Spartan severity that commands respect; and *Admiral Hosier's Ghost*, a ballad intended to raise the national spirit against the Spaniards :

WILLIAM WHITEHEAD (1715-1785)—Poet Laureate after Gray had declined the office—two indifferent dramas, *The Roman Father* and *Creusa*, and a lively poem on *Variety*, often quoted in the last century :

JAMES MERRICK (1720-1769)—Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and tutor of Lord North—a version of the Psalms, several hymns and short poems of great elegance, including the *Wish* and the *Chameleon* :

JAMES GRAINGER (1721-1766)—translator of Tibullus, and for some years a resident in St. Kitt's—a poem on the *Sugar Cane*, 'flat and formal,'* and an *Ode on Solitude* (1755), the opening

* Southey.

lines of which Johnson pronounced very noble,^a and ‘the whole containing some of the sublimest images of nature:’^b

THOMAS BLACKLOCK (1721-1791)—blind almost from his birth—sermons and theological treatises; an article on Blindness in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*; and a volume of poems (1746-1756), which, though tame and commonplace, contain descriptions that under the circumstances are remarkable enough; Burns was indebted to him for kindly sympathy at a time when it was much needed:

CHRISTOPHER SMART (1722-1770)—an unfortunate man of genius, of whom Gray truly prophesied a jail or Bedlam—*The Hiliad*; a translation of the *Fables* of Phædrus; several Psalms and Parables in verse; and a *Song to David*, possessing great vigour, and written on the walls of the madhouse where he was confined:

TOBIAS SMOLLETT (1721-1771)—novelist and historian—the *Ode to Independence*, a piece that possesses much of the strength of Dryden, combined with an elevation of moral sentiment not common in that author; the *Ode to Leven Water*, a piece that Scott warmly praises; and the *Tears of Scotland*, wept over the severities of the Duke of Cumberland after the battle of Culloden: his fame, however, rests chiefly on his prose writings; his poetry, though pure in tone, is wanting in force and life:

JOHN SCOTT (1730-1783)—a Quaker poet—*An Essay on Painting*, full of good sense; *Amwell*, a descriptive poem in blank verse; both rich in descriptions of nature; *Moral Eclogues*, and *Oriental Eclogues* of a more questionable quality:

WILLIAM FALCONER (1730-1769)—mariner—the *Shipwreck*, a poem at the head of its class, describing a calamity which he himself had witnessed, and by which he was to die; *The Demagogue*, a political satire aimed at Churchill and his party, and written with manly energy:

CHARLES CHURCHILL (1731-1764)—‘the comet of a season; a clergyman, a Wilkite and a reprobate—the *Rosciad*, a keen personal satire; the *Epistle to Hogarth*; *The Ghost*; *Gotham*; and other pieces, none likely to find willing readers, though his satire is bitter and vigorous, and was once very formidable, ‘and his versification has a swing peculiarly his own;’ even Cowper praising some of his lines as noble and beautiful:

ERASMUS DARWIN (1731-1802)—physician, a materialist in

^a Croker's *Boswell*, iv., 50.

^b Percy's *Reliques*, ii., 362.

poetry as in philosophy—*The Botanic Garder*, in three parts (1781-1792), with an account of the economy of vegetation, and of *The Loves of the Plants*, all personified or controlled by gnomes and sylphs; besides the *Temple of Nature*, published after his death, and a feeble echo of his earlier work:

W. J. MICKLE (1734-1788)—printer at the Clarendon Press, and secretary to his kinsman, Commodore Johnstone—a free and flowery translation (1771-1776) of the *Lusiad* of Camoens, a Portuguese epic, which had a large sale; *Syr Martyn*, a moral poem in the manner of Spenser, and sundry ballads of great pathos and beauty, of which *Cumnor Hall* suggested Scott's *Kenilworth*: to him we owe also the *Mariner's Wife* with its lines of inimitable tenderness;

‘His very foot has music in’t

As he comes up the stair—’

lines, however, supplied by Dr. Beattie; and its well-known refrain, ‘There is nae luck about the house.’

JOHN LANGHORNE (1735-1779)—lecturer at St. John's, Clerkenwell, preacher at Lincoln's Inn, and county magistrate—the best translation of *Plutarch's Lives*; sundry sermons and memoirs; and, in poetry, *The Country Justice*, with many touching though somewhat too elegant descriptions of the miseries of humble life—the same theme as Crabbe's, but without his raciness or power; *Owen of Carron*, a ballad founded on the old Scotch tale of *Gil Morrice*, to which, however, it is decidedly inferior:

JAMES BEATTIE (1735-1803)—Professor of Moral Philosophy at Aberdeen—the *Essay on Truth* (1770), a singularly clear and popular treatise; and, in poetry, *The Minstrel* (1771), a descriptive poem on the progress of genius, written in the Spenserian stanza, with great harmony of style, rich imagery, and delicate sentiment,—the whole warmly praised by Gray, and received with applause by all classes:

JOHN WOLCOT, better known as Peter Pindar (1738-1819)—physician, clergyman, and satirist—sundry epistles on the topics and public men of the times; the *Lousiad*; *Peter's Prophecies*; and some sixty poetical pamphlets, all showing facility and ease of expression and illustration, and raising the writer to an equality with Churchill at least, as caricaturist and satirist: to him we are indebted also for the discovery of the genius of Opie, a Cornish boy, and eminent painter:

W. H. ROBERTS (1745-1791)—D.D., and Provost of Eton—*A Poetical Essay on the Attributes of the Deity*, *A Poetical Epistle* to Charles Anstey on the English poets, and *Judah Restored* (1774), a work of considerable merit:

WILLIAM HAYLEY (1748-1820)—the friend and biographer of Cowper, country gentleman, and one of the most popular poets of his day—*Essays on Painting* and on *Epic Poetry*; several unsuccessful tragedies, and fairly successful epitaphs (on Mr. Unwin and Cowper for example); and *The Triumphs of Temper* (1781), his best piece; poems which, though not deserving the sweeping censure of Byron, ‘for ever feeble, and for ever tame,’ were greatly overrated, as now they have fallen below their proper level: to his influence Cowper was indebted for the pension conferred on him by Pitt:

SIR WILLIAM JONES (1746-1794)—a modern Crichton, Indian judge, and Oriental scholar—various learned treatises; an *Essay on the Law of Bailments*, a standard work of its class; and, in poetry, translations and paraphrases, of which the *Persian Song of Hafiz* is now best known, though ‘it is not his poetry that will perpetuate his name:’^a

JOHN LOGAN (1748-1788)—minister at Leith, afterwards writer for the press, whose history illustrates ‘the calamities of authors’—*Runnimeade*, a drama which cost him his parish, and was not allowed to be acted, as the Barons were thought by the Lord Chamberlain to express themselves too strongly; two volumes of sermons, which have had considerable popularity; an *Ode to the Cuckoo*, ‘magical stanzas of melody and sentiment,’ admired by Burke; *The Braes of Yarrow*; a dramatic poem entitled *The Lovers*; *A Visit to the Country in Autumn*; and several hymns; all written with tenderness, and in language select and poetical:

ROBERT FERGUSSON (1750-1774)—the poet of Scottish city life, one of the most fruitful contributors to *Ruddiman’s Weekly Magazine*, and the poetical progenitor of Burns, who cherished for him a somewhat extravagant admiration—*Auld Reekie*; an *Address to the Tron Kirk Bell*; with other pieces descriptive of local manners, and exhibiting broad comic humour; and *The Farmer’s Ingle*, which suggested the *Cotter’s Saturday Night* of Burns:

WILLIAM GIFFORD (1756-1826)—shoemaker, self-made trans-

^a Southey. *Quarterly Review*, vol. xi.

lator and critic, editor of the *Anti-Jacobin* and the *Quarterly—The Baviad*, a paraphrase of the first satire of Persius, and directed against the sentimental poetasters of his day; the *Mœviad*, an imitation of Horace, directed against the corruptors of dramatic art; an *Epistle to Peter Pindar*, more remarkable for its vehemence than for its power; various short poems, distinguished in their satire by pungency, and often happy in expression:

WILLIAM SOTHEY (1757-1833)—chiefly known as a successful translator of tragedy, 'who imitated everybody, and sometimes surpassed his models'^a—the play of *Orestes*, formed on the model of the ancient Greek drama; *Constance of Castille*, a poem in ten cantos, in imitation of Scott's poetical romances; a poem on *Italy*; a short poem on *Saul* (1807), and especially a translation of Wieland's *Oberon* (1798), which charmed its author; a translation of the *Georgics* (1810-1815), and of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (1831-1832)—a gigantic undertaking for a man upwards of seventy years of age, and executed, as Wilson thinks, in a way superior to the versions of Dryden and Pope, though less Homeric than the version of Cowper.^b

209. We shall fail to do justice to the poetry of the eighteenth century unless some note be taken of its hymn writers. There

are some that belong to the seventeenth century whom the world will not willingly let die—Herbert, Wither, Milton, Baxter, Ken, J. Mason, Austin, and William Burkitt. But those that occupy the largest

place in the religious life of England belong to the eighteenth, and to the period we are now discussing. A good hymn has been described by a modern authority as 'a poem possessing simplicity, freshness, and reality of feeling; a consistent elevation of tone, and a rhythm easy and harmonious, but not jingling or trivial.'^c It must be also a lyrical ode, *i.e.*, an ode fitted for the utterance of natural sentiment in song. Conceits, affected feeling, meanness of style, a didactic tone, are fatal to it. And it is in the combination of these good qualities that the best hymns of the eighteenth century excel.

Various causes concurred to draw attention to this kind of composition. The translations of Sternhold and Hopkins, and

^a Byron.

^b Wilson's *Critical Essays*, vol. iv.

^c Roundell Palmer

the somewhat improved version of Tate and Brady, are, as a whole, wanting in all the essential qualities upon which Sir Roundell Palmer insists, and are faulty alike in style and in sentiment: they have little poetry in them, and they fail to express the feelings which must struggle for utterance in an earnest heart under the dispensation of the Gospel. A taste for congregational psalmody had also sprung up in different communities, to whom the old chant, adapted only to the very language of Scripture, seemed monotonous. The popularity moreover of the melodious versification of Pope and his school, created a demand for something more harmonious and artistic in public hymnody; while the quickened religious life connected with the revival of religion in the latter half of the century, made a collection of evangelical hymns a necessity. As in other cases, the demand created a supply.

210. The first, partly to create this want, as well as to meet it, was Isaac Watts (1674-1748). He was born at Southampton, and gave indications of genius while yet a child. At Watts and others. the age of sixteen it was proposed to raise a subscription for his support at the University, but he decided to abide by the faith of his fathers, and was sent to a dissenting academy. After being for some time tutor to Sir John Hartopp's family, he became minister at Mark Lane, London. In 1712 he was invited to spend a few days with Sir Thomas Abney, and remained, as he tells us, upwards of thirty years, till his death, enjoying uninterrupted friendship in a family 'which, for piety, order, harmony, and every virtue, was a house of God.'^a It is to these happy circumstances that we are indebted for many of his works. Treatises on *Logic* and *The Improvement of the Mind*, sermons, essays, and poems, employed his pen till, full of years and honours, he entered into rest on the 25th of November, 1748.

His lyric poems, though now little read, display natural feeling and good taste. His hymns are still among the best of our lyric songs, forty out of the four hundred of the *Book of Praise* being taken from Dr. Watts, while a large number are to be found in every collection of psalmody. His *Divine Songs for Children* give him the privilege of being better loved and more studied than any other writer of verse in the language.

^a Dr. Gibbon's *Life*.

Dr. Watts was followed in this good work by John Berridge, vicar of Everton (1716-1793); John Newton, African slave-dealer, vicar of Olney, and friend of Cowper (1725-1809); Martin Madan (1726-1790), founder and first chaplain of the Lock Hospital; A. M. Toplady (1740-1778); and Edward Peronet, son of the vicar of Shoreham (1785):

By Simon Browne, of Old Jewry (1720); Philip Doddridge (1702-1751), Northampton, pastor and tutor; Joseph Hart (1712-1768), of Jewin Street:

By John Wesley (1703-1791) and his brother Charles (1708-1788); William Williams (1717-1791), Welshman, clergyman, and Methodist; Thomas Olivers (1725-1779), Welshman and Wesleyan:

By John Cennick (1717-1755), churchman, Methodist, and Moravian:

By Ralph Erskine (1685-1752), Presbyterian minister at Dunfermline; Logan (1770), and Michael Bruce (1768):

By Beddome (1717-1795), of Bourton; Samuel Stennet (1727-1795); John Fawcett (1739-1817); Robert Robinson, of Cambridge (1735-1790); Benjamin Wallin (1711-1782); Benjamin Frances (1734-1799); Samuel Medley (1738-1799); and Miss Steele, of Broughton (1716-1778), in Hampshire.

The hymns of these writers would fill several volumes. Some of each, it may be safely said, will guide the devotions, and give expression to the feelings of the Christian church for ages to come. The authors are classified in this list according to the religious denomination to which they belonged; but from most of their hymns, it would be impossible to tell the sect of the author. Their hymns breathe out the devout thankfulness and the longing hope that are common to all true Christians, and in this respect the writers have one Lord and one faith.

SECTION V.—COWPER, WORDSWORTH, AND MODERN POETS.

211. Ballad poetry is a power in most communities. 'Give me,' said Fletcher of Saltoun, 'the making of the ballads of a nation, and I care not who makes the laws.' It was a ballad singer who led the Normans to victory at the battle of Senlac. The Welsh bards inspired their countrymen with such fury, that Wales remained unconquered till they were destroyed. The Swiss air of the *Ranz des Vaches* is forbidden to

be played by the bands of Swiss regiments on foreign service. Lord Wharton's song, the *Lilliburlero* (a great favourite of Uncle Toby's), had no slight influence on the Revolution. The *Marseillaise Hymn* shook the throne of the Bourbons, and Dibdin's naval songs helped to quell the mutiny at the Nore.

212. Nor less is their influence on taste. From the year 1765, when Dr. T. Percy, afterwards bishop of Dromore, published his *Reliques of English Poetry*, may be dated the revival of a love of nature, of simplicity, and of true passion, as distinguished from the cold correctness of the preceding half century. These volumes contained several old songs and ballads, and a selection of the best lyrical pieces of modern authors. Percy has also added some of his own: his ballad, *O Nancy, wilt thou go with me? The Hermit of Warlockworth*, and the cento, entitled *The Friar of Orders Gray*, a compilation to some extent from fragments of ancient ballads, deserve special mention. The influence of this volume was wide and general. It gave the first impulse to the genius of Scott, who in his *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, collected similar relics of northern genius: it may be traced in Cowper, and Wordsworth, and Coleridge. 'I do not think,' says Wordsworth, 'that there is an able writer in verse of the present day, who would not be proud to acknowledge his obligations to the *Reliques*: I know that it is so with my friends: for myself I am happy to make a public avowal of my own.' Percy was born at Bridgnorth in 1728, and was bishop of Dromore from 1782 till his death in 1811. He was the friend of Johnson and Goldsmith, and hailed the rising genius of Sir Walter Scott.

213. This influence of the *Reliques* was confirmed by the labours of the Wartons, a family to whom most departments of English literature are under obligation. Thomas The Wartons. Warton, the historian of English poetry, was the second son of Dr. Warton of Magdalen College, Oxford, who was twice appointed Professor of Poetry in that University. His son Thomas was born in 1728, and died in 1790. In 1757, twelve years after the death of his father, he was appointed Professor of Poetry. One of his earliest publications was an elaborate essay on the *Faëry Queen*. He also edited Milton's minor poems—an edition which Leigh Hunt calls, because of its notes,

a wilderness of sweets. His reputation, however, rests chiefly on his *History of English Poetry* (1774-1781), in which he traces its progress from its origin to the reign of Elizabeth, 'the most poetical age,' as he calls it, 'of our annals.' What Pope and Gray had planned, Warton executed, and his work is now a storehouse of facts connected with our early literature—facts equally curious and valuable. In 1785 he was appointed poet laureate and also Camden Professor of History. His own poetry is remarkable for a kind of martial spirit and Gothic fancy; some of his sonnets Hazlitt reckons among the finest in our language.

His elder brother, Joseph Warton, the schoolfellow of Collins, the editor of an edition of Pope's works, and an intimate friend of Johnson's, was head master of Winchester School, and, though inferior as a poet to his brother, has written some pieces that deserve a place in our poetical collections. His *Ode to Fancy* is generally deemed his best piece. His *Essay* on Pope's genius and writings is a valuable contribution to our literary criticism.

214. One of the first effects of this attention to our ancient poetry in the eighteenth century was the publication of three of the most remarkable literary frauds which the world has ever seen, by Macpherson, Chatterton, and Ireland. Those of William H. Ireland (1777-1835) consisted of the Shakespeare forgeries, and owed their popularity to little else than Ireland's skill in the mechanical imitation of old writing, and to the unaccountable credulity of the public. One of the plays, *Vortigern*, which he reproduced as Shakespeare's, was acted in 1795, and John Kemble took a part in it. Ireland soon after acknowledged that he was the author of these forgeries. Macpherson and Chatterton owed their temporary popularity to other influences. The former had some foundation for the so-called poems of Ossian, and he has at all events filled his pages with incidents and allusions taken from Celtic antiquity. Chatterton threw all the critics off their guard by his youth—he was but eighteen when he died—and that he should have possessed at that age the ripeness, the genius, the antiquarian taste and acquirements which the poems displayed, seemed in the highest degree improbable. For the public faith therefore in the authenticity of the Ossian and Rowley frauds much may be said in excuse.

Literary
forgeries:
Ireland.

215. James Macpherson (1738-1796) was born at Kingussie, and was intended for the Scotch church. Some years he spent as teacher of a school at Ruthven, and afterwards of a private pupil who became Lord Lynedoch. In 1759 he made the acquaintance of Mr. Home, the author of *Douglas*, to whom he showed what professed to be translations of some ancient Gaelic poetry. In the following year he published a small volume of *Fragments*, which excited such general attention that a subscription was made to enable him to visit the Highlands and collect other pieces. The results appeared when, in 1762, he published *Fingal*, an epic poem, in six books, and in 1763, *Temora*, in eight books. The sale of both works was immense, but grave doubts were at once raised as to their genuineness. Many in the Highlands affirmed that the name of Ossian and innumerable events and persons mentioned in *Fingal* had been familiar to them from their childhood. It was said also, and is now acknowledged, that there are Celtic remains in Ireland as well as in Scotland, which prove the existence of traditions not unlike those which Macpherson has embodied in *Ossian*. It must be added that most of the pieces which are confessedly written by Macpherson, his *Highlander*, an heroic poem in six cantos, (1758), and his prose translation of the *Iliad* (1773), are inferior to *Ossian*. All this was urged in proof of the authenticity and antiquity of the poems. The English critics on the other hand, Johnson included, doubted the possibility of the existence in the third and fourth centuries of such chivalrous feelings and sentiments as *Fingal* describes, and the possibility of handing these down through long and uncertain traditions to modern times. They asked, and asked in vain, for the original Gaelic poems, the sight of which would have settled the controversy. They appealed to the numerous passages in *Ossian* clearly borrowed from Homer, the Bible, Shakespeare, Milton, and Thomson—the last a very favourite poet in Scotland. They noted the fact that extant mss. which speak of Ossian speak of him as a contemporary of St. Patrick, who lived centuries later than the time assigned to the alleged Ossian and his poems, while the few verses that are attributed to him on more solid grounds have an entirely different character. Such were the arguments on the other side. The result is, as dispassionate critics on both sides of the Tweed allow, that there

are no such epic poems as Ossian represents, but that a large amount of tradition and incident has been dressed up and embellished by Macpherson himself. By the sale of these poems Macpherson realised about 1200*l*.

Some years later he defended the taxation of America, replied to the *Letters of Junius*, entered Parliament as member for Camelford, and was agent of the Nabob of Arcot. He acquired a handsome fortune, and died in 1796, 'making no sign,' nor leaving a single hint to throw light upon this controversy. In accordance with his will he was buried in Westminster Abbey, and a monument was erected to his memory on his estate at Belleville, in his native parish.

The wild imagery of *Ossian* and its sensational language made the poem long popular throughout Europe. Gray praised it, and Napoleon copied it. In Germany and in Russia there still lingers the conviction that it is the production of a true genius.

216. No name in our literature affords an example of earlier precocity or of a sadder career than that of the 'marvellous boy who perished in his pride,' Thomas Chatterton. He was born at Bristol in 1752, was son of a sexton and parish schoolmaster, and died by suicide before he had completed his eighteenth year. Yet in that brief interval he gave proof of power unsurpassed in one so young, and executed a number of forgeries almost without parallel for ingenuity and variety. The writings which he passed off as originals he professes to have discovered in 'Cannyng's Coffre,' a chest preserved in the muniment room of the old church of St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol. These he produced gradually, generally taking advantage of some public occurrence likely to give them an interest. In October, 1763, a new bridge across the Avon was opened, and forthwith he sent an account of the ceremonies that took place on the opening of the old bridge—processions, tournaments, and religious solemnities. Mr. Burguin, who was fond of heraldic honours, he supplies with a pedigree reaching back to William the Conqueror. To another citizen he presents the *Romaunt of the Cnyghté*, written by one of his ancestors between four and five hundred years before. To a religious citizen he gives an ancient fragment of a sermon on the Holy Spirit, *wroten* by Thomas Rowley in the fifteenth century. To another with anti-

quarian tastes he gives an account of the churches of the city three hundred years before; and to Horace Walpole, who was busy writing the *History of British Painters*, he gives a record of Carvellers and Peyncters who once flourished in Bristol. Besides all these forgeries he sent to the *Town and Country Magazine* a number of poems which occasioned a sharp controversy. Gray and Mason at once pronounced them spurious imitations, but many maintained their genuineness. Meanwhile Chatterton had obtained a release from the attorney's office where he had served for the last three years, and had come to London. Here he wrote for magazines and newspapers, gaining thereby a very precarious subsistence. At last he grew despondent, took to drinking, which aggravated his constitutional tendencies, and after being reduced to actual want, tore up his papers, and destroyed himself by taking arsenic. He was interred in the burying-ground of the Shoe Lane Workhouse, and the citizens of Bristol afterwards erected, in their city, a monument to his memory. His poems, published under the name of Rowley, consist of the tragedy of *Ella*, the *Ode to Ella*, a ballad entitled *The Bristow Tragedy, or the Death of Sir Charles Bowdin*, some pastoral poems, and other minor pieces. The *Ode to Ella* has all the air of a modern poem, except spelling and phraseology. Most of the others have allusions and a style more or less appropriate to the time in which they profess to have been written; but they are none of them likely to deceive a competent scholar. Chatterton displays occasionally great power of satire, and generally a luxuriance of fancy and richness of invention, which, considering his youth were not unworthy of Spenser. His avowed compositions are very inferior to the forgeries—a fact that Scott explains by supposing that in the forgeries *all* his powers must have been taxed to the utmost to support the deception.

217. The poets who belong to the latest stage of our literature, though all showing the influence of the master spirits of the reign of Queen Anne, and all illustrating that love of the natural which had sprung up towards the close of the eighteenth century, are as widely different in style and character as the poets of any earlier period. Some excel in vivid descriptions of natural scenery, and of common life, as Cowper, Crabbe and Southey; some in the expression of religious senti-

ment, as Grahame and Pollok, or of ethical wisdom, as Wordsworth and Coleridge; some are eminently lyrical, as Burns, Shelley, Keats, Moore, Hood, and our hymn writers; some have themes of every kind, as Scott, Byron, Moore, Campbell, R. and E. B. Browning, and Tennyson. It may be added that nearly all the tendencies which we note in Cowper and Southey become intensified as we approach our own age: later poets 'carry to further perfection simplicity of narrative, reverence for human passion and character, and devoted love of nature; while maintaining on the whole the advances in art made since the Restoration, they renew the half-forgotten melody and depth of tone which mark the Elizabethan writers, and with a richness of language and a variety of metre never previously attained.'^a

218. William Cowper (1731-1800) begins this series: 'the most popular poet of his generation, and the best of the English letter-writers.'^b He was born at Berkhamstead, Cowper.

where his father was rector. Of noble family on both sides, he was appointed, after a few years spent at the law, with Thurlow for his fellow-student, to a clerkship in the House of Lords; but having to appear before that august body, he was overcome by nervous terror and attempted suicide. The appointment was of course given up, and after he had been some time at St. Albans under medical treatment, he retired to that seclusion which he never afterwards left. He went first to Huntingdon, where his brother resided. There he formed an acquaintance with a clergyman of the name of Unwin, and became a member of his family. On Mr. Unwin's death he continued to reside with his widow, and now the names of Mary Unwin and William Cowper are indissolubly joined in the story of Cowper's life as well as in his writings. On the advice of John Newton, a man remarkable in many ways, and then curate at Olney, the Unwins and Cowper removed to that town. Here he engaged, at Newton's suggestion, in writing hymns; but his melancholy gaining ground, he was for two years laid aside. On his recovery in 1775, he took to gardening, to hare-keeping, and to poetry. This last became his favourite employment. In 1782, when he was past fifty, he published his first volume, containing *Table Talk, The Progress of Error, Conversation, Expostulation,*

^a F. T. Palgrave.

^b Southey.

Hope, Charity, etc., all of them marked by an earnest tone, and containing several protests against the infidelity which the school of Voltaire was then seeking to make popular. The sale was slow, both from the themes of which it treats and from a certain want of melody that impaired the versification; but the book was warmly praised by Johnson, then near his end, and by Franklin. Lady Austen, a widow who had come to reside in that neighbourhood, now made the acquaintance of Cowper, told him the story of John Gilpin, whose feats of horsemanship he was to immortalise, and advised him to try his hand at blank verse. This advice produced the *Task*, and in the same volume appeared *Tirocinium, John Gilpin*, published two years before, and the *Sofa*. The *Task*, says Southey, 'is one of the best didactic poems in our language;' 'a glorious poem,' as Burns calls it;^a at once descriptive, moral, and satirical; and its success was instant and decided. After the publication of this volume Cowper entered upon the more arduous work of the translation of Homer, setting himself forty lines a day. At length the forty thousand verses were completed, and in 1791 he published the whole by subscription in two volumes quarto, 'The best version of the great poet,' as both Southey and Wilson think. Meanwhile the friendship with Lady Austen had been dissolved, and Cowper had removed to Weston, about a mile from Olney. Here he had for a time the society of his cousin, Lady Hesketh, and of the Throckmortons, the owners of Weston. But his malady returned, and was aggravated by the illness of Mrs. Unwin. Hoping that both might be relieved by a change of scene, he removed again into Norfolk, where his friend Hayley was settled. There, in 1796, Mrs. Unwin died; and after her death the poet lingered on for three years under the same dark shadow of despondency, occasionally writing, and listening with interest to all that was read to him, but without permanent relief. His last piece, *The Castaway*, which shows no decay of mental power, though he was then in his seventieth year, is amongst the most touching poems in any language.

Cowper's personal history is one of the most affecting in literature. He had the richest wit and humour, yet a large part of his life was spent in sadness. Of an eminently humble and confiding spirit, he lived in dread of eternal condemnation. He

^a To Mrs. Dunlop, *Letter* of Dec. 25, 1795.

wrote pieces which have given consolation to all classes of Christians, yet he himself took no comfort from them: he even regarded them as aggravations of his guilt. Happily all this has now passed away. He bequeathed an inexhaustible treasure to mankind, and he now knows the blessedness he has so touchingly described.

The qualities which give Cowper a high place in our poesy it is not difficult to define. For humour and quiet satire; for appreciation of natural beauty and domestic life; for strong good sense and devout piety; for public spirit and occasional sublimity; for gentle and noble sentiment; for fine descriptive powers employed with skill on outward scenes and on character; for ease and colloquial freedom of style; and for the strength and harmony of his later versification especially, he has rarely been equalled: and for these qualities combined he has never been surpassed.

And it is this combination that most excites admiration. His satire is often keen but never personal. He is earnestly religious,* but his religion never blunts his sensibilities to the glories of nature; nor does it ever, though eminently spiritual, unfit him to appreciate the sacredness of human rights or the fault of wrongdoing. He has evidently been polished by intercourse with the world, but he has preserved a very unworldly degree of purity and simplicity. Never was poet more lonely or sad, and yet by none has domestic happiness been more impressively described. With the ripeness and decision of age, he has the sportiveness and susceptibility of youth. Nor is it easy to decide whether we are attracted most by the excellence of each quality or by the softness and harmony of the whole.

No one of these qualities, however, nor the combination of them all is sufficient to explain the healthy influence he exerted on English poetry or the love with which he is now regarded. He is practically the founder of the modern school of poets—an honour he owes chiefly to his reality and naturalness. It is this excellence which gives attractiveness to all he has written. Pope's poems are, at least, as finished as the best of Cowper's, and more finished than most of his earlier pieces. Young is often apparently as religious, sometimes as merry, and certainly as

* 'The religion of *The Task* is the religion of God and nature; the religion

that exalts and ennobles man.'—BURNS.
To Mrs. Dunlop, Dec., 1795.

witty. Thomson's pictures of nature have greater variety and more ideal beauty than Cowper's. But Pope's poetry is art, Cowper's nature. Young's religion and mirth seem to belong to two different men. From every line Cowper has written the very man beams forth, always natural, consistent, and unaffected; while his descriptions of nature excite sensations rather than ideas, and the poet lives and moves in every scene. In short, his poetry has the polish and vigour of the eighteenth century, the warmth and feeling of the seventeenth, with a naturalness and a reality all his own. And this last, the naturalness and a reality of a loving, gentle, devout heart, is the secret of his strength.

219. Contemporary with Cowper is the greatest poet that Scotland has produced, Robert Burns (1759-1796). They worked together, though unconsciously, to bring back poetry to truth and nature, and each has exercised great influence on his age and nation. Burns was born at Alloway, near Ayr, and received a common school education. His chief advances in general knowledge he owed to the books he read, among which he mentions as favourites the *Spectator*, the works of Pope, and the poems of Allan Ramsay; among unprinted books were the songs and ballads, mostly of unknown authorship, which then circulated through that part of Scotland, and some of which were collected by Percy and by Scott. A little later Burns' reading became more extensive, and to his list of favourites were added Thomson, Shenstone, Sterne, and Henry Mackenzie. When sixteen years of age he fell in love, and his feelings, as he tells us, at once burst into song. His first volume of poetry was issued in 1786, from the provincial press of Kilmarnock: it became immediately popular, and has ever since exercised the greatest influence on the mind and taste of Scotland.

His *Tam o'Shanter* was deemed by Burns himself to be his best piece, and in this judgment Campbell, Wilson, and Montgomery concur. The combination it exhibits of the terrible and the ludicrous is very characteristic. His *Bruce's Address*, *A Cotter's Saturday Night*, the *Mountain Daisy*, the *Mousie's Nest*, and his lyric to *Mary in Heaven* are equally characteristic, though in a very different strain; as are *Mary Morison* and *Æ fond Kiss*, 'a poem that contains,' says Scott, 'the essence of a thousand love tales.' Indeed nothing is more remarkable in Burns than his

range of subjects, and the appropriateness both of language and of feeling with which he treats them. Romantic landscape, the superstitions of the country, the delights of good fellowship, the aspirations of ambition, the passion of love,—all are treated with a master hand, while he displays in each, as occasion requires, the pathos of Sterne or of Richardson, the humour of Smollett, the descriptive power of Thomson, and the sarcasm of Pope or of Churchill: though all are too often disfigured with irreverence and licentiousness. His songs, however, are the main foundation of his popularity: of these he has written upwards of two hundred with great geniality and power. The common Scottish dialect was never used with more freshness or grace than by him.

The success of his poetry induced him to take the farm of Ellisland near Dumfries, where he married his 'bonny Jean,' and united the functions of exciseman with those of farmer. He entered upon his new occupation at Whitsuntide, 1788. The farming proved a bad speculation. In 1791 he relinquished it and removed to Dumfries, subsisting entirely upon his income in the Excise, which yielded about 70*l.* a year. In his office, a dangerous one to men of his tendencies, intemperance gradually gained upon him; disappointment and self-reproach embittered his life; want threatened him; and in his thirty-seventh year he sank into an untimely grave. A more mournful history the records of our literature do not supply. It must be added that in his poems are sad proofs that he quarrelled with the *moral* teaching of Presbyterianism, as well as with what he deemed its narrowness and doctrines. His youth and early manhood, his simplicity and genius, it is impossible to contemplate without admiration; but his closing years were darkened by neglect, and, alas! by low habits unworthy of his fame.* His letters, published in Dr. Currie's *Life of Burns*, must be read by all who would understand his character, though they give a less favourable impression of his naturalness and simplicity than his poems.

220. A third poet who ranks with Cowper and Burns in pro-

* 'Like all other mortal beings he had his faults; great even in the eyes of men; grievous in the eyes of heaven.'—Wilson's *Speech at the Burns' Festival*.

Some of his earlier poems, it should be added, are rich in beautiful religious sen-

timent. His *Epistle to a Young Friend* (1786), and the *Verses left at a Friend's House*, are specimens. The last contains the well-known lines:—

'May they rejoice, no wand'rer lost,
A family in heaven!'

moting a healthy taste in poetry is George Crabbe, 'nature's sternest painter, yet the best,' as Byron styles him. Crabbe.

He was born in 1754 at Aldborough in Suffolk, where his father was collector of salt duties. Though in poor circumstances, the father gave him a fair education, and apprenticed him to a surgeon apothecary. George finding his prospects uncertain, abandoned the profession and proceeded to London, where he found a friend in Edmund Burke, under whose auspices *The Library* was published in 1781. Aided by Thurlow, he entered into holy orders, and was successively curate of Aldborough and chaplain to the Duke of Rutland. In 1783 appeared *The Village*, a poem revised and praised by both Burke and Johnson. Its success was immediate and complete: some of its descriptions—that, for example, of the parish workhouse—are largely quoted and admired for their close observation and stern truthfulness. In 1807 he published *The Parish Register*, a work in which Charles James Fox took an interest, especially in the story of Phebe Dawson. In 1810 appeared *The Borough*, and two years later the *Tales*, containing probably the finest of his delineations of humble life. In 1814 the Duke of Rutland, in whose neighbourhood at Belvoir Castle, Crabbe had been labouring for some years, presented him to the living of Trowbridge, and there he passed the remainder of his life, spending a considerable part of his liberal income and of his time and strength in acts of beneficence and charity. His love of literature still continued, and in 1819 he published his last work of any pretension, *The Tales of the Hall*. This volume was received with less enthusiasm than his previous works; and it must be acknowledged that the author's skill lay rather in sketching the characters of humble life than those of a higher class.

Crabbe had great fondness for nature, great power of delineation, and a quiet shrewdness of observation which excited the admiration of Campbell and others who knew him. He died in 1832, and a complete edition of his works, for the copyright of which Mr. Murray had given the handsome sum of 3000*l.*, was published in 1834, with a good memoir written by his son.

The characteristic of Crabbe's poetry is its truthfulness. Previous pictures of rural life he knew to be largely untrue: he made it, therefore, his business to describe the *Parish* as he found it. The whole picture is dark and humiliating, yet in many of his sketches there are scenes as bright and glowing as anything in

Scott. His power in painting a landscape is unsurpassed : a long waste of sand, fens covered with rushes, and pools of water, become in his treatment objects of interest and even of beauty. With his rough energy of description, his manly style of versification, and the intense interest of many of his stories, there is nothing wanting in his poems but more humour and more kindly human feeling to make them universally popular.

221. The poet of nature is not confined to the contemplation of external beauty or of rural simplicity. His province includes passion and sentiment, and all that gives dignity and greatness to human character. Scott and Byron are as really natural poets as are Cowper and Wordsworth.

Walter Scott (1771-1832) was born in Edinburgh, and was the son of a writer to the signet. His mother was daughter of Dr. Rutherford, Professor of Medicine in the University of that city. By both sides he was connected with those ancient Border families whose deeds and characters his genius was to make immortal. A weakly constitution, and a lameness which he contracted in early life, induced his friends to send him into the country, and his boyhood was spent near Kelso, within reach of many of the scenes which he has enshrined in his writings. When but thirteen years of age he read Percy's *Reliques*, and that work acted upon his fancy as Spenser's *Faery Queen* acted upon the fancy of Cowley, exciting an intense love for poetry, and especially for poetry of the ballad form. At the High School of Edinburgh, and at the University, he gained no great character for scholarship, being averse to Greek, addicted to athletic sports, and fond of miscellaneous reading. He acquired, however, a taste for German literature, which was then beginning, under the patronage of Henry Mackenzie, the author of the *Man of Feeling*, to attract attention. Afterwards, among his first literary productions, he published, in 1796, translations of Bürger's *Lenore* and *The Wild Huntsman*. At Gilsland he became acquainted with Miss Carpenter, whom he married. The young couple retired from Edinburgh to reside at Lasswade, and Scott's life was henceforth one of severe study. In 1799 appeared his translation of *Götz of the Iron Hand*, and the same year he obtained the appointment of Sheriff-substitute of Selkirkshire, worth about 300*l.* a year. Scott now made some of his *raids*, as

he called them, into the districts of Liddesdale and Annandale, in continuation of a plan he had already formed for collecting Border ballads. In 1802 the result appeared in the publication of the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*. In the care with which this work was compiled, containing, as it did, some forty pieces never before published, and in the wide and picturesque learning with which the whole was illustrated, might have been seen the germs of that taste for romantic poetry, as well as for antiquarian lore, which was soon to make him, in those fields, the first man of his country or age. He next edited the romance of *Sir Tristrem*, which he supposed to have been written by Thomas the Rhymer, who flourished about 1280. This tale he illustrated with a commentary, and completed by adding a number of lines in imitation of the original. He now changed his residence to Ashestiel on the Tweed, and in 1805 published *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, the first of those works which were to exercise such influence on our later literature. The success of this volume was immense, and it suggested to Scott that poetry was his calling rather than the bar.

Shortly after the publication of the *Lay* he unhappily entered into partnership with his old schoolfellow, James Bannatyne, a printer in Edinburgh, though his connection with that firm was long kept secret. In 1806 his friends obtained for him a principal clerkship in the Court of Session, worth at first 800*l.* a year; and this, with the profits of his works, must have yielded him a handsome income. In 1808 appeared his great poem of *Marmion*, the most magnificent of his chivalrous poems, and in 1810 *The Lady of the Lake*, which was still more popular than its predecessors. In quick succession came *The Vision of Don Roderick* (1811), *Rokeby*, and *The Bridal of Triermain* (1813), *The Lord of the Isles* (1814), *The Field of Waterloo* (1815), and *Harold the Dauntless* (1817). These later poems, it must be admitted, are much inferior to the earlier ones. The public were growing weary of his style; the genius of Byron began to appear above the horizon; and Scott, who was too wise and too generous to complain, resolved to try his hand in a new kind of composition, in which he was to reap still larger rewards. He left the old vein and struck into another still richer than the first. Meanwhile by his poems he had done more to revolutionize the public taste than any of his predecessors for the last hundred years.

Besides these poems and his novels, which last belong to the later period of his life (1814-1831), he edited the works of Dryden (1803) and of Swift (1814), with biographies and notes, wrote the amusing *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft* (1830), *The Tales of a Grandfather*, and *The Life of Napoleon* (1827).

The Lay of the Last Minstrel is a Border story of the sixteenth century, related by a minstrel for the amusement of the Duchess of Buccleuch. The character of the aged minstrel, the last of his race, and that of Margaret of Branksome are finely sketched. The goblin page, the tourney, the raid, and the attack upon the castle are all described with great energy, while each picture is set in a frame of natural beauty and moral reflection, often very impressive. Here occur the description of Melrose and the stanzas on the love of country, familiar to most readers. *Marmion* is a tale of Flodden Field, and the main action has a loftier historical interest than the *Lay*. As a poem, however, it is less complete. Norham Castle, the fierce onset of the Battle of Flodden, the death of Marmion, are all well-known scenes. In *The Lady of the Lake*, Scott entered upon new ground. He introduces us to the wild mountaineers of the Highlands and to the chivalrous court of James V. The adventures of the disguised king, the sombre character of Roderick Dhu, the grace and tenderness of Ellen Douglas, are easily recalled. *The Lady of the Lake* was the most popular of Scott's poems. In a few months after its publication twenty thousand copies were sold, and the district of Loch Katrine, where the action is laid, was visited by thousands of tourists. The glamour of the poet's genius is thrown, as Macaulay expresses it, over the whole region, and even over the barbarous tribes that peopled it.

The comparative merits of the different poems of Scott are now easily settled. The first three are unquestionably the greatest, according to Scott himself. The interest of *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* depends chiefly upon the style, that of *Marmion* upon the descriptions, that of *The Lady of the Lake* upon the incidents. *Rokeby* contains many beautiful descriptions, but the epoch of the civil war, to which it belongs, is one in which Scott is less at home than amid the customs of feudalism; and the lover, who is the centre of the picture, is generally regarded as insipid and unreal. *The Lord of the Isles*, with its account of the exploits of Robert Bruce, is a favourable theme for Scott's tastes. The

scenery of the Western Highlands, with its savage grandeur, and the struggle of Bannockburn, are described with all the vigour and life of the master's hand ; but the poem wants interest, depending for effect, as it does, almost entirely on description, *Harold the Dauntless* and the *Bridal of Triermain* are anachronisms. The old Scald, whose character is given in the former, is made a chivalrous Christian gentleman, while *Triermain* is a legend of the cycle of King Arthur, treated theatrically and feebly. *The Vision of Don Roderick*, though based upon an interesting tradition, is really a pæan on the defeat of the French in the Peninsula, as *The Field of Waterloo* is a like pæan on the great victory of modern times. In both the author strives to be forcible and picturesque, but he is clearly outside his magic circle, and the reader feels that the mighty wizard is shorn of half his strength. Yet all these poems have passages of great tenderness and power. Many of his shorter ballads, *Glenfinlas*, *The Eve of St. John*, and many of the lyrics introduced into his volumes, are of acknowledged beauty. The martial energy of the *Pibroch o' Donuil Dhu*, the graceful gallantry of *Young Lochinvar*, sung by Lady Heron in *Marmion*, the solemn sadness of the Hymn of the Hebrew Maid in *Ivanhoe*, the sly jollity of *Donald Caird*, have never been surpassed, and seldom equalled.

222. The secret of the success of Scott's poetry lay partly in his subjects, partly in his mode of treating them, and partly in his success, his versification. He loves to sketch knighthood and chivalry, baronial castles, the camp, the court, the grove, with antique manners and institutions. To these he adds beautiful descriptions of natural scenery, and graphic delineations of passion and character. His personages he takes sometimes from history and sometimes from imagination, the former idealised by fancy, and the latter made the more real by being associated with men and women already familiar to us on the page of history or in actual life. The knights of Spenser, the everyday characters of Chaucer, the ladies of Shakespeare, the antiquarian lore of Drayton, all meet on his canvas, and everything capable of life seems endowed with it. In this power of vivifying and harmonising all his characters, Scott is second only to Shakespeare. For background he has magnificent groupings of landscape and incident, which acquire additional charm from the power he gives

them of exciting human sentiment and emotion. The opening description in *Rokeby*, and the verses found at the beginning of most of the cantos in his other poems are examples. His general manner of treatment is also well suited for popular effect. Previous sketches of chivalry and of antiquity were made in stilted and obsolete phraseology : Scott's language is always forcible and transparent. His characters are all typical rather than individual, and as such they excite universal sympathy. They are drawn, moreover, by broad and vigorous strokes, not by a delicate analysis of motives, or a curious exhibition of contending passion. It is life that he reveals, not anatomy ; and we learn to love his heroes as personal friends. His versification, moreover, is ever appropriate to his purpose : it is based upon the eight-syllabled rhyming metre of the Trouvères, which was admirably adapted by its easy flow for narrative poems. But that metre alone would have been very monotonous : Scott has therefore blended with it a frequent mixture of other kinds of English verse, trochaic, dactylic, and anapaestic : his most common expedient is to employ a short six-syllabled line after octo-syllabic couplets or triplets—a variety that gives at once melody and strength. At other times he makes the third and sixth lines rhyme, forming a six-line stanza. The idea of this versification Scott himself says was taken from the example of Coleridge, and especially from the *Christabel*, in which the metre is irregular, and often very musical.

223. Byron and Scott are not easily compared. Scott is the poet of romantic history, Byron of actual and everyday life. Scott develops his characters through his plot, Byron by direct description of their thoughts and speech. Scott is seldom seen in his lines, Byron is the chief figure in his. Scott is ever trustful, gentle, unselfish, chivalrous : in Byron we have lofty genius and generous impulses in strangest combination with misanthropy, scepticism, and licentiousness : Scott is intensely human, Byron 'Satanic.' Both, however, are mannerists, and both are writers of animated poetry. Both excel in painting strong passion in contrast with feminine softness and delicacy (Scott's skill in passion-painting being shown chiefly in his novels), but the softness of Byron's beauties is sensual and Eastern.

224. George Gordon, Lord Byron (1788-1824), was born in

London, and was the son of a profligate father, and an Aberdeenshire heiress of ancient family, and of a very fond Byron. yet passionate disposition. Her husband soon squandered her property, and she, with her son, retired to Aberdeen, where they spent some years in very narrow circumstances. The death of Byron's great-uncle made him heir apparent to one of the oldest English baronies and to large encumbered estates, including the noble residence of Newstead Abbey. On succeeding to the title he was sent to a private school at Dulwich, then to Harrow, and afterwards, in 1805, to Cambridge. Here he was distinguished by his moody temperament, his irregularities, his friendship for men of great talent and sceptical principles, his desultory reading, especially in Oriental history and travels, and by his strong precocious feeling—for already, while still a boy, he had felt, with morbid violence, the passion of love, first for Mary Duff and then for Mary Chaworth.

It was while at Cambridge, in 1807, that he wrote *Hours of Idleness*, by Lord Byron, a Minor. There are in this volume some indications of genius, but many more of want of judgment and taste. A short critique in the *Edinburgh Review*, supposed to have been written by Lord Brougham, called attention to its faults, saying nothing in its praise. The young poet replied in vigorous style in *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*, attacking not only the *Edinburgh*, but nearly all the eminent literary men of the day. Ashamed of this publication, he tried to suppress it, and then left England for a couple of years of travel. In the spring of 1812 he published the first two cantos of *Childe Harold*. This poem was received at once with the utmost enthusiasm. 'I awoke,' says the author, 'one morning and found myself famous.' It was soon followed by a succession of Eastern tales upon somewhat the same plan as Scott's, *The Giaour* and *The Bride of Abydos* in 1813, *The Corsair* and *Lara* in 1814. In *Childe Harold* he had adopted the Spenserian stanza; in *The Corsair* and *Lara* he adopted the heroic couplet, and in the rest the somewhat irregular octosyllabic metre of Scott. With a style as free and energetic as that of the Northern poet, with feelings far more intense, with scenery, manners, and passions at least as fresh as his, it can excite no surprise that the light of Scott's genius paled before Byron's.

He was now the lion of the metropolis, and indulged freely in

all its pleasures and excesses. At this time (1815) he married Miss Milbanke, the daughter of a Durham baronet, and a lady of considerable expectations. The marriage proved an unhappy one, and may be said to have cast its shadow over the whole of the poet's subsequent life. Domestic discomfort was embittered by extravagance and embarrassment. They parted, and the poet, wounded by the public scandal of the separation, left England never again to return. The remainder of his life he spent in Switzerland, Italy, and Greece. There he sought relief by passionate misanthropic attacks on all that his countrymen held sacred, and by habits of sensuality and vice which were as unworthy of his genius as they were mischievous in their influence upon his character and health. While in England he had written *The Siege of Corinth*, a tale remarkable for the force and variety of its descriptions, and *Parisina*, a repulsive though pathetic story. During the first six months of his residence at Geneva he produced the third canto of *Childe Harold*, the finest of the whole, and *The Prisoner of Chillon*, a painful story told with inimitable tenderness. In 1817 appeared his dramatic poem of *Manfred*, rich in detached passages of great grandeur, but without dramatic completeness, and the fragment of *Tasso*. In the following year, while at Venice, and during a memorable visit to Rome, he completed *Childe Harold*, and threw off his slight poem of *Beppo*. At Ravenna he resided till 1821, where he wrote *Mazeppa* and his dramas, most of them declamatory and undramatic; some of them, as *Cain* and *Manfred*, illustrating his mocking sceptical spirit, partly real and partly assumed, and others of them, *Werner* and *Sardanapalus*, popular from the opportunities they give for stage effect. At this time he plunged into gross excesses, and associated, as Shelley notes, with persons of low character and morals. When rescued in part from this degradation, it was only to fall in love with the young wife of an old and wealthy nobleman, who left her husband and resided with the poet till he departed for Greece. The result of these habits is seen in *Don Juan*, the first five cantos of which were published in 1821: in the following year he published ten more. In none of his writings does he display more wit, more knowledge of human nature, or more vigour of thought and imagery—but all is debased by wild profanity and gross licentiousness. In 1823 he set sail for Greece to aid that unhappy country in its struggles for independence. In

this work he combined great practical wisdom with warm sympathy, and in three months had done much to compose differences and to promote patriotic feeling among all classes. He was seized with the marsh fever of Missolonghi, and sank under it, the more easily from the excesses which had already weakened his constitution. He died in 1824, at the early age of thirty-six, the names of his wife and child and sister still lingering upon his lips. His remains were brought to England, and interred in the family vault at Hucknall, near Newstead.

225. The qualities of Lord Byron's poetry are easily indicated. *Childe Harold* is certainly one of the finest poems of this century ; His poetry the third book especially, containing sketches of and genius. Swiss scenery and striking reflections on Napoleon, Voltaire, and Rousseau, with the magnificent description of Waterloo, is a masterpiece. In intensity of feeling, richness and melody of expression, and gloomy misanthropical tone, it stands alone in our literature. Both Jeffrey and Scott, the representatives of different classes of critics, have praised it for its beauty and power.*

His romantic tales are too numerous for lengthened examination, and they all exhibit similar peculiarities of thought and treatment. They are in general mere fragments: they describe brief hours of passion and of action, never in any case a whole life. The chief personages, moreover, are two, and two only. The first is a man, who adorns or overshadows every scene, sometimes as author, sometimes as subject of the reflections on which the interest chiefly turns. Whether he is 'Harold looking on his receding country and the setting sun, the Giaour casting his scowl on crucifix and censer, Conrad leaning on his sword by the watch-tower, Lara smiling on the dancers, Alp gazing steadily on the cloud as it passes the moon, Manfred wandering among the precipices of the Oberland, Uzzo on the judgment-seat, Ugo at the bar, Cain presenting his unacceptable offering and talking argumentative blasphemy;' there is essential sameness in them all. Such differences as exist are due to age and circumstances. Everywhere it is Byron who speaks—a man proud and moody, 'with defiance on his brow and misery in his heart;' full of scorn and revenge, yet capable of deep, strong feeling. Charac-

* *Edinburgh Review*, vol. 27. *Quarterly Review*, No. xxxi.

ters not representative of himself are all insipid and unnatural. The second is a woman, all softness and gentleness, 'loving to caress and to be caressed,' but a true Oriental in unintelligence, in passionateness, and, if need be, in ferocity. Withal, these poems abound in impressive descriptions, tender, passionate, profound, though all are coloured by the feelings and the individuality of the writer.

Among the poems that illustrate his power may be mentioned his satires,—*The Vision of Judgment*, a severe attack on Southey, *The Age of Bronze*, a piece of vehement description, and *The Curse of Minerva*, directed against Lord Elgin for despoiling the Parthenon. Amid all the fierceness which these poems exhibit, there are passages remarkably picturesque and beautiful. Perhaps the most tender of all his pieces is *The Dream*, a condensed and touching life drama representing his own history.

The genius of Lord Byron is one of the most remarkable in our literature for originality, versatility, and energy. It is true that his quick sense of beauty made him a mimic of other poets: it is true that as the wealth of his own resources raised him above the suspicion of unfair copying, he never scrupled to imitate whatever he most admired; but it is no less true that he is on the whole one of the most original writers of his age. His versatility is perhaps less obvious. The monotony of his motives and of his characters strikes every reader; but, characters and tone apart, his style and imagery and sentiments are endlessly diversified, nor has he treated a single subject in which he has not excelled. His energy, however, is his most striking quality: 'thoughts that breathe and words that burn' are the common staple of his poetry. He is everywhere impressive, not only in passages, but through the whole body and tissue of his compositions.

With all this we cannot but concur in Lord Jeffrey's judgment: '*the general tendency of Lord Byron's writings we believe to be in the highest degree pernicious; though his poems abound in sentiments of great dignity and tenderness, as well as in passages of infinite sublimity and beauty;*' it is '*their tendency to destroy all belief in the reality of virtue, and to make all enthusiasm and consistency of affection ridiculous.*'^a 'His sarcasm blasts alike the weeds of hypocrisy and cant, and the flowers of

^a Jeffrey's *Essay*, li. 121; i. 122.

faith and of holiest affections.^a It may be added that his plan of blending in one and the same character lofty superiority and contempt for common-place virtue, heroism and sensuality, great intellectual power and a mocking profane spirit, is as unnatural as it is mischievous.

226. Thomas Moore (1779-1852), the friend and biographer of Byron, was the poet of fancy, wit, and sensibility, as Byron was the poet of passion and energy. He was a native of Dublin, and his parents were Roman Catholics. In 1793, when Parliament opened the University of Dublin to all classes, young Moore was sent to it, and he there distinguished himself by his classical attainments. In 1799 he went to London, nominally to study law, but really to commence a career of great popularity and success as a literary man. He first appeared as an author in a translation of the *Odes of Anacreon* (1800), which he dedicated to the Prince of Wales. In this volume the Teian bard is set forth in a highly-coloured and voluptuous style—a style, however, which displays much of the elegance and refinement of Moore's later works. In 1801 he ventured upon the publication of a volume of original poetry under the assumed name of Thomas Little, an allusion at once to his name and to his stature. In these pieces there is a warmth and indelicacy of feeling of which Moore himself was afterwards ashamed. Meanwhile he had become, by his conversational powers and musical skill, a great favourite in all circles, and had formed a taste for fashionable frivolity which injured the dignity and independence of his character. In 1803 he was appointed to a government office in the Bermudas, an appointment which enabled him to visit America and the Antilles, and to which we owe a volume of *Odes and Epistles* published in 1806. The duties of the office were to be discharged by a deputy, and as he proved unfaithful to his trust, the poet was subject to serious loss. The defalcations of the agent Moore replaced from the fruits of his literary labours. Henceforth, nearly the whole of his long life was devoted to writing—many of his works obtaining immense success.

One of the most popular of these was his volume of *Irish Melodies*, a collection of about a hundred and twenty lyrics

^a Shaw, p. 431.

adapted to Irish national airs of great beauty, and some of them of great antiquity, the music being arranged by Sir John Stevenson, an Irish composer of some celebrity. The versification of these songs has never been surpassed for melody and appropriateness: they have also the merit of redeeming from words vulgar and sometimes indecent, airs which they have consecrated to the memory of the glories and sufferings of Ireland. Besides these songs, Moore composed about seventy others, intended to be sung to tunes peculiar to various countries. These he called *National Airs*. Though inferior to the former in intensity of natural feeling, they have all the appropriateness and refinement of expression that distinguish the *Irish Melodies*. A similar collection of *Sacred Songs* he also published, but these form a less happy specimen of his lyrical genius. All these songs possess a certain finish of beauty which is very charming: those on Ireland and on the sufferings of Ireland, especially, are characterised by great vigour, reality, and tenderness.

The more elaborate poems of Moore are *Lalla Rookh* (1817) and *The Loves of the Angels* (1823). The former is by far the best. *Lalla Rookh* is an Oriental romance, consisting, like Hogg's *Queen's Wake*, of several stories strung together. It opens with a prose love tale describing the journey of an Oriental princess to the King of Bucharia, her betrothed husband. While stopping on the way for repose, a poet is introduced, who accompanies the travellers, chants four separate poems, wins her love, and turns out to be the King of Bucharia. The four poems are *The Veiled Prophet of Khorassan*, *The Fire Worshippers*, *Paradise and the Peri*, and *The Light of the Harem*. The first is written in heroic couplets, and is a poem of great energy: the other three are written in the eight-syllable irregular rhyme which Scott and Byron have rendered so popular. The simplest and the best of these is *Paradise and the Peri*. It describes the efforts of an exiled fairy to regain admission into heaven: she offers successively the last drop of blood of a patriot, the last sigh of a devoted lover, and the tear of a penitent. Many of the descriptions are beautiful, and Oriental scenery and manners are sketched with the greatest vividness and truth. *The Loves of the Angels* is a story based upon the passage in Genesis in which the 'sons of God' are said to have become enamoured of 'the daughters of men.' The meaning attached to the text is a questionable interpreta-

tion, and the treatment of it is tedious and generally uninteresting. The poem somewhat resembles and has been compared with the *Heaven and Earth* of Lord Byron: the latter is said to be free from the speculative daring so common in his writings, and the former has nothing equivocal in it but the title, 'and that may occasion some idle flutter and some trifling disappointment.'^a Moore introduces in his poem three angels, who, by their earthly love, have forfeited their celestial privileges, and who tell each in turn the story of his passion and its punishment.

After the publication of *Lalla Rookh*, Moore visited Paris in company with Mr. Rogers, and there found materials for his *Fudge Family in Paris*, one of his satires. This piece, like all his satirical writings—*The Twopenny Post-Bag* and others—combines, in a remarkable degree, quaintness, ingenuity, and wit. The illustrations are taken from the most various and remote sources, and the whole are described with a degree of elegance and artistic refinement as effective as, in that kind of composition, they were new. In 1819 he visited the Continent again in company with Lord John Russell. During this journey he wrote *Rhymes on the Road*. When the travellers separated, Moore went on to Venice, where he spent some time with Lord Byron. There he wrote most of his *Fables of the Holy Alliance*. In 1822 he returned to Paris, where he remained, till, by his pen, he had repaid the losses caused by the dishonesty of his deputy in Bermuda. On his return to England, he wrote a number of political squibs for the *Times*. His last original prose work was *The Epicurean*, an Eastern tale full of the spirit and materials of poetry: it describes the conversion to Christianity, through the influence of love, of an Athenian philosopher who visits Egypt and is initiated into the mysteries of Isis. In 1841-1842 he published a complete collection of his poetical works in ten volumes, with several interesting personal details. Subsequently, his mind gave way, and the closing years of his life were clouded by imbecility. His memoirs, journals, and correspondence were placed after his death in the hands of Lord John Russell, and by this posthumous work a sum of 3000*l.* was obtained for Mr. Moore's widow.

Moore's excellences consist in the gracefulness of his thoughts and sentiments, the wit and fancy of his allusions and imagery,

^a *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xxxviii.

and the music and refinement of his versification. His great fault is the irreverence and indelicacy of many of his pieces—~~r~~ fault which, it is said, belonged not to the poet himself but only to his writings.

227. Thomas Campbell (1777-1844) was born in Glasgow, of a good Highland family, and received his education in the university of that city, where he was distinguished for his translations from the Greek poets. His genius showed itself very early : between fourteen and sixteen he wrote several pieces, all evincing taste and skilful diction. In 1799, when only twenty-two years of age, he published his *Pleasures of Hope*, which passed through four editions in twelve months, and captivated all readers by its exquisite melody and generous sentiments. Shortly after its publication he went abroad, where the scenes and battle-fields he visited suggested some of the finest lyrics in our language. The first of these was *The Exile of Erin*, originating in a meeting with some political exiles who had been concerned in the Irish Rebellion. To the seventh edition of the *Pleasures of Hope* were appended verses on *Hohenlinden*, *Lochiel's Warning*, and the most popular of his songs, *Ye Mariners of England*. The following year he settled in London, married, and devoted himself to literature. For the booksellers he wrote several articles in Encyclopædias, and compiled *Annals of Great Britain*. In 1809 he published his second great poem, *Gertrude of Wyoming, a Pennsylvanian Tale*, a poem of beautiful home scenes, with a closing picture of the death of the heroine, inferior to nothing he had previously written. Various poems, including *The Last Man*, *The Rainbow*, *The Battle of the Baltic*, and *O'Connor's Child*, were published about the same time. They are all remarkable either for grandeur, lyrical energy, pathos, or finish, and generally for more than one of these qualities. In 1819 he published his *Specimens of the British Poets*, with biographies and critical notices written with great justness and often with much beauty. In 1824 he published *Theodoric* and other poems. After being elected three years in succession Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow, and writing various books, *Letters from Algiers*, *The Life of Mrs. Siddons*, and *The Life of Petrarch*, he retired in failing health to Boulogne, where he died in June, 1844. He was interred in Westminster Abbey,

followed to his grave by a large number of public men, who admired his devotion to the cause of freedom and education no less than his genius. His biography was prepared and published by his friend and literary executor, Dr. Beattie.

His lyrics are his finest pieces; but in nearly all he wrote there is an ideal loveliness, a refinement of imagery, a concentrated power of expression, a depth of feeling, and a sensitiveness of nature, always charming. His first poem, *The Pleasures of Hope*, shows much of the passion that belongs to Scott and Byron; his last great poem, much of the quiet reflection and touching sentiment which belong to the most modern school of poetical writers.

228. The life of Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792-1822) is not unlike Byron's. There was a similar title to wealth and honours, the same boyhood of fierce passion, an unhappy training, an early manhood of blighted domestic life—blighted by his own folly and crime, a spirit of atheistic revolt against all religious and social claims—though this last was greatly diminished towards the close of his course, after his marriage with the daughter of William Godwin, and might have been diminished much more, had his life not terminated prematurely by drowning when he was but thirty years old.

From earliest years he showed poetic tastes, and when only eighteen he produced the atheistical poem of *Queen Mab*, written in the rhythm of Southey's *Thalaba*, and containing passages of great melody and beauty. The fault of this poem, besides its sceptical notes, mere repetitions of the sneers of Voltaire and others, is the vagueness of the meaning. His next piece was *Alastor, or the Spirit of Solitude*, intended to sketch the sufferings of a genius like his own: he thirsts for a friend who shall understand and sympathise with him, and blighted by disappointment sinks into an untimely grave. The descriptions of scenery in this poem are singularly rich and beautiful: the whole is written in blank verse. *The Revolt of Islam*, written while the poet resided at Marlow, has the same peculiarities of thought and style as *Alastor*, though with less human interest and more energy. *Hellas* and *The Witch of Atlas* belong more or less to the same class as *Queen Mab*: all contain attacks on kingcraft, priestcraft, religion, and marriage, with airy pictures, scenes, and beings of

the utmost indistinctness and unearthly splendour. In Italy he wrote his *Adonais*, an elegy on the death of Keats, a touching monument over the grave of his friend. Here, also, he composed the *Prometheus Unbound*, a classic drama, and in the following year, 1819, *The Cenci*, a tragedy, one of the finest of the poet's productions, a tale that reminds the reader of the dramas of Otway. His odes on *The Skylark* and *The Cloud* are more poetical and perfect than any other of his pieces. *The Sensitive Plant* is a good specimen of the beauty and gracefulness of his versification, of the fancifulness of his imagery, and of the profoundness of his meaning, which now seems within our grasp and again eludes it.

229. John Keats (1795-1821) was born in Moorfields, London, and was apprenticed to a surgeon. During his apprenticeship he devoted part of his time to literature, and in 1817 published a volume of juvenile poems. In 1818 appeared his *Endymion*, a poetic romance, founded in part on the model of Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess*. It was severely reviewed in the *Quarterly* by J. W. Croker. The review wounded the keen susceptibility of the young poet, and was supposed to have hastened his death,—but erroneously, as the consumption of which he died was hereditary, and his health was already weakened by attendance upon a dying brother. The poem has many faults, yet it gives evidence of a rich though undisciplined imagination.* In 1820 it was reviewed by Jeffrey in a genial spirit, but too late to cheer the then dying poet. Keats, however, profited by the criticisms of the *Quarterly*, and later wrote the fragment of a remarkable poem, *Hyperion*, taken, like *Endymion*, from mythological sources, and written in an airy strain of classic imagery, and with a large amount of pensive, quiet beauty. His latest volume, containing, among other pieces, *The Eve of St. Agnes* and the *Pot of Basil*, a story versified from Boccaccio, proves that his natural tendency to ornamentation and imagery was only the more exuberant when freed from the restraints of ancient classic themes. The blending of these qualities with quaintness and extreme simplicity produces an unpleasant effect upon the reader: it reminds him of the grace of an Elysium

* One of its lines has become very familiar:—

'A thing of beauty is a joy for ever.'

mingling with the sights, sounds, and smells of a farmstead. Yet Keats is one of the greatest of our young poets. As a last effort for life he went to Naples, and then to Rome, but in vain: he lingered and sank, dying on the 27th of December, 1821. "He was buried in the romantic and lovely cemetery of the Protestants, under the pyramid which is the tomb of Cestius, and the massy walls and towers, now mouldering and desolate, which formed the circuit of ancient Rome." ^a

230. One of the greatest masters of humorous poetry in our language is Thomas Hood (1798-1845). He was a native of London, and was educated for business. His health failing, he was sent to Dundee, his father's native town. There he first showed a taste for literature, and contributed his earliest pieces to local newspapers and a local magazine. On his return to London he was put as apprentice to an engraver, and learned enough of drawing to be able to illustrate his own productions. About the year 1821 he gave himself to literature as a profession, and contributed regularly to the *London Magazine*, the *New Monthly*—which he edited for some years, and to a magazine that bore his own name. His life, like that of most men who depend on literature, was an incessant struggle. When prostrated by disease, government allowed him a small pension; and after his death, in 1845, his friends made a generous effort for the support of his widow and family. Since his death his poetical works have been collected, and form four volumes: *Poems*, *Poems of Wit and Humour*, *Hood's Own*, or *Laughter from Year to Year*, and *Whims and Oddities*. His prose works are decidedly inferior to his poetry. His *National Tales*, published in 1827, had a moderate sale. His *Up the Rhine* has been more popular, and is a clever satire on the absurdities of English travellers.

Hood's style is his own, and is of three kinds. Sometimes his pieces are a succession of puns, amusing by the number and the strangeness of the relations which they suggest; as in the *Tale of a Trumpet* and *Miss Kilmansegg*. Sometimes this comic element is entirely wanting, and his pieces strike by the remarkable knowledge they display of the secrets of the human heart, by their earnest tone of moral feeling, or by the richness of the fancy.

^a Shelley

Specimens of each of these qualities may be found in *The Dream of Eugene Aram*, *The Song of the Shirt* (one of his latest and most impressive poems), and the *Plea of the Midsummer Fairies*. But most frequently he blends in the same piece humour and seriousness, touching at the same moment the springs of laughter and the sources of tears, exciting at once fun and kindness. Even puns—the lowest form of wit—become in his hands instruments of genuine humour and of deepest pathos. At other times the incongruity is in the thought, as in the *Parental Ode to my Son*. His highest praise is, that he ever jokes for noble ends. His very levities, verbal or otherwise, are directed to some generous and kindly purpose. He tempts men to laugh, and then leads them to pity and relieve.

231. An earlier place might have been assigned to the Lake Poets—Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Southey; but though they belong to the last century, the fulness of their influence was not felt till our own time, and it is only within the last thirty years that they became a power in literature.

The Lake poets. William Wordsworth (1770-1850), 'the greatest of metaphysical poets,' as he has been unhappily called, say rather of meditative and descriptive poets, was a native of Wordsworth. Cockermouth. Both his brother, Dr. Christopher Wordsworth, and himself went to Hawkshead School, and afterwards to Cambridge. When he had taken his degree he visited France, and in common with many of his countrymen, Coleridge, Southey, Burns, and Campbell, hailed the French Revolution as the beginning of a new era of human happiness. Declining to enter the church or to study law, he devoted himself to literature. His reliance for support for many years was the interest of a sum of 2000*l.* which had come to him from his father's estate and from the legacy of a friend. He settled near Crewkerne, where he formed a life friendship with Coleridge. In 1798 appeared the *Lyrical Ballads*, to which Coleridge contributed *The Ancient Mariner*, and two or three other pieces; the rest are by Wordsworth, three or four of them in his best manner, three or four partly good, and the rest of a class almost universally condemned. They were written, on principle, upon the humblest subjects and in the language of humblest life. The attempt was not a suc-

cess: the volume remained unsold, and the mixture of ludicrous images and colloquial plainness with passages of tenderness and pathos prompted ridicule which, it must be confessed, was too well deserved. In 1798 he and Coleridge visited Germany, and on his return to England, he settled at Grasmere. In 1802, having received an addition to his property, he married Mary Hutchinson, 'a Phantom of delight,' who seems to have been in every way a helpmeet for him. In 1803 he visited Scotland—a visit that suggested several of his most popular minor poems. During these years he was busy writing *The Prelude; or, the Growth of a Poet's Mind*: it was finished in 1805, but was not published till after his death. In 1807 appeared two volumes of poems from his pen, which, though they were exposed to severe criticism, were felt to display a love of nature at once ennobling and impressive. They contain the *Feast of Brougham Castle* and some of his finest smaller pieces. Here also appeared his first sonnets, and some of the best of them—a kind of composition in which it is acknowledged that he excels. In 1813 he removed to Rydal Mount, and about the same time he was appointed stamp distributor for the county of Westmoreland, an office that yielded him 500*l.* a year. With his simple habits he had long been independent, and this accession to his income made him even wealthy.

In 1814 appeared *The Excursion*, a philosophic poem in blank verse. It is part of a projected epic, with no plot, and with characters which have neither life nor probability. The principal of these is a Scottish pedlar who traverses the mountain in company with the poet, and who discourses with great brilliancy 'of truth, of grandeur, beauty, love, and hope.' The themes discussed are among the noblest, and there are passages of description, of sentiment, and of eloquence surpassed by no poet of this or the preceding century. In 1815 appeared *The White Doe of Rylstone*, a romantic narrative poem on the ruin of a northern family during the civil war. This was followed by sonnets and by *The Waggoner*, which had been written some time before. *Peter Bell* was published in 1819. The author states that it had been completed twenty years before, and that he had repeatedly revised and corrected it that it might be worthy of a place in our literature. The work is meant to be serious, but there is such a strange blending of the solemn and touching, with what is absurd

in detail and in language, that the reader hesitates between admiration and ridicule or disgust. His *Laodamia*, his *Vernal Ode*, the *Ode to Lycoris and Dion* are beautiful classic poems both in sentiment and in diction. His *Intimations of Immortality* and his lines on *Tintern Abbey* are among the best specimens of his meditative and imaginative style.

His fame was now reaching its height. Scott and Byron had both enchanted the nation for a time and had passed away. In 1842, Wordsworth published a complete collection of his works, and on the death of Southey, he was made poet laureate. From that time his character as a poet has been winning influence among all classes. He died in 1850, after completing his eightieth year.

232. Coleridge, who knew Wordsworth well, claims for his poetry the following qualities:—1st. An austere purity of language . . . a perfect appropriateness of the words to H's poetry. the meaning. 2nd. A correspondent weight and sanity of the thoughts and sentiments won, not from books, but from the poet's own meditations: they are fresh and have the dew upon them. Even throughout his smaller poems there is not one which is not rendered valuable by some just and original reflection. 3rd. The sinewy strength and originality of single lines and paragraphs. 4th. The perfect truth of nature in his images and descriptions. 5th. A meditative pathos, union of deep and subtle thought with sensibility; a sympathy with men as men. . . . and lastly, the grandeur of imagination in the highest and strictest sense of the word . . . in this power he stands nearest of modern writers to Shakespeare and Milton.* This is high praise, and it may seem at first sight difficult to reconcile it with the estimate formed by many of his power and genius. The fact is, that Wordsworth's poetry is of very different kinds and in very different styles. His earliest pieces, the *Descriptive Sketches* and *The Evening Walk* (1793), are copies of the metre and language of Pope: his next, *Guilt and Sorrow; or, Incidents on Salisbury Plain* (1794), is in the style of Spenser. Then comes the bald simplicity of many of his lyrical ballads; and, last of all, we have in violation of what was supposed to be his principle, lofty themes, appropriate

* *Biographia Literaria*.

Imagery, intense feeling, noble sometimes even turgid utterance—qualities that often remind the reader of Milton. His sonnets, especially those in praise of liberty and patriotism, are among the finest in our tongue. Of no writer, therefore, is it more important to ask, before we proceed to give judgment, what style of Wordsworth's is it we have to criticise—the earliest, the middle, or the last. There is now a pretty general agreement among all critics as to his faults and excellences. He ranks with Cowper, because he is the strenuous advocate of simplicity and naturalness, though he did not always understand or consistently adhere to his own principle.

Wordsworth is one of the most moral of our poets, and is generally regarded as one of the most religious. In his *Excursion* and in his *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*, reverent homage is paid to religious truth; nor is there in all he has written a single line 'which dying he could wish to blot;' and yet it is impossible not to concur with Wilson, 'that, though we have much fine poetry, and some high philosophy, it would puzzle the most ingenious to detect much or any Christian religion.' The absence of a specific recognition of Christ as Lord and Saviour by one 'who believes himself to be of the order of the high priests of nature,' in scenes where the recognition is necessary, or 'the poet must be false to nature, to virtue, to life, and to death,' Wilson thinks is greatly to be deplored, 'shocks far deeper feelings than those of taste, and throws over the whole poem an unhappy suspicion of hollowness and insincerity in that poetical religion which at the best is a sorry substitute indeed for the light that is from heaven.' Therefore it is he believes *The Excursion* will never become, like *The Task* or the *Night Thoughts*, a bosom-book endeared to all ranks and conditions of Christian people. 'Wordsworth's inspiration is drawn from the book of nature, not from the Book of God.'^a

233. Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1834) was born at Ottery St. Mary, and was educated at Christ's Hospital, where he had Charles Lamb as a fellow pupil, and where he became head scholar. After entering Cambridge, he left without taking his degree, and enlisted in the dragoons. A

^a *Recreations of Christopher North*, vol. ii. See a good and concise critique in Coleridge's *Table Talk*, July 21, 1832.

Latin sentence betrayed him, and one of the officers communicated with his friends, who obtained his discharge. He next formed a plan, in conjunction with Southey, whose wife's sister he afterwards married, to emigrate to the banks of the Susquehanna, there to found a model republic. In this happy state all were to be equal—the wives to cook for the community and the husbands to labour and cultivate literature. This 'Pantisocracy,' however, as Coleridge called it, fell through for want of funds. He then resolved to cultivate literature at home. While residing at Stowey he published some of his most beautiful pieces, his *Ode to France*, his *Ode on the Departing Year*, the first part of *Christabel*, *The Ancient Mariner*, and his tragedy, *Remorse*. At this time he held Unitarian views, and officiated as minister, first at Taunton and then at Shrewsbury, though for a short time only. In 1798, the kindness of the Wedgwoods enabled him to visit Germany, where he remained for fourteen months. On his return in 1800, he found Southey settled at Keswick and Wordsworth at Grasmere, and went to live with the former. All his opinions became completely changed: the republican became a royalist, and the Unitarian a believer in the Trinity. In the same year he published his translation of Schiller's *Wallenstein*—a faithful translation, yet with all the freshness and charm of an original work. While at Keswick he commenced a literary periodical called *The Friend*, which extended to twenty-seven numbers. The essays are often mystical, but not seldom acute and eloquent. In 1816, chiefly through the recommendation of Lord Byron, he published the remainder of *Christabel*, the second part of which he had written in 1800. He next contributed to various periodicals, and wrote several characteristic prose treatises, the *Statesman's Manual*, a lay sermon (1816), a second lay sermon (1817), the *Biographia Literaria* (two volumes), and later, *Aids to Reflection* (1825), and a work on the *Constitution of Church and State* (1830). Some years before, in 1810, he quitted the Lakes, leaving his wife and children dependent on Southey; and, in 1815, took up his residence with his friend Mr. Gillman, a surgeon at Highgate, and there he wrote and talked in his glorious monologues, listened to by many rapt and enthusiastic disciples, till his death in 1834.

Coleridge is a divine, a philosopher, and critic, as well as a poet, nor is it easy to say in which department he most excels;

though as a thinker he has been far more influential than as a poet. The great misfortune is that everything he has left is fragmentary. What we have is often beautiful, rich, and even gigantic, but it is all incomplete. It is easy, indeed, to excuse this result. Much of his life was spent in poverty and dependence, much in disappointment and ill health, much in the morbid excitement and depression consequent on the habit of opium-eating—a habit, however, which he completely conquered. But the result is none the less to be deplored: his rare powers, his exhaustless resources, his colloquial eloquence, his great critical skill, might have made him the best teacher of his times, as many deem him to have been the best thinker.

His poems are chiefly lyrical: the *Ode on the Departing Year*, and that supposed to be written at sunrise in the Valley of Chamouni, are both very fine. Wilson thinks the latter one of the noblest in our language.^a The *Ancient Mariner* is one of the most original and striking; the images are strangely fantastic and spectral, and the melody wild and unearthly. *Genevieve* is a most exquisite love poem, carefully finished, most subtle and delicate in the feelings it describes. His *Ode to France* (really to Liberty) Shelley praises as the finest of modern times, though this is hardly true if those by Collins and Gray be included in his list: but it is certainly a noble composition. *Christabel* is a wild mysterious story, probably not without meaning, though it is hard to discover. Its versification is founded on what Coleridge called a new principle. The line is counted by accents, not by syllables; 'though,' the writer says, 'it may vary from seven to twelve, yet in each the accents will be found to be only four.' In fact the principle is not new; it is as old as our Anglo-Saxon poetry, and was known both to Chaucer and to Shakespeare: it was new, however, to modern readers, and was a great relief from the monotony of the school of Pope: it delighted Scott and Byron, and was largely imitated by them.

In Coleridge's lectures on Shakespeare he has done more to give an idea of the breadth and grasp of the genius of that poet than any other Englishman; 'he was the first to show that *Hamlet* must have been written by one who was both the greatest genius and the most consummate artist that ever existed.'^b His criticisms on Wordsworth and on our old divines are all remark-

^a *Essays*, vol. iii.

^b Shaw.

able for insight and for genial sympathy with what is true and beautiful. They have even led some to reckon him the profoundest literary analyst of our times.

234. Robert Southey (1774-1843) was born at Bristol, and was sent by an uncle to Westminster School, whence he was expelled for writing an article against flogging in public schools.

Southey.

He, however, entered Balliol College, Oxford, but made no great progress in classical study, and left without a degree. His friends intended him for the Church, but his early religious opinions disappointed those hopes. He took up warmly Coleridge's 'Pantisocracy,' and tried, by a volume of poems, *Moschus and Bion*, which he published in connection with Robert Lovell, to raise funds for that enterprise. His chief dependence, however, was upon his *Joan of Arc*, a poem which he composed in six weeks in 1793. Happily he found a friend and kind-hearted bookseller, Joseph Cottle, to publish it, but it brought the author little beyond the fifty guineas which were paid for the copyright. In the poem as originally written the heroine is conducted, as in Dante, to the abode of departed spirits, where she is introduced to the 'mighty hunters of mankind,' from Nimrod to the hero of Agincourt. In the second edition this vision is omitted. In 1795 Southey accompanied his uncle to Lisbon. On the morning of his departure he was married to Miss Fricker, of Bristol, Cottle supplying the ring for that ceremony. During the six months of his stay in Portugal he studied Spanish and Portuguese, and ultimately obtained a good knowledge of both languages. On his return to England he took to his home the widow of his brother-in-law and brother poet, Lovell—one of the many generous acts that endeared his memory to his friends; he also gave himself to that life of patient literary industry which he never relinquished while life and mental vigour remained. After a second visit to Portugal for health, he went to Cumberland, where he took up his abode at Greta Bridge, near Keswick, and there continued to reside for the remainder of his life. During these years he was dependent chiefly on the kindness of a college friend, C. W. W. Wynn, who had allowed him 160*l.* a year. This allowance he received till 1807, when he obtained a pension from the Crown of 200*l.*: he had meanwhile given up his republican opinions, and had be-

come a somewhat intolerant friend of the constitution in Church and State.

While in Portugal Southey finished a second epic, *Thalaba the Destroyer*, an Arabian fiction, full of magicians and monsters. The hero fights with demons and enchanters, but at last overthrows the dominion of powers of evil in the Domdaniel Cavern, 'under the roots of the ocean.' The poem is written without rhyme, in an irregular metre, which in his skilful hands has great harmony. Its excellence consists in its descriptions, which are often very beautiful. Its chief fault is that its characters are divested of all human passion, and have interest only from their strangeness and mystery. *Thalaba* was published in 1801. Three years later he published a volume of *Metrical Tales*, in which there is a degree of vigour and originality not found in his larger writings. He had strong legendary tastes, and easily caught the tone of monastic times. His simplicity of style and tenderness of spirit suited such themes, though in him, as in other members of the Lake school, these qualities are apt to degenerate into meanness of thought and of expression. In 1805 appeared *Madoc*, an epic poem, founded on the history of a Welsh hero. *Madoc* is supposed to have visited America in the twelfth century, and his contests with the Mexicans, and his conversion of the people from their idolatry, form the chief theme. There is ample scope, of course, for picturesque description and for the narration of wonderful adventures, and with these the poem is crowded, but as a whole it is languid and unimpressive. Like his previous epics it is written in blank verse and in the same metre as *Joan of Arc*. The *Curse of Kehama* appeared in 1810, a poem of the same structure as *Thalaba*, but written in rhyme. The story is founded on Hindoo mythology, and the scene is laid alternately in the terrestrial paradise under the sea, in the heaven of heavens, and in hell. The principal actors are most unhuman men, a sorceress, a ghost, and several Hindoo deities. Vivid scene-painting is its excellence—an excellence in which Landor thinks Southey has surpassed all modern poets, and there are passages in it of great beauty, as where he speaks of love—

‘ They sin who tell us Love can die,’

and where he describes the approach to the Indian Hades in lines which Scott deems equal in grandeur to anything he ever read.

Four years later appeared *Roderick, the Last of the Goths*, a poem in blank verse, founded on the punishment and the repentance of the last Gothic king of Spain. Here also there are some glorious descriptive passages, and several scenes of tenderness and pathos, but the poem as a whole wants reality and human interest. In 1813 Southey accepted the office of poet laureate, and henceforth supplied the usual laureate odes. They are too often characterised by a fierce opposition to his earlier views, and provoked, in consequence, a good deal of hostility. In one of them, his *Vision of Judgment*, he attempted to revive the hexameter verse in English. 'The metre failed, and the sentiment called forth a *Vision of Judgment* from Byron, one of his severest satires. The latest of Southey's poetical works was a volume of narrative verses, *All for Love* and the *Pilgrim of Compostella*. Some of his youthful ballads, it may be added, were deservedly popular: his *Lord William*, *Mary the Maid of the Inn*, and the *Old Woman of Berkeley*, were deemed, forty years ago, among the best specimens of that kind of composition. His fondness for legends and supernatural stories is seen in a piece that is still popular, *The Devil's Thoughts*; one of the best of the lines, however, which has passed into a proverb, is Coleridge's:—

' For his darling sin
Is the pride that apes humility.'

In 1834 Southey's wife sank into a state of helpless imbecility, in which she continued for three years; some time after her death he married Caroline Bowles, the poetess, and an old friend. Shortly after, his own mind failed, and in that state he remained till his death, in 1843. He left for his children about 12,000*l.*, and one of the best private libraries in the kingdom. During his mental illness his chief pleasure was in walking round his library and handling the books he could no longer read.

The poems of Southey are a small portion of his writings. Between the ages of twenty and thirty he is said to have destroyed as much poetry as he afterwards published: he also wrote innumerable articles in Reviews, filled volumes with the results of his reading and thought on morals, philosophy, politics, and literature. In some of his works, as in the *Doctor*, there is a humour that reminds the reader of Swift, and all are remarkable for the purity and the vigour of their English. His *Life of Nelson*

is perhaps the most likely to retain its place as an English classic. *The Lives of the British Admirals*, the *History of Brazil* and of *The Peninsular War*, the *Life of Wesley*, of *Bunyan*, and of *Cowper*, are all well written; but several of them display a measure of prejudice and of temper not creditable to his judicial character as a critic, or to his genial spirit as a man.

235. The obligations of our literature to the minor poets of this period we must summarise in a briefer form. We owe to—

W. L. BOWLES (1762-1850)—whom Coleridge characterises as ‘tender and manly,’—a volume of *Sonnets* (1789), natural and real, dignified and harmonious,* the *Spirit of Discovery by Sea* (1805), and *The Little Villager’s Verse Book*; to him also we are indebted for a long controversy on the poetical merits of Pope; Bowles deeming him ‘no poet,’ Campbell and Byron warmly defending him:

WILLIAM HURDIS (1763-1801)—the friend of Cowper, curate of Burwash, Professor of Poetry at Oxford and D.D.—*The Village Curate* (1788), *Adriano, or the First of June*, and *The Favourite of the Village*, the last poem a sequel to the first, and, like most sequels, more even and polished, but less vigorous; both containing passages which remind the reader of the *Task*, and which Cowper might have been proud to acknowledge:

SAMUEL ROGERS (1763-1855)—banker, patron of men of taste and letters—*The Pleasures of Memory*, a work of classical and graceful beauty (1792), *Human Life* (1819), *The Voyage of Columbus*, *Miscellaneous Poems*; and *Italy* (1822), a descriptive poem in blank verse, and containing half-conversational sketches of Italian life and scenery, all finished with great nicety and skill:^b

ROBERT BLOOMFIELD (1766-1823)—farmer’s boy, and, through the influence of the Duke of Grafton, government clerk, with a somewhat unhappy lot in both positions—*The Farmer’s Boy* (1798), *Rural Tales* (1810), *Wild Flowers*, and other pieces; volumes of cheerful description of rural life with much moral feeling and smoothness of versification: his great fault is his want of passion—his great excellence, the truth and reality of his

* Coleridge.

^b The late Lord Dudley (Ward) had spoken freely of the poet, who retallated in the caustic epigram:—

Ward has no heart they say; but I deny it;

He has a heart—he gets his speeches by it.

delineations: some of his lines, those for example on the *Soldier's Home*, Wilson thinks equal to Burns':

MRS. HUNTER (1742-1821)—wife of the eminent surgeon, and sister of Everard Home—verses and songs which were extensively read in their day, and some of which Haydn has 'married to immortal' music:

MRS. OPIE (1769-1853)—wife of the artist, herself a novelist, and friend of most of the literary celebrities of her age—a volume of miscellaneous poems published in 1802:

MRS. GRANT (1754-1838), of Laggan—authoress of *Letters from the Mountains*—several poems on the manners and scenery of the Highlands, topics which were to become still more popular under the treatment of Scott:

MRS. TIGHE (1773-1810)—a lady of passionate and refined imagination—*Psyche*, a poem in six cantos on the story of Cupid and Psyche (Love and the Soul), written with much grace and brilliancy:

HON. W. R. SPENCER (1770-1834)—a brilliant talker and an easy writer of compliment, parodied in the *Rejected Addresses*—several pieces, of which *Beth-Gelert* and some stanzas praised by Scott are best known; in prose he is the author of *Lives of the Poets*, intended as a supplement to Johnson's volume:

JAMES HOGG (1770-1835)—'Ettrick Shepherd,' assistant of Scott in collecting that *Border Minstrelsy*, which he imitated in a volume of poems under the title of *The Mountain Bard* (1807)—*The Queen's Wake* (1813), a legendary poem consisting of ballads and tales supposed to be sung to Queen Mary at the royal wake held at Holyrood, and various poems; *Mador of the Moor*, written in the Spenserian stanza, *The Pilgrims of the Sun*, in blank verse, etc.; *Kilmeny*, in *The Queen's Wake*, is one of the most delicate fairy tales ever conceived; his *Ode to the Skylark* is well known and greatly admired for its lyrical spirit, while several of his longer poems are remarkable for their imaginative-ness and beauty; indeed he may be regarded as the most creative of the uneducated poets:

REV. H. F. CARY (1772-1844)—an eminent classical scholar—a translation of *Dante* in blank verse (1805-1814), of the *Odes* of Pindar, and of the *Birds* of Aristophanes—all written with taste and skill; they have received the warm approval of Coleridge, and of most classical students:

JOHN LEYDEN (1775-1811)—Oriental scholar and co-worker with Scott in the minstrelsy of the Scottish border—*Scenes of Infancy*, descriptive of Teviotdale, and some ballads of a much higher order; one of them, *The Mermaid*, Scott has highly praised for the melody of its numbers:

JAMES SMITH (1775-1839), and HORACE SMITH (1779-1849)—a modern union not unlike that of Beaumont and Fletcher—*Horace in London*, and the *Rejected Addresses* (1812), an imitation of modern poets which had immense success; to Horace we owe various humorous sketches in the *New Monthly Magazine*, of which the *Address to the Mummy* is the most felicitous compound of fact and sentiment; and to James, various fictions, among which *Brambletye House*, written in imitation of Walter Scott's novels, is one of the best:

WALTER SAVAGE LANDOR (1775-1864)—best known as a classical prose writer, advocating, however, a kind of 'literary Jacobinism,' which springs out of an incorrigible self-love, and defends whatever others condemn—*Gebir*, an epic; *Julian*, a tragedy which Southey praises; and various lyrical pieces of pathos and beauty; his prose works, *Imaginary Conversations*, a series of dialogues extending over all history, and including almost all themes, his *Last Fruit off an Old Tree*, and *Dry Sticks*, will probably live in our literature:

CHARLES LAMB (1775-1835)—Christ's Hospital boy, India House clerk, and friend of Coleridge—a volume of *Album Verses* (1830), and *John Woodvil*, a play written in imitation of the Elizabethan dramatists; to him we are still more indebted for *Specimens of English Dramatic Poets*, selected with fine critical taste, and most of all for the *Essays of Elia*, written in 'poetic prose,' and containing noble examples of a quaint racy humour, unique in its kind, and unequalled since the days of Addison:

REV. G. CROLY (1780-1860)—a native of Dublin, and rector of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, a voluminous writer in history, fiction, and poetry—*Paris in 1815*, a description of the art treasures of that city; *The Angel of the World* (1820); *Illustrations from the Antique*; *The Modern Orlando*, a satirical poem (1846, 1855); besides his prose romance of *Salathiel*, a tale founded on the Wandering Jew; and *Tales of the Great St. Bernard*—all characterised by a certain gorgeousness of imagination though wanting in feeling:

EBENEZER ELLIOTT (1781-1849) — iron-founder, corn-law rhymmer, and Yorkshire poet—two volumes of prose and verse, containing truthful sketches of the condition of the working classes, though impaired by harsh and unjust aspersions; his *Corn-Law Rhymes* and other pieces were warmly praised by Southey and Wilson, and are often remarkable, not only for strong feeling ‘hammered short off,’ as he himself expressed it, but for true eloquence and noble sentiment:

REGINALD HEBER (1783-1826)—fellow of All Souls, vicar of Hodnet, and bishop of Calcutta—the best prize poem, it is said, ever produced at Oxford, *Palestine*,* some beautiful hymns, and, in prose, the *Bampton Lecture* for 1815 on the *Person and Office of the Holy Spirit*, and a *Life of Jeremy Taylor* prefixed to an edition of his works, besides journals and sermons:

LEIGH HUNT (1784-1859)—a lively descriptive poet, with something of the passion of ‘tropical blood,’ schoolfellow at Christ’s Hospital of Coleridge and Lamb, companion of Lord Byron, whom he offended by the utterance of disappointed feeling—the *Story of Rimini*, an Italian tale in verse, with beautiful lines and passages; two volumes of poetry, *Foliage* and *The Feast of the Poets*; *Captain Sword and Captain Pen* (1835), a poetical outburst against war; *The Palfrey* (1842), a narrative poem with much sprightly description and rich imagery; besides essays published in the *Indicator*, and lives of Wycherly and other dramatists of the Restoration:

ALLAN CUNNINGHAM (1784-1842)—sculptor and assistant of Chantrey, novelist and biographer of Burns and Wilkie, and writer of Scottish ballads—various songs and fragments in Cromek’s *Remains of Nithsdale Song*; *Sir Marmaduke Maxwell*, a dramatic poem; most of his poetic pieces being remarkable for simplicity and tenderness: ‘A wet sheet and a flowing sea,’ one of his sea songs, is well known:

PROFESSOR WILSON (1785-1854)—Newdigate prizeman, professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, the ‘Christopher North’ of *Blackwood*—*The Isle of Palms* (1812),

* To a hint of Sir Walter Scott, who observed when the poem was read to him, that in the lines on Solomon’s Temple one circumstance had been omitted, viz., that no tools were used in the building, we are indebted for

one of the finest images in the piece:—

No hammer fell—no ponderous axes
rung;

Like some tall palm the mystic
fabric sprung.

The City of the Plague (1816), and several short poems, 'all characterised chiefly by the gentler sympathies of our nature, and by a certain tranquillising sweetness which is apt to appear dullness to some readers;'^a we owe to him also prose writings in which there is a strange mixture—half shrewd and bitter, half graceful and tender; while in criticism especially, he displays great discrimination and luxuriance; his praise and censure being alike prodigal, and 'his eloquence as the rush of mighty waters.'^b

H. KIRKE WHITE (1785-1806)—a protégé of Simeon, who fell a victim to over study, whose memory Byron embalmed in some beautiful lines, whose death Southey deemed a loss to our literature—hymns, sonnets, and lyric pieces, written before he had reached his twentieth year, all distinguished by plaintive tenderness and pleasing fancy, though without the certain indications of great genius which we have in the equally early writings of Cowley or of Chatterton:

THOMAS PRINGLE (1788-1834)—editor of *Friendship's Offering*, secretary of the African Society, and resident for some time in Caffreland—*Scenes of Teviotdale*, and *African Sketches* in prose and in verse; the piece, 'Afar in the Desert,' being much admired by Coleridge:

CHARLES WOLFE (1791-1823)—curate in the diocese of Armagh, who, like Kirke White, was carried off by consumption—two or three brief poems; a song adapted to the Irish air of *Grammá-chree*, 'If I had thought thou couldst have died;' and *Lines on the Burial of Sir John Moore*, which last has obtained as wide a popularity as any single production in our language:

JOHN CLARE (1793-1864)—a Northamptonshire peasant, and in the very front rank of 'uneducated poets'—*Poems descriptive of Rural Life and Scenery*, *The Village Minstrel and other Poems* (1821), in two volumes, distinguished by a taste for natural beauty and skill in painting it, and by no small amount of pathos and tenderness; his struggles with poverty, like those of Burns, Chatterton, and Bloomfield, ended disastrously, and he sank into mental despondency, from which death has recently given him release:

FELICIA D. HEMANS (1793-1835)—a lady of German and Irish descent, with much of the thoughtful tender enthusiasm that might be expected from her parentage—*The Forest Sanc-*

^a Jeffrey.

^b Hallam.

tuary, her best long poem (1826), *Records of Woman* (1828), *Lays of Leisure Hours*, *National Lyrics*, *Songs of the Affections* (1830), *Hymns for Childhood* (1834), and sonnets under the title of *Thoughts during Sickness*; poems that appeal too much to the ear and too little to the intellect, and yet abound in beauty and feeling, and blend in a very striking way the utterance of a patient spirit with eager longings for the 'Better Land:'

HARTLEY COLERIDGE (1796-1849)—son of S. T. Coleridge, and a youth of precocious fancy—in prose the *Lives of Northern Worthies* in three volumes; *Essays and Marginalia* (1851), besides his poems, which include some fine sonnets, and many passages that remind the reader of Wordsworth:

T. HAYNES BAYLY (1797-1839)—a man of good family and fortune, but, like Wilson, reduced to comparative poverty by the misconduct of others—several dramas, *Perfection*, *The Witness*, *Sold for a Song*, and a larger number of popular songs than any other modern writer except Moore; among these may be named, 'She wore a wreath of roses,' and 'Oh, no, we never mention her;' some lines on *The Neglected Child*, contain a good moral; his pieces, which fill several volumes, are characterised by happy natural diction, and often by beautiful thoughts:

WILLIAM MOTHERWELL (1797-1835)—editor of the *Glasgow Courier*, deputy-sheriff-clerk of Paisley, antiquarian and poet—several pathetic and sentimental lyrics, and a volume entitled *Minstrelsy, Ancient and Modern* (1827), containing a collection of Scottish ballads, prefaced by an admirable historical introduction:

HERBERT KNOWLES (1798-1817)—a native of Canterbury—some fine religious stanzas with much of the earnestness of Cowper:

D. M. MOIR (1798-1851)—the Δ of *Blackwood*, a surgeon at Musselburgh—*The Legend of Geneviève*, with other tales and poems (1824), *Domestic Verses* (1843), of which *Casa Wappy* is one of the happiest, and the prose tale of *Mansie Waugh*—all distinguished by freshness of fancy, and the later pieces by ripe thought:

A. A. WATTS (1799-1864) — newspaper editor — *Poetical Sketches* (1822), *Lyrics of the Heart* (1850), and a long series of annual volumes, *The Literary Souvenir*, etc., in which short prose and poetic pieces by popular writers were associated with beautiful engravings:

LORD MACAULAY (1800-1862)—the *Lays of Ancient Rome* (1842), in which he chants the martial stories of Horatius Cocles, the battle of the Lake Regillus, the death of Virginia, and the prophecy of Capys, with a simplicity and a fire that win our hearts; other ballads—*Ivry*, *a Song of the Huguenots*, and *The Armada, a Fragment*, with the same qualities; besides prose writings which, for brilliancy and effectiveness have never been surpassed:

THOMAS AIRD (1802-1862)—editor of the *Dumfries Courier*, friend of Wilson, and editor of the *Life of Moir*—several prose sketches, and a few poems descriptive of Scottish scenery and manners, most of them written with a wild imaginativeness and rough grandeur:

T. K. HARVEY (1804-1859)—native of the neighbourhood of Paisley, and for some time editor of the *Athenæum*—*The Poetical Sketch-book* (1829), *Illustrations of Modern Sculpture* (1832), *The English Helicon* (1841), all written with an easy grace and richness of imagination that place him high among the minor poets of our age:

LETITIA E. LANDON (1802-1838)—who was born in London, and died wife of Governor Maclean at Cape Coast Castle—*Poetical Sketches* which appeared in the *Literary Gazette* under the signature of L. E. L.; *The Improvisatrice* (1824), and two more volumes of poetry, nearly all treating not so much of nature as of themes and persons which history has rendered sacred.

236. This list needs, for completeness, the addition of the religious poets and the hymn writers of the last half century. The former are Grahame, Pollok, and Montgomery.

Religious poets
and hymn-
writers.

JAMES GRAHAME (1765-1811) was born in Glasgow, studied for the profession of the law, and became a clergyman of the Church of England. Ill health, however, compelled him to relinquish active duty. Besides a dramatic poem on Mary, Queen of Scots, published in 1801, he wrote *The Sabbath Walks*, *Biblical Pictures*, *The Birds of Scotland*, and *British Georgics*, all in blank verse. *The Sabbath Walks* is his best piece, and is rich in descriptions of Scottish scenery and in devotional feeling. He reminds the reader of Cowper, though he wants his humour and the easy variety of his versification.

Robert Pollok (1799-1827), a young licentiate of the Scotch

Secession Church, is now well known as the author of a poem, in blank verse, entitled *The Course of Time*. It has the double advantage of a poetical fancy and of an earnest evangelical spirit; and its popularity is attested by the fact that it has gone through between twenty and thirty editions. The poem is in ten books, and reminds the reader sometimes of the dignity of Milton, and at other times of the sententiousness of Young. Its aim is to describe the spiritual life and destiny of man, and it abounds with pictures and narratives that illustrate the power of virtue and of vice. It is energetic in style, and often beautiful, though sometimes harsh both in diction and in thought: probably if his life had been spared, time would have mellowed the fruits of the poet's genius. After studying in Glasgow, and writing a series of prose *Tales of the Covenanters*, he found his constitution undermined by consumption. In the hope of checking the disease he removed to the south of England, and died at Shirley, near Southampton. The same year witnessed his appearance as a poet and preacher, and mourned his early death. He owed his first popularity to the discernment of Professor Wilson.

James Montgomery (1771-1854), born at Irvine, was the son of a Moravian missionary, and was educated at the Moravian School, at Fulneck. He was for thirty years editor of the *Sheffield Iris*, a weekly journal which he established and conducted with marked ability. Twice he was convicted of political libels, fined and imprisoned; but, as he himself testifies, all the parties who took a share in those prosecutions were not only reconciled to him, but proved in after life among his warm friends. His first volume of poetry was *The Wanderer of Switzerland, and other Poems* (1806). It was authoritatively denounced by the *Edinburgh Review* as destined to die; but notwithstanding was long popular, and twenty editions of it have been published. In 1807 he published *The West Indies*, a poem in honour of the abolition of the slave trade; it was written at the request of Mr. Bowyer, to accompany a set of plates on this subject, and possesses a degree of vigorous description and of poetic feeling not found in his first work. *The World before the Flood* appeared in 1813. It is written in heroic couplets and in ten cantos, containing much elevated sentiment and pure feeling. In 1819 he published *Greenland*, a poem in five cantos, giving the history of the missions of the Moravian Church in that country. *The Pelican*

Island is the last of his larger poems; it describes the ancient haunts of the pelican in the islands of New Holland. This piece shows more felicity of diction and more power of fancy than any of his previous works.

In 1830-1831, Montgomery delivered a course of lectures at the Royal Institution on *Poetry and General Literature*, which were published in 1833, and a pension of 200*l.* a year was bestowed upon him about the same time, at the suggestion of Sir Robert Peel. A collected edition of his works was issued in 1841, in four volumes.

Besides the larger poems of Montgomery, which are distinguished by passages of great beauty, he is known as the author of a great number of short pieces and hymns. Everything he has written is characterised by an earnest religious tone, while his simplicity of taste, depth of feeling, and the picturesque beauty of his descriptions commend his writings to critics of all classes. His hymns especially illustrate, as Wilson expresses it, 'the close connection there is between a pure heart and a fine fancy;' 'the simplest feelings and thoughts he intertwines with the flowers of poetry, filling his readers with surprise that they are capable of such adornment, and with pleasure that the adornment becomes them—adding wonder to love.'^a

237. Among later hymn-writers, no longer living, may be mentioned Josiah Conder (1789-1855), for twenty-three years editor of the *Eclectic Review*, and of the *Modern Traveller* in thirty-three volumes, and author of several able works on biblical criticism. His poems, *The Star in the East and other Poems* (1824), *Sacred Poems* (1837), show a cultivated taste and often a rich fancy. In hymn writing he professes to be a disciple of Montgomery, and some of his pieces have become very popular. To Thomas Kelly (1769-1855), son of Judge Kelly, of Ireland, educated as a clergyman of the Established Church, and for many years pastor of a Congregational Church in Dublin, we owe some hymns of great beauty and lyric power. To Henry F. Lyte (1793-1847), successively curate at Marazion, Lymington, and North Brixham, we owe *A Metrical Version of the Psalms* (1836), and a volume of *Poems*, chiefly religious, published in 1833. His well-known hymn—'Abide with me! fast falls the eventide,' and many more, may be justly reckoned among the gems of sacred verse.

^a *Recreations—Sacred Poetry*, vol. ii.

The productions of living hymn writers, Keble, Bonar, Elliott, we cannot specify; many of them are second to none that have been referred to in this list.

We can likewise give only the names of a few living poets, Alfred Tennyson (1810), poet laureate; Charles Mackay (1812), author of *The Hope of the World*, *Voices from the Crowd*, *Egeria*, etc.; Robert Browning (1812), author of *Paracelsus*, *Dramatic Lyrics*, etc.; W. E. Aytoun (1813), author of the *Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers*, and the mock-heroic drama *Firmilian*, etc.; Philip J. Bailey (1816), author of *Festus*; Coventry Patmore (1823), author of *The Angel in the House*; Gerald Massey (1828), the author of the ballad *Babe Christabel*, and other poems; and Alexander Smith (1830), author of the *Life Drama*. Of many others, the poets of the million, space will not allow us to give even the names.

Such is a brief summary of works which for creative genius, striking diction, and noble sentiment, are unsurpassed by those of any nation, ancient or modern.

NOTE ON ENGLISH VERSIFICATION.

238. In the *Hand-book of the English Tongue* may be found an account of English rhymes and metres. Referring to that volume for details, we have now to show how rhymes and metres are built up into poems. Let the following facts, however, be first of all carefully noted:—

Syllables are in English long or short, according to the length of the *vowel*, and not, as in Latin, according to the length of the syllable as a whole.

A *foot* or measure is made up not of long and short syllables, but of an accented syllable, and its connected unaccented syllable, or syllables; and a line in such feet is said to be metrical.

Rhythm, so far as it differs from metre, is numerical proportion or harmony. As applied to poetry, the words are often coextensive in meaning; but they sometimes differ. A line may be rhythmical, but not metrical; as when accented syllables have more than two unaccented syllables connected with them. Much of the poetry of the Anglo-Saxons is of this kind; as are many of Chaucer's lines, Coleridge's *Christabel* and his *Ancient Mariner*. We have the converse of this when the proper

number of syllables is preserved, but the accents are fewer than the metre properly requires. Many of Shakespeare's decasyllabic lines have only four accents; an arrangement that quickens the movement of the dialogue, and is excusable in the drama. In the *Excursion*, and generally in didactic poems, it offends the ear.

Rhyme is in English the recurrence of identical final sounds with like accents, and with different preceding consonants.

Every part of this definition is essential. If the sound

Rhyme. is *not* final, but initial, as in 'apt alliteration's artful aid,' the metre is alliterative, the common rhyme of the Anglo-Saxon. If it is neither necessarily initial nor final, it may be Scandinavian, as in 'Depths eye hath not fathomed,' or Spanish, as when 'charger' and 'Alhambra' are regarded as rhyming words. In neither case is it *English*. If the words are without like accents, as *ský* and *háppily*, the rhyme is imperfect. If the preceding consonants are not different, it may be good French rhyme in which the rhyming syllables are sometimes identical, but it is not English. *Hill, fill; quiet, diet; tenderly, slenderly*, are the only correct typical forms of modern English rhyming.

Though our metre depends on accent, we employ without impropriety classic terminology to describe the analogous English measures. Thus we have Iambic feet (*alóng*) and metres, Trochaic (*fáster*), Dactylic (*mérrily*), Anapestic (*cavalier*), and Amphibrachic (*Helvélyn*). We have also Spondees (*hím, whó*); but these seldom occur, and none of our metres take their name from them.

Metrical lines sometimes stand alone, or are simply continuous. Sometimes they are made into verses or stanzas. As 'verse,'

however, is applied to single lines, to stanzas and to

Stanza, what. poetry itself, it is better to avoid the use of that term.

In nearly all metres a *pause* (or *cæsura*) is required in each line. Puttenham taught that in ten-syllabled verse the pause is

always on the fourth syllable. Chaucer generally

acts on this rule, and Wyat and Surrey always observe it. In the Romance eight-syllabled metre, the

pause is also on the fourth, and in the Alexandrine on the sixth syllable. Spenser, and especially Milton, set aside all these rules.

In the eight-syllabled metre of *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* the pause is on the second, third, fourth, or fifth syllable, and in the *Paradise Lost* the place of the pause is as constantly changing.

The pause, or
Cæsura.

Milton's example in this respect has been followed by the greatest authorities of later times. Perhaps the most important improvement in Milton's blank verse is that he makes the verse run on into several lines, not ending with each, nor even with the couplet.

239. English metres may be divided first of all into unrhymed and rhymed.

Of the UNRHYMED or blank verse, we have not many English metres. varieties. Among them are the classic metres—
Divided into Hexameters, Pentameters, Sapphics, Alcaics—all
unrhymed founded on the models of the Latin tongue. These were introduced by Harvey, Spenser, and others, at the end of the sixteenth century, and though revived by Watts, and again by Southey, Whewell, and others, can hardly be said to flourish. In some of Longfellow's pieces, however, the hexameter aided by *initial* rhymes is both beautiful and popular.

Common blank verse varies in length from four-syllabled metre to fifteen syllables. Of the former we have examples, blended with metres of six and of eight syllables, in Spenser's *Mourning Muse of Thestylis*. Of *trochaic octosyllabic* unrhymed metre, *Hiawatha* is an example. Decasyllabic metre—the common heroic verse—is the blank verse of Shakespeare and Milton. It has properly ten syllables and five accents. In Shakespeare it has generally but *four*, for dramatic poetry representing dialogue and passion is naturally more rapid than the epic. Occasionally, also, a redundant syllable is found. This verse would be monotonous but for the above variations (to which most writers add occasional trochees for iambuses at the beginning of the line or at the end), and but for great freedom in the use of the pause, which is inserted not only at the end of the second foot, but at the end of the first and of the third. Twelve-syllabled metres—called also Alexandrines—have in strictness six accents, and are generally rhyming. They form the heroic metre of France. Fifteen-syllabled blank metre is used by Newman in his version of *Homer*. It is the metre which Chapman uses, though without the rhyme, and enriched by the addition of a syllable.*

* O gentle friend ! if thou and I from this encounter scaping,
Hereafter might for ever be from eld and death exempted.

The *Sestine*, a measure borrowed from the Italian, is a stanza of six lines without rhyme; the art consisting in ringing the changes on six final words through the whole poem, which must be finished in six stanzas, with three lines over. An example may be seen in Spenser's *August*.

Choral unrhymed metres are best named from the metre that prevails in them; iambic and dactylic, as in Southey's *Thalaba*,^a or trochaic, as in the *Strayed Reveller*.^b

RHYMING METRES are either continuous or in stanzas. These last extend from three lines to eighteen, and in Pindaric Odes to twenty-eight, or even more. The lines are from octometers (iambic or trochaic) of sixteen syllables to monometers of two; and if of anapæsts or dactyls, from twenty-two syllables, the last foot being generally an accented syllable, to monometers of three syllables. There are few dactylic lines, however, of more than six feet, and few anapæstic lines of more than four feet.

The following are the more important rhyming metres :—

OCTOMETERS, or sixteen-syllable metre.

Continuous: IAMBIC. Long-metre Hymns.^c

TROCHAIC. Long-metre (peculiar) Hymns.^c

Stanzas with middle rhymes and four final rhymes (2, 4, 5, 6),

lines 2, 4, 6, irregular. Poe's *Raven*.

OCTOMETERS CATALECTIC, *i.e.* with a syllable short.

Continuous: IAMBIC. Newman's *Homer*.

TROCHAIC. Longfellow's *Belfrey of Bruges*, *Locksley Hall*.

Stanzas of four lines: Milman's *Brother thou art gone before us*,

Hymns in 8.7.^c

HEPTAMETERS, or fourteen-syllable metre.

Continuous: IAMBIC, Chapman's *Homer*, Phaer's *Æneid*, Golding's *Ovid*, *Amantium Iræ*, *Chevy Chase*,^c *John Gilpin*,^c Macaulay's *Battle of Ivry*, Ballads,^c and Common-metre Hymns.^c

TROCHAIC, as in the Old Version of the LXX. Psalm.

HEPTAMETER, FREE VERSE (*i.e.* with occasional dactyls, and anapæsts in place of iambuses).

Continuous: Chaucer's *Tale of Gamelin*, *Adam Bell*, *The Nut Brown Maid*.

^a 'Sail on, sail on, quoth Thalaba,
Sail on in Allah's name.
In the Domdaniel caverns,
Under the roots of the ocean.'

^b 'Faster, faster,
O | Círcé góddéss.'

^c Generally printed in four-line stanzas; but the lines are really continuous, when only the second and fourth rhyme.

HEPTAMETER and HEXAMETER (Alexandrine) alternately.

Continuous: Surrey's *Description of Love*, Wyatt's *Complaint of Absence*.

HEXAMETER or ALEXANDRINES.

Continuous: IAMBIC, Surrey's *Ecclesiastes*, Drayton's *Polyolbion*, in stanzas of four lines alternate rhyme, Phæbe's *Sonnets* in Lodge, Euphues' *Golden Legend*.

The Short Metre of our Hymns with the *second* and *fourth* lines rhyming.

TROCHAIC: Heber's *Holy! Holy!* in stanzas with alternate rhymes, and the Trochaic 11's of our Hymns; each line ending in a long syllable.

DACTYLIC: Longfellow's *Evangeline*.

HEXAMETER, FREE.

Continuous rhyme with various feet: Chaucer's *Tale of Beryn*, and the *Prologue*; Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle*, with a hypermetrical foot; Lines in the *Passionate Pilgrim*, etc., with a defective foot found in occasional lines: the endecasyllable, the heroic metre of the Italians.

PENTAMETER, or ten-syllable metre.

Continuous, or Rhyming *Couplet*, called by the French *Rime plate*: Chaucer's *Prologue*, many of *The Tales*, Lydgate's *Story of Thebes*, Gawin Douglas' *Æneid*, Spenser's *Mother Hubbard*, and most modern heroic poetry.

Stanzas of *three lines*, with one rhyme throughout: *Psalms* by Sandys, Quarles, etc. Several of Ben Jonson's poems, King Charles' *Elegy* preserved by Burnet.^a

Stanzas of *four lines*, with alternate rhymes, called by the French, *rime croissée* or *entrelassée*, our Elegiac metre: Surrey's *Windsor Castle*, Spenser's *Colin Clout*, Davies' *Gondibert*, Gray's *Elegy*, Dryden's *Annus Mirabilis*.

Stanzas of *five lines*, with two rhymes (1, 2, 5: 3, 4, or 1, 3: 2, 4, 5): Chaucer's *Cuckoo and Nightingale*, G. Douglas' *Prologue* to the 10th *Æneid* and some of Wyatt's pieces.

Stanzas of *six lines*, with *three* rhymes (two alternate and a rhyming couplet): Chaucer in some of the *Envoy*s, Spenser's *Astrophel* and *December*, *Tears of the Muses*, Gascoyne's *Passion*, Southwell's *Changes, or Times go by Turns*, and Raleigh's *Defiance*; with *two* rhymes (1, 4, 6: 2, 3, 5), Spenser's *October*: very common in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

^a 'Nature and law by thy divine decree
(The only root of righteous royaltie)
With this dim diadem invested me.'

Stanzas of *seven lines* with *three* rhymes (1, 3 : 2, 4, 5 : 6, 7 : or, 1, 3 : 2, 4 : 5, 6, 7 : or, 1, 3 : 2, 4, 6 : 5, 7) : Chaucer's *Clerk of Oxenford*, *Troilus and Cresseide*, *Assembly of Foules*, *Flower and Leaf*, Hardyng's *Chronicle*, Gower's *Epistle to Henry IV.*, Barclay's *Ship of Fools*, Occleve, Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*, G. Douglas' *Prologue*, Spenser's *Hymns to Love and Beauty*, Milton's *Ode on the Nativity*, G. Fletcher's *Purple Island* : 'Rhyme-Royal,' a common favourite up to the age of Elizabeth.

Stanzas of *eight lines* with a single rhyme : *The Shrift*, Ellis, iii. 119.

Stanzas of *eight lines* with *two* rhymes (1, 3, 6, 8 : 2, 4, 5, 7) : Spenser's *June*.

Stanzas of *eight lines* with *three* rhymes (1, 3 : 2, 4, 5, 7 : 6, 8 : or, 1, 3 : 2, 4, 5, 8 : 6, 7 : or, 1, 3 : 2, 4, 5 : 6, 7, 8) : Chaucer's *Monk's Tale*, Lydgate's *Ballads*, Spenser's *November*, G. Douglas' *Prologue to 11th Æneid*, G. Fletcher's *Christ's Triumph*.

Stanzas of *eight lines* with *three* rhymes (1, 3, 5 : 2, 4, 6 : 7, 8), the *ottava rima* of Ariosto and Tasso : Spenser's *Minopotmos*, Byron's *Morgante Maggiore*.

Stanzas of *nine lines* with *three* rhymes (1, 2, 4, 5 : 3, 6, 7 : 8, 9). G. Douglas' *Prologue to 5th Æneid*, Lindsay's *Prologue of Papingo Testament*.

Stanzas of *nine lines* with *two* rhymes (1, 2, 4, 5, 8 : 3, 6, 7, 9). Chaucer's *Complaint of Annelida*, G. Douglas' *Prologue to 3rd Æneid*.

Stanzas of *nine lines*, the last line of 9 or sometimes of 8, an Alexandrine ; with *three* rhymes (1, 3 : 2, 4, 5, 7 : 6, 8, 9 : or if eight, 1, 3 : 2, 4, 5 : 6, 7, 8) : *The Faerie Queen*, 'Spenserian Stanza.'

Ten syllables (1, 3, 5, 6) : four syllables (2, 4, 7, 8) : eight syllables (9) ; with *four* rhymes (1, 3 : 2, 4 : 5, 6, 9 : 7, 8) : Spenser's *Lay to Eliza in April*.

Stanzas of *ten lines*, an Alexandrine *first*, ten syllables (2, 3, 4, 5, 9) ; eight syllables (6, 7) ; four syllables (8, 10) being the refrain ; with *four* rhymes : Spenser's *Allegory of Dido in November*.

Stanzas of *thirteen lines*, mixed, the last four verses being of four syllables with *four* rhymes (1, 3, 5, 7 : 2, 4, 6, 8 : 9, 13 : 10, 11, 12) : Douglas' *Prologue to the 8th Æneid*.

Stanzas of *fourteen lines*, or sonnet, with *five* rhymes (1, 4, 5, 8 : 2, 3, 6, 7 : 9, 12 : 10, 13 : 11, 14) : Milton's *Sonnets*, 7th, 9th, 10th, and 13th ; several of Wordsworth's : the *true sonnet*.

Other rhymes (1, 3 : 2, 4, 5, 7 : 6, 8, 9, 11 : 10, 12 : 13, 14), Spenser's *Amoretti* (1, 4, 5, 8 : 2, 3, 6, 7 : four next alternate, with couplet at the end), *Sonnets* of Wyatt (first eight, regular or alternate, the last six, alternate or at pleasure), Milton's 8th, 11th, 12th, 14th :

two rhymes (the first twelve alternate and a rhyming couplet): Surrey *On Spring*, and *Complaint by Night*: Seven rhymes (1, 3: 2, 4: 5, 7: 6, 8: 9, 11: 10, 12: and 13, 14): Daniel's *Delia*, Shakespeare's *Sonnets* generally: not a true sonnet.

Stanzas of fourteen lines with seven rhymes (three quatrains rhyming alternately and a rhyming couplet), Spenser's *Vision of Petrarch*; with five rhymes (1, 3: 2, 4, 5, 7: 6, 8, 9, 11: 10, 12: 13, 14), Spenser's *Visions of Worldly Vanity*.

Stanzas of eighteen lines with four of six syllables (5, 10, 15, 16), and the last an Alexandrine: seven rhymes (1, 4, 5: 2, 3: four next alternate, 10 answering to 9: 11, 12, 14: 13, 15, 16: 17, 18): Spenser's *Prothalamion* and *Epithalamium*. The measures in these stanzas are often mixed.

Terza Rima—with rhymes 1 and 3: 2, 4, 6: 5, 7, 9; 8, 10, 11, etc.: the last and the last but two rhyme. The measure of Dante, used also by the Provençals, who seem to have invented it for their *Syrvientes* or *Satires*: Surrey's *Restless State of a Lover*, Milton's *Second Psalm*, Byron's *Prophecy of Dante*.

PENTAMETER FREE, with trochees or iambuses indifferently.

Continuous: Spenser's *Proeme to August*, Davies' *Satires*, with irregular rhymes, Milton's *Lycidas*.

These are all iambic metres. Trochaic pentameters are very rare. Amongst the most recent are those by Hemans and Longfellow.*

TETRAMETERS or eight-syllabled metre. IAMBIC.

Continuous: The common Provençal and Welsh metre, the metre of *Hudibras*, of Gay's *Fables*, of Scott's *Poetical Romances*.

Continuous in couplets: Chaucer's *House of Fame*, *Romance of the Rose*, *Owl and Nightingale*, Gower's *Confessio*, Lydgate's *Thebes*.

Stanzas of three lines with single rhyme: Randolph's *Epithalamium*, Tennyson's *A still small Voice*, Newton's *Why should I fear?*

Stanzas of four lines with rhymes (1, 3: 2, 4: or, 1, 4: 2, 3): Wyatt's *Prayer against Disdain*, Tennyson's *In Memoriam*; or with one rhyme, Wyatt's *Renunciation of Love*.

Stanzas of five lines with two rhymes (1, 2, 4: 3, 5: or, 1, 3: 2, 4, 5): Wyatt *To his Lute*, Cotton *On his Mistress, the Queen of Bohemia*.

Stanzas of six lines with one rhyme: Raleigh's *Shepherd's description of Love*; with three rhymes (four alternate and two last a couplet), Surrey's *Lover's Comfort*, Gascoigne's *Arraignment*, Withers' *Morning* (1641), C. Wesley's *Morning* (1740).

Stanzas of seven lines with three rhymes (1, 3: 2, 4, 5: 6, 7): Wyatt's *Suit of Grace*, *Lover's Mistrust*.

* Handbook of English Tongue, p. 357.

Stanzas of *eight lines* with *two* rhymes (alternate): *Elegiac Iambic* metre: Chaucer's *Ploughman's Tale*; with *three* rhymes (1, 3: 2, 4, 5, 7: 6, 8): Chaucer's *Ballad in praise of Women*, Lydgate's *Complaint*.

Stanzas of *nine lines* (the second, of *six* syllables) with *four* rhymes (1, 3: 2, 4, 7: 5, 6: 8, 9): Habington's *Castara*.

Stanzas of *ten lines* with *four* rhymes (1, 2: 3, 4, 5: 6, 7, 8: 9, 10), some of Jonson's *Songs*.

TETRAMETER FREE, with iambic, trochaic, spondaic, anapæstic, or amphibrachic feet.

Continuous rhymes: *Bevis of Southampton*, Spenser's *February, May, and September*.

TETRAMETER FREE with *three* rhymes (1, 2: 4, 5: 3 and 6): Spenser's *Proeme of March*.

TETRAMETER HYPERMETRICAL: many lines of *Hudibras*, Burns' poem to a *Mouse*.

Of *four lines* mixed: six, eight, ten-syllabled metre with rhyme (1, 3: 2, 4), Quarles' *Matins*, and others; alternately with verses of six or five syllables and alternate rhyme, Spenser's *Roundelay in August*, Spenser's *July*.

Of *six lines* mixed, with verses of ten syllables (8, 10, 8, 10, 8, 8), with alternate rhymes (1, 3, 5: 2, 4, 6), Quarles' *Flower*; with verses (3rd and 6th) of six syllables, Chaucer's *Sir Thopas*, *The Green Knight*.

Of *eight lines* mixed, with verses of seven syllables, and *three* rhymes (1, 5: 2, 4, 6, 8: 3, 7), Jonson's *Drink to me only*.

With verses of seven syllables, without stanzas, Milton's *L'Allegro, II Penseroso*, part of *Comus*, *Epitaph on Marchioness of Winchester*.

With verses of six syllables or other varieties, Coleridge's *Christabel*, Poems by Scott and by Byron.

These are all iambic metres. Trochaic tetrameters especially in the form of seven-syllabled lines are both common and beautiful, in couplets and in stanzas.

TRIMETERS, or six-syllabled metres.

Stanzas: several songs of the sixteenth century; Moore's *I saw the Moon rise clear*, Cowper's version of *Prov. viii*. Trimeters combined with deficient tetrameters from the 7.6 of our Hymns; and with complete tetrameters, the 8.6's. Heber's *Missionary Hymn*, Burns' song to *John Barleycorn*.

Stanzas of *six lines* (with rhymes 1, 3, 4: 2, 5, 6): Jonson's *Ode on Himself*.

Stanzas of *eight lines*, mixed with dimeters: Donne's poem *Sweetest Love, I do not go*.

DIMETERS, or four-syllabled metres :

These abound in Skelton and in Drayton. Campion's *Anacreontics* are also written in this metre,^a which he deemed specially suitable for choruses.

Continuous rhymes with a redundant syllable may be seen in Jonson's *Address to Mr. J. Burges*.

Stanzas of six lines (with rhymes 1, 4 : 2, 3 : 5, 6) may be seen in Jonson's *Hymn to the Father*.

DIMETERS mixed with MONOMETERS form what may be called 'under Shakespeare's sanction, the faery dialect of England.'^b

MONOMETERS, or two-syllabled metres :

These are seldom found in stanzas except as *bobs*, or pendants, to other lines. Monometers, dimeters, and trimeters, in *ten-line* stanzas may be seen in Jonson's *Ode to Sir W. Sidney*.

Besides all these metres, which are more or less regular, our poets have been in the habit of giving variety by breaking the lines in their stanzas, or, as it may be described, by mixing monometers, dimeters, and trimeters with lines of greater length.

Stanzas of this kind were first introduced by Marot, from Geneva, and are very common in the early and in the late devotional poetry of Protestant Europe. They are also found in Italian writers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and were introduced through them into the conceits and somewhat elaborate piety of our 'metaphysical poets.' Examples may be seen in Jonson's *Epitaph* on one of the boys of Queen Elizabeth's chapel,^c in his verses against *Rime*, in Donne's version of the 137th *Psalms*, and in Herbert's 'Sweet day, so cool, so calm, so bright'—the measure adopted by Pope in his first poem—the *Ode to Solitude*, and by Byron in his last, 'Tis time this heart should be unmoved.'

Sometimes this breaking of the line begins the stanza, and is repeated in the third or a later line, as in Waller's piece *Go, lovely rose!* and in Sir William Jones'—

What constitutes a state?

Not high-raised battlement or laboured mound. * * *

No—men, high-minded men :

* 'The steel we touch,
Forced ne'er so much,
Yet still removes
To that it loves.'

° 'On the ground
Sleep sound.'
Midsummer Night's Dream, iii., 2.
See Guest's *English Rhythms*, I, 186.

° 'Weep with me all ye that read
This little story;
And know, for whom you shed a tear,
Death's self is sorry.'

sometimes in the last, as in Bryant's *Address to a Water-Fowl*. Sometimes an Alexandrine is added to the broken stanza, as in Warton's *Verses on a Suicide*, and in Cowley's *Ode to Light*.

All these metres, it may be added, have a history. A knowledge of that history alone would have detected the forgery of Chatterton. He adopts for the poem of *Rowley*, a stanza not known in our poetry till the days of Spenser.

In addition to these tricks of the poet's art, poems are sometimes written with the same words at the beginning and end of each stanza, sometimes with the repetition of a peculiar rhythm, or of the same words at the end only. The rondeau, roundle, or roundelay, is an example of the former. Such poems consists of two or three stanzas, each having two rhymes. The metre was introduced into England by Marot in his version of the *Psalms*. A specimen may be seen in Cotton's lines, beginning and ending *Thou fool!*

When the last line is repeated in each stanza, we have verses that resemble those of Cowper, *My Mary*. This kind of verse was a great favourite with Dunbar, who used it in nearly one third of his poems. When a peculiar rhythm was repeated at the close of each verse, though of different words, followed by the same words, the trick was called a wheel: as in *Christ's Kirk on the Green*, in which each stanza ends with:—

Full gay, or—Full loud, etc.,
At Christ's Kirk on the Green that day!

and in Wither's *Hence away!*^a

Another style, the virelay or veering-lay, was so called from the fact that the second rhyming word of one stanza was made the first rhyming word of the next; the first and last lines of each stanza being alike. True virelays, however, are very rare. Imperfect specimens may be seen in Gascoigne's *Voyage into Holland*, and in Cotton's *Cruel Fair*.

There has recently been a large importation of such metres, through translations of German and other foreign poetry, chiefly sacred. In a language like ours, possessing few rhymes, and therefore dependent for variety of versification on the form of the stanza, such contributions are always welcome; and if musical are likely to have a permanent place in our literature.

^a Ellis' *Specimens*, iii., 74.

CHAPTER V.

THE DRAMA.

'A good drama is a story told by action and dialogue, where the spirit and style of the speeches allotted to each character are well distinguished from the others, and are true to that particular character and to nature.'—
JEFFREY.

240. THE Drama: its origin. 241. Dramas of the early centuries of the Christian era. Mysteries. Harrowing of Hell. Chester and Townley Mysteries. 242. Moralities. 'Every Man.' 'Lusty Juventus.' Bale's Plays. 'The Three Estates.' 243. Earliest English Comedy. 244. The Earliest Tragedy. Sidney's Criticism. 245. Tragedy and Comedy. Tragi-Comedies. Farces. 246. Romantic and Classic Schools. Nature and importance of this distinction. 247. The Unities. Aristotle's rule. The French School. The English. 248. Dramatic writers before the age of Shakespeare. 249. Peele, Greene, Marlowe. 250. Tragedies ascribed to Shakespeare. 251. Increase of Plays and Theatres. 252. Theatre of the sixteenth century. Great difference between the Dramas of books and the Drama of the modern Theatre. 253. Masks; their meaning and numbers. 254. The Elizabethan age of English Literature. Play writers, Poets and Prose writers. 255. Shakespeare's Life and Works. 256. His Plays: how divided and arranged. 257. Progress of the Poet's mind. Estimate of each Play. 258. Editions of his Works. Editors and Commentators. 259. His Faults. 260. The moral tendency of his Writings. 261. Summary of his Character. 262. Illustrations of his Genius and Influence. 263. Jonson: his Life and Works, Plays, Essays, Grammar. 264. Beaumont and Fletcher. 265. Massinger. 266. Ford. 267. Webster. Other Dramatists. 268. Suspension of Play-writing. The Civil War. Theatres closed. Grounds of this decision. 269. Comus. Samson Agonistes. 270. The Restoration. Opening of two Theatres, Davenant. 271. Dryden: his Life. Tragedies. The Rehearsal. 272. Otway, Lee, etc. 273. Comedy of Manners: Wycherley, Congreve, Farquhar. 274. Rowe, Lillo, etc. 275. Moral character of the Dramatists of the Restoration. 276. Jeremy Collier. Effect of his attacks on the Stage. 277. Addison. 278. Young. 279. Thomson, Mallet. 280. Home. 281. Farces. Fielding, Macklin, Foote. 282. Qualities

needed in Dramatic Writing. 283. Kotzebue's Dramas. Translations for the Stage. Sheridan, Inchbald, Lewis, Canning. 284. Plays of Passion. Joanna Baillie. 285. Plays of Incident. Colman, Goldsmith, Sheridan, Holcroft, Colman, jun. 286. Modern Dramas. Attention to Decoration. Coleridge, Byron, Taylor, etc. 287. Knowles, Talfourd. 288. On the moral influence of the Theatre.

240. All nations have, probably, amused themselves with oral or with scenic representations. The games of children abound in both. Every parable, is a dramatic picture; and men of vivid imagination and of forcible utterance naturally describe and embellish their thoughts dramatically. Hence discussions on the origin of the drama must be very limited in their range, or very voluminous and unprofitable in their results. Hence, also, objections to the drama, to be intelligent and effective, must be founded, not on the thing itself, but upon its concomitants and its abuse.

241. Soon after the old plays of heathen writers had become unwelcome throughout the ancient Christian world, their place was supplied by dramas on sacred subjects. Such were enacted at Constantinople in the first centuries of our era; and though there are few traces of them in the west, there is reason to believe that they were not uncommon during the dark ages. Matthew Paris mentions incidentally, as nothing unusual, that a miracle-play, or mystery, as it was called, on the story of St. Catherine, was performed at Dunstable at the beginning of the twelfth century, and that the manager was Geoffrey, afterwards Abbot of St. Albans. In the reign of Henry II. (1154), several of these Scripture plays were acted in London, and between the thirteenth and the sixteenth century they were performed almost every year at Chester and in other large towns. They were always founded, either on Scripture subjects or on the lives of martyrs and saints. Generally, they were acted in convents; and as the language was at first Latin, the performers must have been chiefly the clergy. For effect they depended rather upon the scenes than upon the story. In one of these Mysteries, *The Harrowing of Hell*, said to be the most ancient production in the dramatic form

in our language, and belonging to the age of Edward III. (1327), the Lord and Sathan, Adam and Eve, are among the principal characters. The Chester Mysteries (dating from 1327), the Townley Mysteries, and an analysis of all the extant mysteries of our literature, may be seen in the second volume of Collier's *History of Dramatic Poetry*. They kept possession of the stage for three hundred years, and ceased to be represented early in the sixteenth century.

The aim of most of the writers of these plays must have been to bring home the fact and truths of the Christian faith to the heart and imagination of the people, and to gratify their taste for amusement and recreation.

242. Next to these in time come the Moralities of a somewhat later age. In them, sentiments and abstract ideas, as Mercy, Truth, are represented by persons, and scope is afforded for ingenuity in delineating the characters and in assigning appropriate speeches to each. Satan is constantly introduced, and is attended by a public character called The Vice. At first, The Vice answered simply to his name, but by degrees he assumed the distinctness of a human personality, in which he came very near to our well-known Punch.^a He rebuked and ridiculed the Devil, and criticised many scenes of actual life. In the religious discussions of the early part of the sixteenth century, the stage thus came to be used for the defence of both the old and the new faith. The Mysteries were originally religious, the Moralities ethical: both now became theological and polemic. *Every Man*, published early in the reign of Henry VIII., was a defence of Catholicism, as *Lusty Juventus*, published in the reign of Edward VI., was of Protestantism. In 1529, Luther and his wife Kate were satirised in a Latin Morality acted at Gray's Inn. Ten years later, the clergy were satirised in the Morality of *The Three Estates*, acted at Linlithgow before James V. In the same century, Bishop Bale (1495-1563) wrote several dramas to help on the Reformation. Four of these are still extant, and one, *Kynge Johan*, has recently been published. In 1543, an English statute was passed, prohibiting every play that intermeddled with the interpretation of Scripture (a statute that aimed chiefly

^a Hallam, i., 438.

at the Catholic dramas), and modifying a previous statute which forbade plays that contained anything contrary to the doctrine of the Church of Rome. In 1549, the council of Edward VI. prohibited all plays by proclamation; Reformed Interludes, however, were afterwards permitted. These Moralities, it may be added, can be traced to the time of Henry VI., and abounded in the reign of Henry VIII., when acting first became a distinct profession.

243. Meanwhile, the revival of ancient learning had made men familiar with the classic models of Plautus and of Seneca. In Italy, the comedies of the former had been imitated by Ariosto; and in England, Nicholas Udall, one of the masters of Eton, and afterwards of Westminster, published his *Ralph Roister Doister*, the earliest known English comedy, which he modelled after the comedies of Terence. The hero, a silly town rake, undergoes several misadventures, which are set forth with much comic power. The exact date of this publication is not known, but it must have been written before 1551. It was soon followed (about 1563) by *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, by John Still, Master of Trinity, Cambridge, and Bishop of Bath and Wells. This is a piece of low rustic humour, the point turning on the loss and recovery of the needle with which Gammer Gurton was mending a garment belonging to her man Hodge. It is much inferior to *Roister* both in dialogue and in plot.

244. The earliest known tragedy, *Gorboduc*; or, *Ferrex and Porrex*,^a was acted before Queen Elizabeth at Whitehall in 1562.

The first three acts were written by T. Norton, a barrister, an associate of Sternhold and Hopkins in the translation of the Psalms, and the latter two by Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, afterwards Earl of Dorset. This tragedy has a double claim to notice. It was the first of the series; and it was the first in which blank verse, recently introduced

^a 'Many can yield right sage and grave advice
Of patient sprite to others wrapped in wo,
'And can in speech both rule and conquer kind (*nature*),
Who if by proof they might feel nature's force
Would shew themselves men as they are indeed,
Which now will needs be gods.'

Gorboduc, 1561.

into our language by the Earl of Surrey, was applied to dramatic composition. The subject, like *King Lear*, is taken from the fabulous annals of Geoffrey of Monmouth, though not regarded as fabulous till Milton's day. The choice shows the fondness with which the English people cherished the events of their by-gone history. In *The Defence of Poesie*, Sir Philip Sidney praises this play for its 'stately speeches and well-sounding phrases,' but censures it for its neglect of dramatic unities, which he thinks all play-writers ought to observe. The facts which form the groundwork of Sidney's criticism are as he represents them. *Gorboduc* is full of illustrations of the present from the past. It discusses the blessings of peace and settled government, the folly of popular risings, the evils of a doubtful succession,—'a dainty dish to set before a queen;'—and to do justice to these themes, several actions have to be dramatised, and those actions cannot be shown at the same time or in the same place. But the principles on which Sidney's criticism is founded are not so readily admissible. They assume, in fact, a narrow and artificial definition of dramatic art, such as some of the greatest play-wrights in our language have disregarded.

245. We have been led insensibly into the use of terms that need to be explained; 'unities,' 'classic models,' and, by implication, their opposite, 'romantic models,' 'comedy,' 'tragedy.' With the Greeks, then, from whom most of these terms are taken, tragedy meant 'a representation of a serious, complete, and important action,' which might involve a transition from prosperity to adversity (its more modern meaning), or from adversity to prosperity; while a comedy was a representation of a mean and ridiculous action tending to excite laughter. Hence the *Philoctetes* of Sophocles, and the *Alcestis* of Euripides, with many others, are called tragedies, though not ending tragically in the modern sense. By degrees, however, it came to be thought that every tragedy must have a sad ending; and as tragedy thus narrowed its meaning, the meaning of comedy extended, till it included every tragedy which ended happily. It is on this ground that Dante called his work *La Commedia*, and that *The Merchant of Venice* is reckoned among the comedies of Shakespeare, though it is really as much a tragedy as the *Alcestis*. Dramas of this last class were after-

Tragedy,
Comedy.

wards called tragi-comedies—a name of Spanish origin—and since the last part of the seventeenth century the term comedy has been restricted to plays in which amusing matter preponderates. A shorter and more extravagant kind, in which any trick was permitted in order to raise a laugh, so that the action be not taken out of the sphere of real life, was invented in the eighteenth century, under the name of farce.^a It

Farce. must be added, however, that farce, the thing itself, goes back at least three centuries earlier. *Maitre Patelin*, one of the most amusing French farces, containing the story which originated the French phrase, 'Let us return to our muttons,' was printed in 1490; while in Henry VIII.'s day the interludes of Heywood belong really to the same class.

246. All the dramatic productions of modern Europe are moulded, like its poetry, after one of two models, called, since the time of Schlegel (though the distinction is of English origin and much earlier), the ancient or classic, and the mediæval or romantic^b—the one an imitation of the models of Greece and Rome, and the other a refinement of the rude performances—the Mysteries and Moralities of later times. This statement, however, explains but very imperfectly the difference between the two schools. Classic dramas, for example, are not only formed on Greek and Roman models, and subject therefore to classic rules of construction; but they have been written for the most part by men who were imbued with the classic spirit, and who recoil from the spirit and products of the ages that have intervened between themselves and the antiquity which they love. On the other hand, the romantic or modern drama, while it adopts the divisions of the ancient drama (acts, prologues, and occasionally the chorus), is really founded on the literature of the Middle Ages, is generally written by men imbued with the spirit of their country and time, who appeal to audiences of strong feeling, perhaps of defective taste, and generally of intense nationality. Hence the subjects of these two schools differ as widely as their mode of treatment. National

^a 'Farce' means something stuffed, i. e. with viands of all sorts, and as a word reminds the reader of *The Oxford Sausage* of our own generation.

^b Romance, or Romanesque, means,

when applied to art, what grew out of the ruins of the older Latin or ancient civilisation. See for explanation *The Afternoon Lectures on English Literature*, delivered in Dublin.

history, daily social life, with all its varieties of incident and character, form the materials of the romantic dramatists. Some brief but expressive incident of ancient history, the occurrences of a single day at Rome or at Gaza, with such characters as Cato and Samson, and such treatment as befits a classic theme, form the materials of the classic dramatists. It need hardly be added that these two modes of treatment have, ever since the revival of letters, contended for the empire of the human mind in Europe, not in literature only, but in all departments of taste.

247. Whatever may be thought of the relative claims of these two schools in other respects, on the subject of the unities modern

The Unities. sympathy is largely against the classic models.

Among the rules which Aristotle, the ancient master of æsthetics and logic, gathered, as he tells us, from the practice of the Greek dramatists, was one which maintained that the action of every effective tragedy is 'one, complete and important.' 'It must further endeavour to conclude itself within one revolution of the sun, or nearly so.' The first of these rules prescribes what has been called unity of action, and the second unity of time. A third rule, not formally stated by Aristotle, but implied in his teaching, and nearly always observed by the Greek tragedians, requires that the action be transacted in the same locality. This is unity of place. In Italy these unities were carefully observed, in the early age of the drama at all events. The French dramatists long struggled to defend and enforce them; while in Spain and in England they were generally neglected, and even condemned.

These unities were the battle-field of taste for ages. 'They have no higher origin,' say the advocates of the one side, 'than the mechanical difficulty of shifting the scenes on the primitive stage,'^a and were never of authority. 'They are neglected,' say the advocates of the other side, 'only by the dramatists of nations which are intensely vain and self-conscious, dramatists who are compelled to draw their materials from national history, where the preservation of the unities is exceedingly difficult.'^b But without adopting either of these extreme views, it is enough to say, that if the aim of the drama be to sketch character, to portray the working of emotion, to gather

^a Marsh.

^b T. Arnold.

up the lessons of history, then the arbitrary prescription which these rules imply must be disregarded. Nature never exhibits a man's whole character, or illustrates and develops a master passion, or blends the acts and penalties of a nation's destiny in a single day, or in a single scene. The transactions of human life are not balanced by the Great Judge every four-and-twenty hours. Sentence against an evil work is not speedily executed. In the moral world, as in the physical, time is an essential element. The question involves, of course, a choice of difficulties. It is not natural to listen to the conspirators at Rome, hear Cæsar's reproach against Brutus, and within an hour witness the defeat at Philippi. The 'Ides of March' come on us unawares. But this violation of literal truth is insignificant compared with the crowding into a day of the events and moral results, which we cannot think of as unfolded without long intervals, and under various conditions of character and time and place. It is a case of letter against spirit, of accuracy of form against accuracy of fact. It follows that the classic unities must, with rare exceptions, conceal or withhold the moral lessons taught in history; or they must teach it, not by acts, but by narrative; or they must enact scenes which involve more unnaturalness, and a greater disregard of substantial truth, than the opposite system. Though this reasoning is sound, however, probably the example of Shakespeare has done more to modify the theory of the French school of dramatists than anything besides.

Though these unities are thus classed together, it must be added that they are not equally important, nor do they all rest on the same principle. The unities of time and place are really not essential, even to the kind of effectiveness for which the French expositors of Aristotle plead. But unity of action, rightly understood, is essential. This means that the action of the drama should be one action, and not two actions or more, and that all the details should be subordinate to the main story. This doctrine is true, and it may safely be affirmed, that if the unities of time and place are largely conducive to unity of action, they also ought to be preserved. Shakespeare himself has illustrated this principle, both by observing and by violating it. Sometimes the total neglect of the unities of time and place exposes the poet to the risk of losing all unity of action, and sometimes, with the

freedom which Milton claims for him as 'Nature's child,' he preserves the true unity of action, the unity of impression, as it has been called, 'unity of feeling and of character and interest,' as Coleridge calls it, without attending to the two minor unities upon which the French critics insist. The conclusion seems to be,—Unity of impression certainly, and the unities of time and place, that is, truth in form and in circumstances, if possible: but natural development and completeness,—truth in reality and in spirit,—in any case.*

248. The thirty years that elapsed between the publication of *Gorboduc* and the age of Shakespeare witnessed a marked improvement in the drama. Most of the popular writers —Edwards (1523–1566), a member of Lincoln's Inn; Lillie, the Euphuist (1553–1600), educated at Magdalen Hall, Oxford, and a favourite of Queen Elizabeth; Peele (died 1590), a member of Christ Church, Oxford; Greene (1560–1592), a graduate of Clare Hall; Nash (1564–1600), of St. John's, Cambridge; Christopher Marlowe (1563–1593), a graduate of Bennet College, Cambridge—were men who had received a liberal education; and though they wrote to supply the demand for novelty and excitement, they have excellences of language and sentiment which commend them to thoughtful readers. 'If we seek for a poetical image, a burst of passion, a beautiful sentiment, a trait of nature, we seek not in vain in the works of our oldest dramatists.'^b The more beautiful thoughts of these writers may be seen in the specimens published by Charles Lamb in 1808. He quotes from them to illustrate what he calls 'the moral sense of our ancestors, to show in what manner they felt when they placed themselves, by the power of imagination, in trying circumstances, in the conflict of duty and passion, or the strife of contending duties, what

* 'This now seems to be common sense; but it was otherwise a century ago. Johnson, who held the views advocated in the text, was "frightened at his own temerity," and afraid to stand "against the authorities which might be produced against him." '—MACAULAY'S *Review of Moore's Life of Lord Byron*. *Edinburgh Review*.

^a English dramatic poetry soars above the unities, just as the imagination does.

Dr. Johnson we conceive has pretty well settled this question.'—JEFFREY, ii., 99.

Dr. Johnson, it may be added, owes many of his ideas to a paper of Farquhar's on this subject. See some good remarks of Scott's in his *Essay on the Drama*.—*Prose Works*, vi., p. 298–321.

^b *Essays on the old Drama*. *Blackwood's Magazine*, ii. Said to be written by Henry Mackenzie.

sort of loves and enmities were theirs, how their griefs were tempered and their joys abated.’^a

249. Of the writers just named the chief are Peele, Greene, and Marlowe. Peele’s principal plays are his *Edward the First*, *David Peele, Greene, and Bethsabe*, and *Absalom*. The chief merit of the Marlowe. author lay in the improvement he made in our dramatic verse. Yet Campbell reckons his *Absalom* ‘the earliest fountain of pathos and harmony that can be traced in our dramatic poetry.’^b His legendary story, called *The Old Wives’ Tale* (1595), is said to have given Milton the rude outline of the *Masque of Comus*. In Greene’s plays, of which *Orlando Furioso* is the best tragedy, and *Friar Bacon* the best comedy, there is much to justify the decision of Hallam: he succeeds pretty well in that florid and gay style, a little redundant in images, which Shakespeare frequently gives to his princes and courtiers, and which renders some unimpassioned scenes in his historical plays effective and brilliant.^c He is superior to Peele, though his writings are disfigured by occasional angry allusions to Shakespeare. Marlowe’s plays are tragedies, stately and solemn, with sometimes excessive passion, but all expressed in language richly imaginative. It is to him we owe the general use on the stage of blank verse, in respect to which he received and deserved the compliment of Ben Jonson, who speaks of ‘Marlowe’s mighty line.’ His chief plays are *Tamburlaine the Great*, in which, with much rant, are many passages of wild grandeur and great beauty; *The Tragical History of Dr. Faustus*, a tale of necromancy and fearful splendour, to which Goethe, the author of the modern *Faust*, acknowledged his great obligations; *The Rich Jew of Malta*, and *Edward the Second*. The death scene of Edward the Second, Charles Lamb quotes as ‘one which moves pity and terror beyond any scene,

^a *Essays of Elia*, second series.

^b ‘Peele is the oldest genuine dramatic poet of our language. His fancy is rich and his feeling tender. . . Nor is there such sweetness of versification and imagery to be found in our blank verse anterior to Shakespeare.’—CAMPBELL. Hallam thinks this praise excessive (ii. 378).

^c ‘Peele’s genius was not boldly original

but he had elegance of fancy, gracefulness of expression, and melody of versification.’—J. P. COLLIER’S *History of English Dramatic Poetry to the time of Shakespeare*, 1831, vol. iii., 191. An “excellent history,” that supersedes the earlier works of Langbaine, Reid, and Hawkins.—HALLAM.

^c Hallam, ii., 173.

ancient or modern.' One of the actors in Marlowe's plays was Alleyn, the founder of Dulwich College.

All these, men of good education and of fine talent, lived irregular lives, and died ignominiously; Marlowe in a street brawl, in his thirty-first year; Greene on a surfeit of pickled herrings and Rhenish wine, after warning his companions against his example. His *Groat's Worth of Wit bought with a Million of Repentance* is in truth a touching appeal, which it is not easy to reconcile with his own continuance in the course of life which it is intended to condemn.^a

250. To this same age belong several dramas of which the authorship is unknown. Some of them are very effective, and are further noteworthy because regarded by some critics as the first productions of Shakespeare's pen. Among these are *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*, *The Yorkshire Tragedy*,^b and *Arden of Faversham*. Modern critics (two or three Germans excepted) have abandoned the theory which connects these dramas with Shakespeare's name. They are published in Dodsley's *Collection*.

Dramas as-
cribed to
Shakespeare.

251. The improvement effected by these authors in dramatic

^a Of Greene, Tieck says that 'a happy talent, a clear spirit, and a lively imagination, characterise all his writings.'

"In richness of fancy" Greene is inferior to Peele; and with the exception of his amusing comedy "Friar Bacon," there is perhaps but little to admire in his dramatic productions.'—DYCE.

Next Marlowe, bathed in the Thespian springs,

Had in him those brave translunary things

That the first poets had.—DRAYTON.

Marlowe ever happy in his buskin'd muse—

Pity it is that wit so ill should dwell,
Wit lent from heaven, but vices sent from hell.

Return from Parnassus, 1602.

Marlowe was the only great man among Shakespeare's precursors; his conceptions were strong and original—and he delineated character with a degree

of truth unknown to his predecessors.'—CAMPBELL'S *Life of Shakespeare*, p. 23.

'Marlowe was the greatest tragic writer that preceded Shakespeare. Of his plays, "Faustus" is the finest, and "Edward the Second" the most equal.'—JEFFREY.

'These three gifted men (Peele, Greene, and Marlowe), though they often present to us pictures that in design and colouring outrage the truth of nature, are the earliest of our tragic writers who exhibit any just delineation of the workings of passion; and their language, though now swelling into bombast and now sinking into meanness, is generally rich with poetry.'—DYCE, *Peele's Works*, pref. 35.

^b And 'tis set down by Heaven's just decree,

That Riot's child must needs be Beggary.

The Yorkshire Tragedy, 1604.

composition was at least equalled by the increasing patronage bestowed on the drama by the Court and by learned bodies. At Lincoln's Inn and at Gray's Inn many dramas were enacted; and between 1568 and 1580 no fewer than fifty-two dramas were acted at Court, under the superintendence of the Master of the Revels. The first licensed theatre in London was opened at Blackfriars in 1576, and before the close of the century there were five public theatres, and several private establishments. Two hundred players are said to have resided in and near the metropolis at that time. By 1631 as many as seventeen new playhouses had been built, though the privilege of licensing private houses had been taken away from peers by an early Act of James 1.

252. The theatre of the sixteenth century deserves notice, if only to contrast it with the theatre of our own day. The building was generally of wood, and of circular form, open to the weather, except the stage and part of the boxes. In the pit or yard sat the middle classes, who were spectators. In boxes below the galleries sat the cavaliers and dames of the Court, or sometimes in the stools on the stage. Around them, or on rushes that were strewed about, sat or reclined the young gallants of the time. The performance began at three in the afternoon, and the commencement was indicated by the hoisting of a flag on the top of the theatre and by the sounding of trumpets. The stage was without moveable scenery, and so remained till after the Restoration. The place of action of the play was indicated on a board that was hung up during the performance, and the chief events of the coming scene, by what was called a dumb show. A chorus commented upon the story, and suggested the moral lesson of the whole. Women were not allowed to act, and the female parts were played by boys or by young men. At the end, the buffoon of the company recited a rhyming medley, into which he often contrived to introduce smart or satirical allusions to public men or passing events, and before dismissing the audience the actors knelt in front of the stage and offered up a prayer for the queen! Clearly the concomitants of the drama before the time of Shakespeare were very different from those of our day. The want of scenery, the absence of actresses, the time of meeting, the open

sky, the absorption of the attention of the audience in the thoughts and wit of the play, all contributed to make the drama a much less sensuous and a more intellectual thing than it became after the Restoration. An eminent authority,^a indeed, has attributed to the modern mechanical and sensuous attractiveness of the theatre, much of the decay of later dramatic literature; and certainly the moral influence of the drama, which was never great, has in later times largely declined. Let it in any case be noted that the drama of the theatre and the drama of books are very different things. In the last the attention is directed chiefly to the sentiment; in the second it is divided between the sentiment and the concomitants, concomitants which are often mischievous just in proportion as they are pleasing.^b

253. Besides the regular drama, the age of James I. and of the Charleses is noteworthy for another kind of entertainment called the Mask, a combination of scenery, music, and poetry. The origin of the mask may be found in the 'revels' and 'shows' which were so common in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. Henry VIII. had several such entertainments, in which a set of masked characters appeared. At first the maskers acted only in pantomime, generally closing with a dance. Somewhat later, poetical dialogue and music were added, till at length the first writers of the age contributed to make these exhibitions worthy of the occasion and of the audience. Jonson composed twenty-three masks: one of Milton's finest productions is the *Comus*; and on several occasions Inigo Jones, the great architect, was the mechanist.

These masks generally took place in the hall of a palace or of some large building, and were prepared for festive occasions, such as the birth or the marriage of a prince or noble. The characters were always allegorical and mythological, gods and goddesses mingling with Beauty, Fortitude, Day, and Night, etc. In defence of this practice, which seems to our modern notions not in good taste, it must be remarked that classic imagery and personages were then new, and that it was not deemed pedantic to make allusions to the poetic creations of Grecian antiquity. For the most part the story was simple, and the charm of the piece de-

^a Dyce.

^b See Lamb's *Essay On the Tragedies*

of Shakespeare considered with reference to their fitness for stage representation.

pended upon the dress and the decorations, upon the felicity and piquancy of the conversation of the assumed characters, or upon the skill with which it represented the purposes and circumstances of the real characters of the actors, or it might be of the spectators.

In the first six years of the reign of Charles II., a sum of between 4000*l.* and 5000*l.* was spent by the Court alone on these entertainments.

254. Never could there have been gathered together at any time in our history a number of more gifted men than the writers who flourished towards the close of the reign of Elizabeth, and at the beginning of the reign of her successor. Could we have summoned them to a meeting at 'The Mermaid,' where Raleigh formed his club, and where there often assembled Shakespeare, and Jonson, and Beaumont, and Fletcher, there would have come Chapman from Hertfordshire (1557-1634), the author of the *Blind Beggar of Alexandria*, and partly of *Eastward Hoe!* but best known as the translator of Homer; the gentle 'and well-languaged' Daniel from Taunton (1562-1619); Francis Beaumont, the son of a judge, from Grace Dieu, in Leicestershire (1586-1616), with his friend, John Fletcher, the son of a bishop (1576-1625); Ford, from Devon (1586-1630); Massinger, from the neighbourhood of Wilton House (1584-1640); Heywood (who was writing from 1596 to 1640), from Lincolnshire; from London, Jonson and Webster, and somewhat later, Shirley; from places unknown, Dekker (d. 1638), and Middleton (1570-1627), and Marston (d. 1634); and lastly, William Shakespeare (1564-1616).

If we might also summon the poets and prose writers of the same age, we should have Spenser (born in London, 1553-1599), with his *Faery Queen*, and the Warwickshire Drayton (1563-1631), with his *Polyolbion*, the Yorkshire Fairfax with his *Tasso*, the two Fletchers, Phineas (1584-1650) and Giles; the satirists, John Donne (1583-1631) and Bishop Hall (1574-1656); the lyric and religious poets, Francis Quarles (1592-1644), George Herbert (1593-1632), and Robert Herrick (1591-1674). Prose would be represented by the 'chivalrous' Sidney (1554-1586) and the 'judicious' Hooker (1553-1600), by Walton (1568-1639), and Raleigh (1552-1618), and Bacon (1561-1626).

The age of
Elizabeth.

These are among the names that make this era 'by far the mightiest in the history of English literature, or indeed of human intellect and capacity. In point of real force and originality of genius, neither the age of Pericles, nor the age of Augustus, nor the times of Leo x., nor of Louis xiv., can come at all into comparison; for in that short period we shall find the names of almost all the very great men that this nation has produced, men not merely of great talents and accomplishments, but of vast compass and reach of understanding, and of minds truly creative and original, not perfecting Art by the delicacy of their taste, or digesting knowledge by the justness of their reasoning, but making vast and substantial additions to the materials upon which taste and reason must hereafter be employed, and enlarging to an incredible and unparalleled extent both the stores and the resources of the human faculties.'^a

255. Of all these, for creative power, William Shakespeare is certainly chief. He was born at Stratford-on-Avon in April, 1564, and some say on the twenty-third of that month, St. George's day. His father had settled at Stratford as a wool-comber or glover, and had married a rustic heiress, Mary Arden. By degrees he rose to be High Bailiff and Chief Alderman of the place, though afterwards he was reduced to comparative poverty. William was the eldest of six children, and, after some time spent at the grammar-school of the town, is said to have assisted in his father's business. It has also been conjectured that he entered a lawyer's office, as his works abound in legal phrases and illustrations.^b The amount of education he received has been matter of much inquiry. Ben Jonson, who prided himself on his classical knowledge, says that Shakespeare knew 'little Latin and less Greek.' This epigrammatic saying seems to admit that he knew something of both, though it is probable that Greek was not then accessible in schools. Latin he must have known. If we may judge from the number of Latinised phrases he uses, from his choice of two classical subjects for his early poetry, from the frequent and happy allusions in his dramas to

^a *Edinburgh Review*, xviii., 275.

^b The late Lord Chancellor Campbell has written a volume to prove that Shakespeare must have studied law. Nash, a contemporary, speaks of him,

though without name, as one of those who 'leave the trade of *Noverint* (know all men), whereto they were born . . . and afford you whole *Hamlets*, I should say handfuls, of tragical speeches.'

the mythology of the Ancients, he must have been imbued with a taste for classical learning. When little more than eighteen years of age he married Ann Hathaway, the daughter of a substantial yeoman, but seven years older than himself. Before he was one-and-twenty three children, the first a daughter, the second and third twins, a daughter and a son, were born to him. He had no family besides. One of his daughters had three sons, but these all died without issue, and with them the lineal descendants of the poet became extinct.

Within a year of the birth of these children, Shakespeare quitted Stratford, and, like many young authors since, threw himself for support on the public of London. The reason for that removal is not certain. It has been supposed that his departure was hastened by a lampoon on Sir Thomas Lucy, of Charlcoate, in whose park he is said to have committed some depredation. This charge, however, was never brought against him in his lifetime, and is hardly consistent with his return to the place, and the evident honour in which he was held by its inhabitants. It may even have grown out of his play, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, where there is a coarse joke on Sir Thomas' coat of arms. Perhaps the small town of Stratford did not offer scope enough for his ambition, or support enough for his family; or, most probably of all, as Burbage, the greatest actor of his day, the future performer of Richard, Hamlet, and Othello, was himself a Stratford man, Shakespeare may have been induced by him to adopt the theatre as his vocation. It is certainly singular that the names of both appear on a certificate addressed to the Privy Council in 1589 by the shareholders of the Blackfriars Theatre. There Shakespeare is reckoned among her majesty's poor players, and is the eleventh on a list of fifteen. In 1596 his name is fifth in a list of eight proprietors, and in 1603 he is second in the patent granted by King James. As an actor of plays he is said by a contemporary, supposed to be Lord Southampton, to have been 'of good account;' but it is as a writer of plays that he has reached the eminence which the world now gives him.

In the midst of all his brilliant success the poet early looked forward to a permanent residence in his native place. He visited it every year, and as wealth flowed in, he made at various periods between 1597 and 1605 investments in lands and houses at Strat-

ford. The latest entry of his name among the king's players is 1604, but he was still living in London in 1609. About the year 1612 he finally retired to the country. He seems to have had some leaning to the Puritan party, as in the records of the town there is an entry of a present of 'sack and claret' given to a 'preacher at New Place,' the residence of the poet and the principal house at Stratford.^a Four years he must have spent in this retirement. His will is dated on the 25th of March, 1616, and on the 23rd of April he died, having just completed his fifty-second year.

About the date of some of Shakespeare's plays, and even about the number, there has been much discussion. Eleven of his dramas were printed in his lifetime, probably from pirated copies. It was the interest of all parties, authors and stage managers alike, that new and popular plays should not be published, and it is certain, moreover, that Shakespeare revised his best productions, again and again filling up the first outline, and heightening the humour or the force of the dialogues and of the characters. In the fourteen years between 1584 and 1598 he had written at least thirteen plays, assuming *Titus Andronicus* to be his, which, however, there is no sufficient reason for doing. *Much Ado About Nothing* was acted in 1600, *Twelfth Night* and *Othello* were acted in 1602,^b though not published till later. *Hamlet* first appeared in 1603, *King Lear* in 1608. *Macbeth* certainly existed in 1610. The three Roman plays, *Julius Cæsar*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, and *Coriolanus*, are supposed by Mr. Knight to have been written after Shakespeare retired from the stage. *The Tempest* is said to have been the last he wrote, and as such (says Mr. Campbell), 'it has a sort of sacredness, typifying himself unconsciously as a wise, potent, and benevolent magician.' In 1623 appeared the first corrected edition of his dramas, containing thirty-five plays in all. This was seven years after his own death, and six months after the death of his widow.

^a At this time Dr. Harris, an eminent nonconformist preacher, lectured at Stratford-on-Avon every other week, when 'there was a great resort both of the chief gentry and choicest preachers and professors in those parts, and amongst them that noble and learned knight Sir Thomas Lucy.' Others of no less emi-

nence, Dod, Cleaver, Scudder, Whately—all Puritan preachers within the church—resided in that neighbourhood, and probably visited the place.—See PATTISON'S *Rise and Progress of Religious Life in England*, p. 198.

^b Collier.

256. But perhaps it will be more instructive to name the plays of Shakespeare in the order in which he wrote them. That order will be found to throw light upon the growth of the poet's mind, and will go far to vindicate and explain the high place which critics have assigned to him.

These plays are divided into three classes—comedies, histories, and tragedies. Of the fourteen comedies, the plots of five—*The Taming of the Shrew* (in part), *The Merchant of Venice*, *All's Well that Ends Well*, *Much Ado about Nothing*, *Measure for Measure*—are Italian; and two are classical—*The Comedy of Errors* and the *Twelfth Night*, taken from the *Menæchmi* of Plautus. Of the remaining seven, the plots of two—*Midsummer Night's Dream* and *As you like it*—are from mediæval sources. That of the *Two Gentlemen of Verona* is Spanish; that of the *Merry Wives of Windsor* is English; that of *Love's Labour Lost* is apparently French; while that of the *Winter's Tale* and of the *Tempest* are of unknown origin. Of the plots of Shakespeare's eleven tragedies, four—*Timon of Athens*, and the three Roman plays—are classical: reckoning *Pericles* as Shakespeare's twelfth tragedy, it also is classical: a two—*Hamlet* and *Troilus and Cressida*—are mediæval: two—*Romeo and Juliet* and *Othello*—are Italian: and three—*Cymbeline*, *Lear*, and *Macbeth*—are from the legendary history of Britain. For the classical tragedies, Shakespeare depended chiefly on North's translation of Plutarch's *Lives*, which he must have seen about the year 1607, and for his national histories he depended chiefly on Holinshed's *Chronicle*.

As early as 1591 Greene refers to Shakespeare as already known among dramatic writers: and there is reason for believing that the *Comedy of Errors* was written in 1586. This play, which is his earliest dramatic production, has remained unchanged. *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* is the second of his plays, and is now probably in its original state. The third is

* 'Pericles' was first printed in 1609, and was said on the title-page to be by William Shakespeare. Other editions appeared in 1611, 1619, 1630, and 1635. It was first placed in his collected works in the third folio edition of 1664. Opinions as to its genuineness have been long divided. Mr. Knight's decision,

that the plot of it was an early and very imperfect production of Shakespeare's, and that he continued to improve the language and the sentiment even to the last, seems very probable. But it is not safe to treat the play as throwing light on the progress of the author's own mind.

Love's Labour Lost, which underwent many changes before it took the form in which we now find it. The fourth is *The Taming of the Shrew*, published in 1594. To this earlier period belong also two tragedies in their original form—*Hamlet*, which is merely a sketch of the present drama, and *Romeo and Juliet*. If the first part of *Henry the Sixth* is really Shakespeare's, as some of it is, it also must be added to this list.

257. In two of these plays—*Henry the Sixth* and *The Taming of the Shrew*—Shakespeare is largely a borrower. In them all are marks of a youthful genius. The style is but half formed: the quips and conceits, which he never gave up, are fantastic and abundant: the characters are but partially developed, and are wanting in seriousness and elevation: above all, in the fancy there is such an air of coarseness and unreality, such a deficiency of energy and passion, as proves that the author had not yet reached his full powers. And yet he had already gone beyond his predecessors. Comedy itself, as a description of daily life, was a novelty. Each play has some passages which no dramatist then living could have written. The dialogue is easy and gay, beyond anything that had been heard upon the stage; while for romantic painting, the author is equal to Greene, and for tragic power to Marlowe, the qualities in which those authors excelled.

To the next six or eight years, the second period of Shakespeare's life as an author, belong the historical plays, except *Henry the Sixth* and *Henry the Eighth*—a collection of six in all; seven comedies, *The Midsummer Night's Dream*, *All's Well that Ends Well*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Much Ado about Nothing*, *As you like it*, *Twelfth Night*, and *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (1602), afterwards materially altered. *Measure for Measure* is a little later (1603), and towards the end of the period he re-wrote *Romeo and Juliet*.

All these show an immense advance upon his previous compositions. His chronicle plays are generally based on the facts of history, and exhibit so truthfully the national character, as well as the facts, that Coleridge deems them a better help to the knowledge of history for the periods over which they extend than any other writings. In some of these plays, as in *Richard the Second*, largely in *Richard the Third*, as well as in *Henry the*

Eighth, all the characters are real, and the scenes free from those fantastic representations, which, however natural, are sometimes felt to mar the effectiveness of the play. In several of these plays, moreover, there is a profound insight into human nature, both characteristic and instructive. Among the comedies, Hallam reckons *The Midsummer Night's Dream* the most beautiful conception that ever visited the mind of a poet, while the language, as he thinks, sparkles with perpetual brightness. The *Merchant of Venice*, generally deemed the finest of the comedies, is remarkable for the skill of the plot, the copiousness of the wit, and the beauty of the language, which last, however, is occasionally spoiled by metaphysical obscurity. *Romeo and Juliet* contains some of the most beautiful passages in our language, and has probably drawn more tears than any of the plays: it exhibits, however, juvenile faults and conceits, quibbles and occasional bombast. In all the plays of the second period the language is more elevated and vigorous, the versification more finished, and often more joyous, while the characters are more strongly marked, and are drawn with deeper insight into human nature; the whole being pervaded by a vein of philosophic contemplation which has never been surpassed. This same quality is found in *Measure for Measure*, where it is finely contrasted with humour.

The latest productions of Shakespeare's genius, those of the third period, are also the finest. 'In *Lear*, *Hamlet* (in its improved form), *Othello*, *Macbeth*, and *The Tempest*, all his wonderful faculties and acquirements are found combined—his wit, pathos, passion, and sublimity, his profound knowledge and observation of mankind mellowed by a refined humanity and benevolence, his imagination richer from skilful culture and added stores of information, his unrivalled language, his imagery and versification.^a Of these, the first place is generally assigned to *Macbeth*; others prefer *Othello*, and the few, *Lear*. *Macbeth* Mr. Hallam agrees with Drake in thinking 'the greatest effort of his genius, the most sublime and impressive drama the world has ever beheld.'^b

258. The first edition of Shakespeare's collected works was

^a Chambers, i., 196.

and sound criticism on their relative merits.

^b See Hallam, iii., 87, for a good epitome of the history of Shakespeare's plays

published, as we have seen, in 1623, a second and very inaccurately printed edition in 1632, a third in 1644, and a fourth in 1685. Then began improved texts and commentaries. Rowe, the poet (1709), Pope (1715), Hanmer (1744),^a Theobald, Warburton (1747), Johnson (1765), Steevens, Malone, Reed, Chalmers, all tried their hand with various success. Hurd and Kames did much by criticism to call attention to his writings. In the present century men of nearly every country of Europe have commented upon his genius and characters; Goethe and Lessing, Schlegel, Tieck,^b and Gervinus, among the Germans; Guizot and Vericour among the French; Coleridge, Hazlitt and Lamb, Mrs. Jameson, and Mrs. Cowden Clarke, among ourselves; nor should we omit the editions of his works by Knight, Collier, Dyce, Singer, Staunton, Halliwell, and others. It may indeed be safely said that there is no writer whose productions have been so carefully analysed and illustrated, so eloquently expounded, or so universally admired. For a philosophical examination of his writings, the student may consult Schlegel and Coleridge, whose views are sometimes singularly alike; for an eloquent estimate of his character and times, Guizot; and for a discussion of the women of Shakespeare, a discussion at once compact and satisfactory, the *Essays* of Mrs. Jameson.

259. The faults of Shakespeare are upon the surface of his writings, and it is unwise not to admit them. The effect of his passionate scenes is often weakened by conceits and verbal quibbles, and some of the finest passages are injured by the needless obscurity of his language. Occasionally, this language is obscure from its obsolescence, very often from the profoundness of the thought, but not seldom from what seems affectation or carelessness, so that the attention of the reader is divided between the text and the commentary, and in such cases without an adequate recompence for his care and pains.

260. It may not be amiss to add, that the plays of Shake-

^a With Capell's Notes.

^b Schlegel and Tieck are also authors of translations of Shakespeare so idiom-

atic and perfect that Shakespeare is well-nigh naturalised in Germany.

speare have a decidedly good moral tendency. Human crimes and passions are indeed represented in them ; but always in such a way as to render the delineation awful and instructive. There are also occasionally licentious expressions and allusions, which would have been much better omitted ; but these never enter into the substance of the play, or even of the scene. They belong to the age more than to the man, and it is always easy to omit them in the reading without injuring the sense. Between the dramatic productions of Shakespeare's own contemporaries, particularly Jonson, Ford, and Beaumont, and still more between those of the period of the Restoration and the dramas of Shakespeare, the contrast is most marked and painful. In fact, Shakespeare is as superior in moral tone to most of the dramatists of the seventeenth century as he is in creative genius.^a

It may be added that there is in Shakespeare a reverence for Scripture which shows at least the tastes of the time, and no less, it may be hoped, his sympathy with them. There are 'above five hundred passages in his works which are taken apparently from Scripture originals, being either verbally or substantially founded on quotations from Holy Writ.' And there are about 'four hundred sentences besides these expressive of sentiments taken from the same source.'^b

Yet we can go no farther. His genius is unrivalled ; but it is the earthly and the natural he paints. Of the heavenly and the supernatural—the spiritual, in the highest sense—he says little. Perhaps the man felt more than the poet reveals. Perhaps he deemed the place not fit for such utterances. Perhaps he deemed human life alone to be the proper subject for dramatic treatment. Still the fact remains. His characters are all *human*. For the divine, we must turn to another book and to other Teachers.

261. On the whole the summary of Mr. Hallam is as just as any

^a Vericour notes the same fact about the state of the drama in modern France, and urges French writers to copy Shakespeare, and so to retrieve the character of French theatrical representation.—*Lecture ix.*

^b See Dr. Wordsworth's *Shakespeare and the Bible*, and Pattison's *Rise and Progress of Religious Life in England*,

p. 163. Some of these passages are of great beauty:—

All the souls that are, were forfeit once:

And he that might the vantage best have took,

Found out the remedy.

Measure for Measure, act ii.

we can quote. 'The name of Shakespeare is the greatest in our literature: it is the greatest in all literature. No man ever came near him in the creative powers of his mind. No man had ever such strength at once and such variety of imagination. Coleridge has most felicitously applied to him a Greek epithet given before to I know not whom, certainly none so deserving of it—the thousand-souled (the myriad-minded) Shakespeare. The number of characters in his plays is astonishingly great, without reckoning those who, although transient, have often their individuality all distinct—all types of human life in well-defined differences. . . Compare with him Homer, the tragedians of Greece, the poets of Italy, Plautus, Cervantes, Molière, Addison, Le Sage, Fielding, Richardson, Scott, the Romancers of the elder or later schools, one man has far more than surpassed them all. Others may have been as sublime, others may have been more pathetic, others may have equalled him in grace and purity of language, and have shunned some of his faults, but the philosophy of Shakespeare, his intimate searching out of the human heart, whether in the gnomic form of sentence or in the dramatic exhibition of character, is a grand peculiarity of his own.'^a

262. There are three or four familiar illustrations of Shakespeare's genius and influence that any inquirer can examine for himself.

(a.) Let him, for example, examine the catalogue of any good library to ascertain the number of Shakespearean publications issued in the last two hundred

Mode of
proving his
genius.

^a Thou in our wonder and astonishment
Hast built thyself a live-long monument.

MILTON, *on Shakespeare*, 1630.

Thee, Shakespeare, poets ever shall adore,
Whose wealthy fancy left so vast a store,
They still refine thy rough but precious ore.

JOHN EVELYN, *To Envy*.

The pride of nature and the shame of schools,
Born to create, and not to learn from rules.

Of Shakespeare. A Prologue. By Sir C. Sedley, Wit and Poet of the time of James II.
Each change of many-coloured life he drew,
Exhausted worlds and then imagined new.

JOHNSON, *Of Shakespeare*, in the Prologue to the Drury Lane Opening.

'There are no other plays that paint human nature, that strike off the characteristics of men with all the freshness and sharpness of the original, and speak the language of all the passions, not like a mimic but an echo, neither softer nor louder nor differently modulated from the spontaneous effusions of art.'—JEFFREY, I, 392, (of Shakespeare).

and fifty years. He will find at least a hundred editions of his complete works ; and at least three hundred Commentaries. A Shakespeare Library, indeed, could not be completed under 2000 separate works, containing many more than 2000 vols.*

(b.) Let him examine any collection of the Beauties of the Stage or of English poetry, in which extracts are arranged under different heads ; let him select the most striking, beautiful and true ; and he will find that the specimens selected are in three cases out of every four Shakespeare's.

(c.) Let him examine a collection of passages all taken from Shakespeare's plays and arranged under different heads, and he will be struck to find that, though the same theme is often discussed in two or more passages, sometimes in a dozen, there are no two passages alike. Had every play been utterly forgotten as soon as it was written the unlikeness could not have been more marked.

(d.) Let him read any one play, *Hamlet* for example, and mark the lines and phrases that have passed into our current literature and have become 'familiar as household words,' and he will be surprised at their number and impressiveness. A few may be added as a specimen :—

'For the apparel oft proclaims the man.'—HAMLET 1., 3.

'For loan oft loses both itself and friend ;

And borrowing dulls the edge of husbandry.'—i., 3.

'Do not, as some ungracious pastors do,

Show me the steep and thorny way to heaven ;—whilst

Himself the primrose path of dalliance treads.'—i., 3.

'I am native here,

And to the manner born.'—i., 4.

'It is a custom

More honoured in the breach than in the observance.'—i., 4.

'Something is rotten in the state of Denmark.'—i., 4.

'I could a tale unfold.'—i., 5.

'Oh, Hamlet, what a falling-off was there !'—i., 5.

'No reckoning made, but sent to my account.'—i., 5.

'Remember thee ! while memory holds a seat.'—i., 5.

'And 'gins to pale his uneffectual fire.'—i., 5.

'There needs no ghost—to tell us this.'—i., 5.

* *Athenæum*, March, 1864. In Bohn's edition of Lowndes' *Bibliographer's Manual*, *Shakespeare and Shake-*

speariana fill more than a hundred pages of double column and small type.

- 'There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio,
 Than are dreamt of in your philosophy.'—i., 5.
 'The time is out of joint.'—i., 5.
 'Brevity is the soul of wit.'—ii., 2.
 'To sleep, perchance, to dream; ay, there's the rub.'—iii., 1.
 'Thus conscience does make cowards of us all.'—iii., 1.
 'The native hue of resolution
 Is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought.'—iii., 1.
 'The observ'd of all observers.'—iii., 1.
 'It out-herods Herod.'—iii., 2.
 'Suit the action to the word.'—iii., 2.
 'To hold the mirror up to nature.'—iii., 2.
 'It will discourse most excellent music.'—iii., 2.
 'Words without thoughts never to heaven go.'—iii., 3.
 'A king of shreds and patches.'—iii., 4.
 'Look here, upon this picture, and on this.'—iii., 4.
 'Lay not that flattering unction to your soul.'—iii., 4.
 'Assume a virtue, if you have it not.'—iii., 4.
 'There's such divinity doth hedge a king.'—iv., 5.
 'Alas, poor Yorick!'—v., 1.
 'Your flashes of merriment, that were wont to set the table in a
 roar.'—v., 1.
 'To what base uses we may return, Horatio!'—v., 1.
 'There's a divinity that shapes our ends
 Rough hew them as we will.'—v., 2.
 'A hit—a very palpable hit.'—v., 2.

263. By Shakespeare's contemporaries, and by posterity, the second place among the dramatic authors of this period is given to Ben Jonson: near Jonson, and in some respects before him, are Beaumont and Fletcher, and Massinger. In all the qualities of a dramatist, Jonson excels; but he is often hard, ungenial, and pedantic, wearing what Milton calls 'his learned sock' too often. Beaumont and Fletcher excel in imagery, and in humour and wit. Their great fault is, as Schlegel says, the want of seriousness and depth, and of the judgment that prescribes the due limits to every part of composition.* Massinger is distinguished by the grace and dignity of his sentiments, and by his pure and idiomatic English. Perhaps his style is too homely; running, as Coleridge thinks, into one extreme, as

* Hallam, *ib.*

Milton's *Samson Agonistes* runs into the other. But it is impossible to read his works without feeling their charm.

Ben Jonson was born in Westminster, where his father, of a Scottish family, had been a clergyman. After serving in the Low Countries as a common soldier with great credit for bravery, he is found at the age of twenty married and settled as an actor in London. In this calling he did not succeed, and in 1596 he produced his first comedy *Every Man in his Humour*. In a revised edition of this play acted in 1598 at the Globe, Shakespeare was one of the performers. In 1599 appeared *Every Man out of his Humour*, a play inferior to the former. Two other comedies, *Cynthia's Revels* and the *Poetaster* followed. In the latter he attacked some brother dramatists, who replied with great spirit, and silenced Jonson for two years. In 1603 he produced his classic drama *Sejanus*; then, after some time, his three chief comedies, *Volpone*, or the *Fox*, *Epicene*, or the *Silent Woman*, and the *Alchemist*. Of these the best are the *Alchemist* and the *Fox*. In the first, the Puritans are made to do penance on the stage, as they frequently did in the comedies of this period. His second classic tragedy, *Catiline*,^a appeared in 1611, and in 1619, king James, with whom he was a favourite, made him Poet Laureate. The same year he visited Scotland on foot, and spent some weeks with Drummond the Hawthornden poet and laird, who has left behind no favourable sketch of the dramatist. He was evidently the opposite of the 'gentle Shakespeare,' a passionate, jealous friend, and made the worse by the habit of intemperance in which he indulged, though when his better nature prevailed he was capable of generous feeling, and of the just appreciation of genius and character. Indeed, Drummond acknowledges that 'he was

^a While commonwealths afford a Catiline,
Laborious Jonson shall be thought
divine. T. EVELYN.

He has no faith in Physic: he does
think,
Most of our doctors are the greater
danger,
And worse disease t' escape.

JONSON'S *Fox*.

When it concerns himself,
Who is angry at a slander, makes it
true. JONSON'S *Catiline*.

Break Phant'sie from thy case of
cloud—

And tho' it be a waking dream,
Yet let it like an odour rise,
To all the senses here,
And fall like sleep upon their eyes,
Or music in their ear.

JONSON'S *Masque, The Vision of
Delight*.

Death ere thou hast slain another
Learned and fair and good as she,
Time shall throw a dart at thee.
*Epitaph on Sidney's Sister, Countess
of Pembroke.*

passionately kind and angry, vindictive, but, if answered, at himself.' Gifford, his editor, has warmly defended Jonson, and accuses Drummond of underhand dealing in the case; but, as Hallam and Campbell observe, without reason. Drummond records the incidents of Jonson's visit in a book he never published, perhaps never meant to publish. Jonson died in 1637, and his body was buried upright in Westminster Abbey. Upon his tombstone were inscribed these words only, 'O rare Ben Jonson.' His comedies and tragedies are sixteen in number, and his masks and other court entertainments thirty-five. Besides these, he wrote a book entitled *Timber* (i. e. *Sylva*); or, *Discoveries made upon Men and Matter*. It is chiefly a collection of moral remarks and criticisms, unconnected, judicious, witty, and often severe. The 'English grammar,' which is extant under his name, is but part of the work he wrote on that subject. It contains many very good suggestions on the grammar of our tongue. It is one of the earliest of our grammars, as the *Timber* is one of the earliest specimens of literary criticism.

His common characters in comedy are clever original portraits, but often exaggerated and repulsive. The smiles they call forth are not of mirth, but of scorn or disgust, while they seldom excite sympathy, admiration, or love. In the region of pure fancy, as in the *Cynthia*, and the *Sad Shepherd*—the last of his plays, and which was left unfinished at his death—he greatly excels. His language and imagery and ideal conceptions of character are alike beautiful. His Roman tragedies are formed (as are all his plays professedly) on the classic models, and with much classic learning not always skilfully inlaid; but they have little of the true classic spirit. The characters are 'robust and richly graced,' but stiff and unnatural:^a they are to those of Shakespeare what sculpture is to actual life. In another respect he differs from the great English dramatist. His plays rather tend to 'bring into contempt the religious earnestness and scriptural tastes which then distinguished a large portion of the public.'

264. In Beaumont and Fletcher we have two young men of genius and of good birth, living together ten years, and writing in union a series of thirty-eight plays, the joint production of the two, besides the fourteen which are

Beaumont and
Fletcher.

^a Chambers, i., 208.

said to have been written by Fletcher alone. Such joint authorship was not uncommon in that age, though known only in the history of the drama. Francis Beaumont was the son of a judge who resided at Grace Dieu, in Leicestershire. He was born in 1586, and was educated at Cambridge. He entered at the Inner Temple, but does not seem to have followed the study of the law. He died in March, 1615-16, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. John Fletcher was the son of Dr. Fletcher, Bishop of Bristol. He was born in 1576, and died of the plague in 1625. Their plays were not printed till 1647, so that the order in which they were written is not known, nor is it possible to distinguish the authorship of the plays themselves. The first play in the collected works, though not the earliest, is *The Maid's Tragedy*, one of the best of the series. *Philaster* is one of the best-known, and was long the most popular—a position it owed to its poetry, and to the characters of *Philaster* and *Bellarion*. *The Elder Brother* is reckoned among the best. Of Fletcher's comedies, *The Faithful Shepherdess* stands highest of his productions. It is an imitation in part of the *Pastor Fido* of Guarini, and it suggested to Milton the plan of *Comus*. It is rich in imagination and in picturesque noble metaphor, in tenderness and purity of language, and it must be added in indecency and absurdity. It seems, in fact, to deserve the criticism of Schlegel, who calls it 'an immodest eulogy of modesty.'

The skill and power of Beaumont and Fletcher are seen chiefly in their comedies, not in their tragedies. They are, indeed, the founders of the comedy of intrigue, the kind of comedy that prevailed during the latter part of the seventeenth century, and did much mischief in the hands of Wycherley, Congreve, and Dryden. It has been said by one not prone to take needless exception, that the plays of these writers, even when beautiful and essentially moral, as in *The Maid's Tragedy*, are such as a respectable woman can hardly read. They abound in studiously protracted indecency, which is so much incorporated with their substance that few of them can be altered so as to be fit for the stage. The alteration destroys the plot, and takes away most of the wit.*

265. While Beaumont and Fletcher were in the height of their

* Hallam.

fame, another dramatist appeared, superior to them in tragedy, and sharing with them in other departments the admiration of the more thoughtful of his age. Massinger, himself a tragic poet, had also a tragic history. The son of a servant of the Earl of Pembroke, brought up probably at Wilton House, where Sidney had written his *Arcadia*, and trained at Oxford, he commenced writing for the stage in James's reign. After a life of struggles and poverty he was found dead in his bed in his house at Bankside, Southwark, one morning in March, 1639. In the parish register the only note is—'Philip Massinger, a stranger.'

Of the many plays he wrote eighteen have been preserved. *The Virgin Martyr*, *The City Madam*, and *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*, are his best-known productions. The last is still popular, chiefly from the originality and effectiveness of Overreach, one of the characters. Massinger's sketches of human nature resemble Jonson's in their coarseness and depravity. Of genuine humour he has none. His tragedies, of which *The Duke of Milan* is the best, are of a high order. Hallam thinks him in this department second only to Shakespeare, and in serious comedy,—comedy, that is, in which the depth of the interest and the general elevation of the style indicate a higher purpose than mere amusement,—he thinks him hardly inferior to Jonson.

266. Of the other dramatists of this period John Ford (1586-1639) has great power, especially in pathos.^a He was of a Devonshire family, and was bred to the profession of the law. 'Love, and love in guilt or in sorrow,' is the emotion he portrays. 'Of comic ability he does not display a particle.' His finest tragedy is *The Broken Heart*. His *Brother and Sister* (1633), a tale of criminal love, contains fine poetry, but is harrowing to the feelings, and mischievous to the taste. *Perkin Warbeck* is a spirited historical drama.

267. Webster, 'the noble minded,' as Hazlitt calls him, belongs to the first part of James's reign, is one of the second-rate dramatists, and ranks next to Ford. His tragedies abound in terror and sorrow. *The Duchess of Malfi*, and *The White Devil*, are the best

^a Ford is one of the ornaments of our ancient drama; but interests us in love only. [And in friendship.—Gifford.]

In that he displays a peculiar depth and delicacy of feeling.—CAMPBELL, *Essay*, p. 94.

of them.^a They are both skilful in delineating guilt, and they illustrate the savage taste of the Italian school of dramatic authors. In the *Duchess of Malfi* scarcely characters enough are left alive to bury the dead.^b

John Marston is a ranting tragedian, who deals in ghosts and murders, and has a bitter indignation against the vices and follies of men, which shows itself in satire or in invective.

Chapman, who wrote comedies from 1598 to 1620, is extravagant, occasionally didactical, but without genius or nature.

Dekker deserves a higher place, showing both pathos and humour. His style is often choice and elegant. *Fortunatus*, or *the Wishing Cap*, is one of his best dramas.

Middleton is often amusing and spirited: *The Witch*, and *Women Beware Women*, are his best pieces.

Thomas Heywood, who wrote for the stage from 1596 to 1640, was the most voluminous author of this period. Two hundred and twenty plays, he tells us, he composed wholly, or in part, and of these twenty-three remain, among which are *The English Traveller* and *The Lancashire Witches*. His scenes are more easy and less exciting than those of Middleton or Webster, while the general tone is more pure and moral.

James Shirley,^c the last in the list, was born in London in 1596. He graduated at Oxford, and became for a while a curate near St. Albans. He then settled in London, and became a voluminous dramatic writer. Thirty-nine plays proceeded from his pen, and have been published by Gifford, in six octavo volumes. To this editing he owes some of his modern celebrity. When his first play was licensed the 'Master of the Revels' praised it, because 'free from oaths and obscenity, trusting that this encouragement would

^a (Of Reputation.) It is my nature,
If once I part from any man I meet
I am never found again.

WEBSTER'S *Unfortunate Duchess*.

^b Hallam, iii., 122.

^c 'Shirley was the best of our good old dramatists. . . His language sparkles with the most exquisite images. . . His tragedies are defective in fire, grandeur, and passion; but in his comedies, "The Gamester," "The Lady of Pleasure," we get the most favourable idea of his powers.'—CAMPBELL. Dryden, in Mac Flecknoe, speaks contemptuously of

him. 'But he lived,' Campbell adds, 'in a degenerate age of dramatic taste.'

A trembling apprehension always waits
Our highest joys.

SHIRLEY'S *Paricide*.

Her eye did seem to labour with a
tear

Which suddenly took birth, but over-
weighed

With its own swelling dropt upon her
bosom.

The Brothers. Quoted by Farmer as
among the best of his many beau-
tiful lines.

induce the poet to pursue this beneficial and cleanly way of poetry :’ and this character he has fairly maintained, though the morality of this most moral of the writers of that age goes far to account for that feeling against play-acting which the Puritans soon manifested. The best of his plays is *The Gamester*. The style is generally polished, and the similes often beautiful, but he has ‘no force, little pathos, and less wit.’^a

268. There was now a suspension of the drama for nearly twenty years. The civil war had broken out, and on September 2nd, 1642, the Long Parliament issued an ordinance ‘suppressing public stage plays throughout the kingdom during these calamitous times.’

Suspension of plays.

In the propriety of that ordinance at the time, and for the reason assigned, all parties probably would concur. Six years later (January 22nd, 1648) another ordinance entirely suppressed them. This forcible suppression of plays by law is an act that may be fairly questioned, both as to the principle of such a measure, and the wisdom of it. But in defence of the Puritans there are various facts that need to be remembered. When the dramatists of the age speak of religion, they speak of it in a way which was not likely to satisfy earnest men of any side. They are neither Catholics nor Protestants: they seem wavering between the two systems, or they make a system for themselves of parts selected from both. Celibacy they treat with mysterious reverence. Virtuous Jesuits and interesting friars are introduced on the stage. Hamlet’s father’s ghost describes himself as still in purgatory—

‘Till the foul crimes done in the days of nature.
Are burnt and purged away.’^b

All this the Puritans, as earnest, decided, religious men, had been taught not only to question, but to condemn. Moreover, their own doctrines and practices had been ridiculed on the stage, and some of their writers had been introduced in ways not very flattering. The actors were ‘malignants’ to a man, or with a single exception, one having joined the parliamentary party, and defended himself on the ground that he was a Presbyterian, though

^a Hallam, iii., 121.

^b See Macaulay’s description in his

article entitled ‘Burleigh and his Times.
—*Edinburgh Review*, April, 1832.

an actor.^a In self-defence the Puritans did what Elizabeth or James would certainly have done, nay, what both the clergy and the great towns had done in the previous century. Above all—for these are the chief reasons—very many of the plays of the preceding twenty years were on moral grounds ‘painful to read, and scarcely decent to name,’^b while the Puritans deemed life too serious a thing to be spent at plays, where the sole purpose seemed to be to gratify the taste for amusement by entertainments at once frivolous and vicious. Such amusements they held were favourable neither to freedom nor to godliness. In short, it was the drama as it then existed which they censured, and the censure they put in the form of a law, on the supposition that it was the business of the magistrate to control the amusements of the people, and that the supreme ruler in the state might wisely do by force what most now feel would be better done by moral influence and the gentler restraints of domestic life.

This action of the government, it may be added, was the result in part of popular feeling. As early as 1625, *A Short Treatise against Stage Plays* had created a good deal of excitement, which was deepened by Prynne’s *Histrio-Mastix* (1633).

269. The *Comus* (first acted in 1634) and the *Samson Agonistes* (1671) of Milton, among the earliest and latest productions

respectively of that poet who in our literature is
Comus. second only to Shakespeare, may be more appropriately noticed with his poems. In the first are various traces of Spenser, Fletcher, and Shakespeare; in the second, much of the severe simplicity and restricted incident of the ancient drama. These works are a proof, if any were needed, that a Puritan was not necessarily an enemy of learning or of taste; while they show how an author may ‘moralise his song,’ and yet indulge in richest imagery and in beautiful sentiment.^c

270. With the restoration of the monarchy under Charles II. there came the restoration of the drama. Two theatres were

^a See D’Israeli’s *Curiosities of Literature*.

^b Macaulay.

^c In a remarkable article by Mr Kingsley (*North British Review*, March,

1856), it is maintained that the judgment of the Puritans on the immorality and mischievous influence of the theatre, as it existed at this time, has been ratified by the consent of modern England.

licensed in the metropolis, one under the direct patronage of Charles, called the King's, and the other under that of his brother, and called the Duke's. Of the former, Killigrew was manager, and Davenant of the other. By Davenant two important changes were made in theatrical management. He introduced moveable scenery, and he regularly* employed female players. Both changes proved a great attraction. Instead, however, of reproducing the dramas of Shakespeare and Jonson, the playwrights sought to gratify the taste of the Court by recurring to French and Spanish models. The former were rhyming and heroic plays, founded on daring enterprises and romantic adventures, and had been dignified by the skill and genius of Corneille and Racine. Spanish comedies abounded in intrigues and disguises. The rhyme and romance of the first—the intrigues and disguises of the second—found in Dryden a successful imitator.

271. John Dryden was the grandson of a Northamptonshire baronet, and was born at Aldwinckle, in 1631. His relations on both sides had adopted Puritan opinions, and he grew up under Puritan influences. From Westminster School he entered, in 1650, at Trinity College, Cambridge, and for seven years nothing is known of his life. In 1657 he came to London, and seems to have acted as secretary to Sir G. Pickering, 'Noll's Lord Chamberlain,' as Shadwell calls him. On Cromwell's death he wrote some heroic verses of great vigour, and on the Restoration in 1660 found his occupation gone. He was then twenty-eight years of age. Twenty-eight years later, at the Revolution, he found himself in the same position, and on both occasions betook himself to literature as his resource. Between 1662 and 1694 he produced twenty-six plays, of which twelve are tragedies and nine comedies.^b Among the most popular

* The first English actress was introduced on the stage in the play of Othello in the reign of Charles II. 1661. The reason given in the prologue is that—

Our women are defective and so sized,
You'd think they were some of the
guard disguised.'—D'ISRAELI.

A French company, under the patron-

age of Queen Henriette, had introduced actresses, but the public did not welcome the innovation.—DORAN'S *Annals of the English Stage*, p. 59.

^b Passions in men oppressed are doubly strong.—DRYDEN'S *King Arthur*.
Trust reposed in noble natures,
Obliges them the more.—*Assignation*.

of these are *The Indian Queen* (1663-64); *The Indian Emperor*, and *The Conquest of Granada* (1672). In this last we have in a concentrated form the romance and extravagance, the splendour and fable, that distinguished all his heroic writings. The scene is laid in the Moorish kingdom of Granada, and the time is the age of Ferdinand and Isabella. Almanzor, an invincible Moorish knight, interrupts the fight between two Moorish factions at Granada, and by the might of his arm puts the combatants to flight. He then offers his services to the Moorish King Boabdlin. He transfers several times his allegiance, and the side he supports always routs its adversary with ease. To this tale of romantic valour is appended a tale of equally romantic love, and the whole is set off with the utmost gorgeousness of dress and ornateness of style.

To a satirist this kind of play offered an easy mark, and soon the Duke of Buckingham combined with Sprat and Butler to ridicule Dryden and the public taste. This production was the famous comedy of *The Rehearsal* (1671), in which Dryden himself is introduced in the character of Bayes. The success of the comedy was unbounded. Though with little genuine wit, it is a clever travesty of the prevailing mode, and after the publication of it Dryden wrote but one tragedy in the heroic style, *Aurungzebe* (1675), and then abandoned it for a manner more natural and less stilted. Buckingham himself Dryden never forgave, and years later sketched his

When wild in woods the noble savage ran.—*Conquest of Granada*, pl. i., 1.

Men are but children of a larger growth.—*All for Love*, iv., 1.

Forgiveness to the injured does belong,

But they ne'er pardon who have done the wrong.

Conquest of Granada, pl. ii., 1, 2.

Neuters in their middle way of steering

Are neither fish, nor flesh, nor good red herring.—*Ep. Duke of Guise*.

Strange cosenage! None would live past years again:

Yet all hope pleasure in what yet remain.—*Aurungzebe*, iv., 1.

Love either finds equality or makes it.—*Marriage à la Mode*.

King's titles commonly begin by force,

Which time wears off and mellows into right.—*Spanish Friar*.

A setting sun

Should leave a track of glory in the sky.—*Don Sebastian*

All things are hush'd, as Nature's self lay dead,

The mountains seem to nod their drowsy head,

The little birds in dreams their songs repeat.—*The Indian Emperor*; lines once celebrated; but in Wordsworth's opinion 'vague, bombastic, senseless.'

character with a bold and immortal pencil as Zimri, in his *Absalom and Achitophel*.

In his *Essay on Dramatic Poesy* (1668) Dryden had alluded to blank verse as too low for a poem, and much too low for tragedy. But as his taste improved he changed his opinion, and *Aurungzebe* is the last rhyming play he wrote.

Among his comedies are *The Marriage à la Mode*, *The Assig-nation*, *The State of Innocence, or the Fall of Man*, a play founded on Milton's *Paradise Lost*, *All for Love*, and *Love Tri-umphant*. The finest of his tragedies is *Don Sebastian*, published in 1690. All these have fallen into oblivion. In his tragedies he often reasons impressively, and exhibits great wealth of lan-guage and of imagery, but he had no depth of feeling and little power of construction. All his comedies, and all the comic parts of his tragedies, are filled with gross allusions, and are as false to nature as they are offensive to taste and morality. 'His love,' it has been said, 'is always licentious, and his tenderness a mere trick of the stage.'^a

In 1670 Dryden was made poet laureate, with an income of nearly 300*l.* a year. For ten years he employed his pen in writing dramas and critical essays, which last were generally prefixed to the dramas. The play of *The Spanish Friar* (1682) created a degree of political hostility which had important results upon the life of the poet. In 1681 he published his *Absalom and Achitophel*, a poem written in the style of a scriptural narrative. It was intended as an attack on the Whig Puritan party. The Duke of Monmouth was Absalom, the Earl of Shaftesbury Achitophel, and the Duke of Buckingham Zimri. The poem is the most perfect satire in our language, and is as rich in striking beautiful thought as it is trenchant.

In 1684 appeared his *Religio Laici*, a defence of the Church of England, though evincing sceptical tendencies. These tenden-cies ended in his adopting the Roman Catholic faith, strength-ened, as it is supposed they were, by the leaning of James II. and some of the court party. Johnson and Sir Walter Scott, who have carefully examined the facts and have written the life of the poet (Johnson in a biography that is the most eloquent and discriminating of all his *Lives of the Poets*, and Sir Walter in the

^a Chambers, *English Literature*.

life prefixed to Dryden's works), agree in acquitting Dryden of mercenary motives in this change. His reasons he has given in *The Hind and Panther*, a poem of great vigour, which was replied to by various writers, and parodied in a joint production by Prior and Charles Montague, *The City Mouse and Country Mouse*. The Revolution of 1688 deprived Dryden of his offices, his place being filled by Shadwell, his old opponent. For the rest of his life he was more or less troubled by poverty, but his genius was undiminished. In 1697, appeared his *Ode to St. Cecilia*, better known as *Alexander's Feast*, one of the finest lyrics in our language. The same year he published translations of Juvenal, Persius, and Virgil, and in 1700 his *Fables* and translations from Ovid and Boccaccio with modern versions of Chaucer,—the whole forming the best specimens of his versification. He died on the 1st of May, 1700, and was buried with great pomp in Westminster Abbey.

372. Other dramatists of this age were, T. Otway (1651-1685), Nathaniel Lee^a (d. 1692), John Crowne (wrote 1671-1698), and

Others. T. Shadwell (1640-1692). The principal plays of Otway were *The Orphan* (1680), over which Scott thinks more tears have been shed than over *Romeo and Juliet*, though its indelicacy has long since driven it from the theatre, and *Venice Preserved*^b (1682), still one of the most popular tragedies. Otway was a disciple of Dryden's, and is said to excel him in his characters, and even in his style. His life was very brief, and was chequered by want and extravagance.

Most of these writers, it may be added, gained questionable eminence by remodelling some of Shakespeare's dramas.

273. Meanwhile, for the complicated intrigues in which Dryden had so largely indulged, the delineation of the manners of fashion-

- When Greeks joined Greeks, then was the tug of war.

LEE, *Alexander the Great*, iv. 2.

He like a pyramid reversed is grown.—*Theodosia*.

How superior is Shakespeare's image:—

He doth bestride the world

Like a Colossus, and we petty men

Walk under his huge legs, and peep about

To find ourselves dishonourable graves.—*Julius Cæsar*.

- Suspicion's but at best a coward virtue.—OTWAY'S *Venice Preserved*.

Oh woman, lovely woman! Nature made thee

To temper man: we had been brutes without you.—*Venice Preserved*.

able life had been substituted by a new school of dramatists. They took their tone from Molière, and their plays are distinguished by witty dialogue and lively incident. The chief writers of this school are, William Wycherley ^a (1640-1715), Sir George Ethridge (1636-1694), William Congreve^b (1669-1729), Sir John Vanbrugh (1666-1726), 'architect^c and comic writer,' and George Farquhar (1678-1707). Congreve was the most eminent of them all, and has left five plays, of which one, *The Mourning Bride*, is a tragedy. He was the intimate friend of Dryden, who appointed him his literary executor.

274. Three other dramatists of this period deserve mention: Thomas Southerne^d (1659-1746), Nicholas Rowe^e (1673-1718),

^a 'Believe your friend honest to make him so, if he be not so; since, if you distrust him, you make his falsehood a piece of justice.'

'It is a very common feeling in us never to be satisfied with our fortune, and never dissatisfied with our sense and conduct.'

'Lies, artifice, and tricks are as sure a mark of a low and poor spirit as passing bad money is of a poor low purse.'

'The silence of a wise man is more wrong to mankind than the slanderer's speech.'—WYCHERLEY, *Maxims and Reflections*.

As long as men are false or women vain,

In pointed satire Wycherley shall reign.—EVELYN.

^b How reverend is the face of this tall pile,

Whose ancient pillars rear their marble heads

To bear aloft its arched and ponderous roof,

By its own weight made steadfast and unmoveable,

Looking tranquillity.—CONGREVE, *The Mourning Bride*, II. 3.

Johnson deemed this passage the most poetical in the whole range of the drama. Others think it worth nothing. Probably, says Hallam, the truth lies between the two.

If he speaks

'Tis scarce above a word; as he was born

Alone to do, and did disdain to talk.—*The Mourning Bride*.

Music hath charms to soothe the savage breast.'—*The Mourning Bride*, I. 1.

Heaven has no rage like love to hatred turned.'—*The Mourning Bride*, III. I

^c Ferdinand Mendez Pinto was but a type of thee.'—*Love for Love*, II. 1.

^d Lie heavy on him earth! for he

Laid many a heavy load on thee!—DR. EVANS *On Vanbrugh*.

^e When guilt is in its blush of infancy,

It trembles in a tenderness of shame.—SOUTHERNE, *Spartan Dame*.

Do pity me. Pity's akin to love.—*Oroonoko*, II. I.

I think, therefore I am. Hard state of man,

That proves his being by an argument.—*Loyal Brother*

^e The noise

Sinks like the murmurs of a falling wind,

And softens into silence.—ROWE'S *Jane Shore*.

and William Lillo^a (1693-1739). The chief plays of Southerne are *Isabella, or the Fatal Marriage*, and *Oroonoko*. The last is founded on an actual occurrence, Oroonoko having been stolen from Africa and carried to the West Indies. Hallam notes that Southerne is the first English writer who denounced the slave trade and the horrors of West Indian slavery.

Rowe was poet laureate under George I., and was a great favourite in society. He was the first editor of Shakespeare, and facts of the life of the great dramatist were first collected by him. He translated Lucan's *Pharsalia*, and wrote two volumes of poetry. His poetry, however, never rises above a low mediocrity. His tragedies, *Tamerlane*, *The Fair Penitent*, *Jane Shore*, and *Lady Jane Grey*, abound in passion and tenderness. His *Jane Shore* is still occasionally performed, and *The Fair Penitent*, with its character of the 'gallant gay Lothario,' was long a popular piece. Rowe was buried in Westminster Abbey, and his epitaph was written by his friend Pope.

Lillo is the author of *George Barnwell* and *The Fatal Curiosity*. He is a forcible painter of the scenes of humble life. If it be true, as Campbell thinks, that high life and low are both proper themes for tragedy, rather than middle life, this fact may suggest an explanation of the popularity of such dramas, not so dishonourable to our national character as is generally supposed. It is, nevertheless, a bad sign when there is a taste for what is base and revolting on the stage, and in that quality low life dramas are prone to indulge.

275. 'On the moral character of the comic dramatists of the Restoration from Dryden to Congreve, it is not easy,' says Macaulay, 'to be too severe. This part of our literature is a disgrace to our language and our national character. It is clever indeed, but it is, in the most emphatic sense of the words, "earthly, sensual, devilish." We find ourselves in a world in which the ladies are like very profligate, impudent, and unfeeling men, and in which the men are too bad for any place but Pandæmonium or Norfolk Island. We are surrounded by foreheads of bronze, hearts like the nether

Moral character of the dramatists.

^a Exalted souls
Have passions in proportion violent.—LILLO's *Elmerick*.

millstone, and tongues set on fire of hell.' It is not only, he goes on to show, that there is great coarseness of expression, nor is it only that we are made familiar with scenes which must tend to demoralize public taste as well as public principles, but vice is nearly always associated with what men value most and desire most, and virtue with everything ridiculous and degrading. In nearly every play, the man who does an injury to his neighbour is graceful, sensible, spirited, and the person who suffers the injury is a fool, a tyrant, or both.^a It is not possible in this outline to omit all allusions to these works. They contain passages of great beauty and force. Their immoral character has had great influence on the public feeling in relation to the stage. The less exceptionable of the plays we have mentioned: but as a whole, they deserve the comparison which Macaulay has drawn. 'The old drama had much that is reprehensible; but the drama of the last half of the century is unspeakably worse. The Puritans boasted that the unclean spirit was cast out: the house was swept, empty, and garnished. Now the fiend returned to his abode, and he returned not alone; he took to him seven other spirits more wicked than himself: they entered in and dwelt together, and the second possession was worse than the first.'^b

276. These evils were not left unrebuked. In 1698, Jeremy Collier (1650-1726), a clergyman bred at Cambridge, a non-juror, a warm advocate therefore of hereditary right, published his *Short View of the Profaneness and Immorality of the English Stage*. Baxter and Burnet, representatives of the Puritan and Low Church parties, might have written on this subject in vain; but a book from such a source could not fail to excite interest, and in fact it threw the whole literary world into commotion. It has serious faults, defective scholarship, and occasional extravagance; but it is still worth reading, and abounds in wit and humour. Its style is at once

^a Macaulay's 'Leigh Hunt,' *Edinburgh Review*, Jan. 1841.

^b The wits of Charles found easier ways to fame,
Nor wish'd for Jonson's art or Shakespeare's flame.
Themselves they studied; as they felt, they writ;
Intrigue was plot, obscenity was wit:
Till shame regained the post that sense betray'd,
And Virtue called oblivion to her aid.

JOHNSON'S *Prologue to the Drury Lane Opening*.

excellent and various, while for the rhetoric of honest indignation, it is unsurpassed. Nor is it without interest to mark how single-handed he attacks the wit and learning of the age, from D'Urfey up to 'glorious John' himself. It was thought that Dryden would defend himself and his fellow playwrights by replying. Congreve, Vanbrugh, and Wycherley took the field, and were beaten at their own weapons by Collier's *Defence* and *Second Defence*. Dryden, whose nature was very sensitive, is said to have been deeply hurt, but his conscience smote him, and magnanimously he pleaded guilty to the charge. In the preface to the *Fables*, published a little later (1700), he complains that Collier had in many places perverted his meaning, but frankly acknowledges that he has been justly reprov'd. 'If,' said he, 'Mr. Collier be my enemy, let him triumph; but if he be my friend, as I have given him no personal occasion to be otherwise, he will be glad of my repentance.' In a brief time, Collier's attack produced its results. 'The intellect of the country became ashamed of the stage, and turned its strength to cultivate other branches of literature:'^a nor have we much in the way of dramatic composition that needs notice till we reach our own times.

277. Early in the eighteenth century, Addison (1672-1719), who had already entered upon his brilliant career as an essayist, published *Cato* (1713),^b a drama based on the classic models. Pope thought the play deficient in interest, and his judgment has been confirmed by the literary taste of later times. But he wrote a prologue in his best manner, and the piece was performed with almost unexampled success. It was translated into French, Italian, and German, and was acted by the Jesuits in their college at St. Omers. It abounds in generous and patriotic sentiment, but owed most of its success

^a See Arnold, p. 137.

^b When liberty is gone,
Life grows insipid, and has lost its relish.—ADDISON, *Cato*.
'Tis not in mortals to command success,
But we'll do more, Sempronius: we'll deserve it.—*Cato*, I. 1.
The woman that deliberates is lost.—*Cato*, IV. 1.
It must be so. Plato, thou reasonest well.
'Tis Heaven itself that points out an hereafter,
And intimates eternity to man.—*Cato*, v. 1.

in England to the state of parties. The Whigs applauded the liberal sentiments it contains, and the Tories applauded them to show that they did not account them as censures upon their party.

278. Edward Young (1681-1765), the author of the *Night Thoughts*, wrote three tragedies before he became a clergyman.

They all end in suicide. *The Revenge*, which is still sometimes acted, has many passages of deep feeling and forcible description. Dr. Johnson's *Irene* was performed in 1749. It met with little acceptance and has never been revived. It is destitute of simplicity and pathos, but contains noble sentiments. When asked how he felt when the piece was condemned: 'Like the monument, sir,' was his reply.

279. James Thomson (1700-1748), the author of *The Seasons*, produced five tragedies between 1729 and 1740, one of which,

Sophonisba, is remembered for a line that condemned Thomson. the play—

'Oh Sophonisba, Sophonisba Oh!'

'They are none of them worthy of his name though free from the moral defects of the previous age.'

Mallet, the author of *Mustapha*, a party play directed against Walpole; Glover, the author of *Leonidas*; Brooke,^b the author of *Gustavus Vasa*; Dr. Browne,^c of *Barbarossa*, all contributed to this class of literature, and, helped by Garrick and other actors, their works had temporary popularity, but they occupy no place in our permanent literature.

In 1753, Edward Moore (1712-1757), who had imitated Gay's *Fables*, published *The Gamester*, a piece which, by its touching exhibition of the evils of gambling, was received with great

^a Not one immoral or corrupted thought,
One line which, dying, he could wish
to blot.

LITTLETON'S *Prologue to Thomson's posthumous Play of Coriolanus*.

This prologue is reckoned, with Pope's to *Cato*, and Johnson's to the *Drury Lane Opening*, among the best in our language.

^b What is power
But the nice conduct of another's
weakness. BROOKE'S *Gustavus*.

^c And oft the cloud which mars our present hour,
Serves but to lighten all our future
days. DR. BROWNE, *Barbarossa*.

favour. Mason's (1725-1797) *Elfrida* and *Caractacus* were also popular, though now known only as dramatic poems.

280. The most natural of all the dramatic compositions of this period, was the *Douglas* of Home^b—a play founded on one of the ballads preserved in Percy's *Reliques*. It was acted John Home. first in Edinburgh in 1756, and both there and afterwards in London drew tears and great applause. One of the scenes, that between Old Norval and Lady Randolph, Henry Mackenzie thought the finest in the whole compass of dramatic literature. Douglas himself, the young hero, was for many years the model of Scottish youth, and the passage commencing—

‘My name is Norval,’

is still occasionally heard in our recitations. The history of Home's life introduces us into world-famous company. He was the son of the town clerk of Leith, and was born in 1722. Entering the church of Scotland, he succeeded Blair, the author of *The Grave*, as minister at Athelstaneford. Having written his play, he was obliged, by the storm thereby raised, to resign his living. He then wrote several other dramas, none of which however have survived, and moved to Edinburgh. Here he received, through the influence of Lord Bute, a pension of 300*l.* a year, and in the society of Blair, Robertson, and other literary men, spent the remainder of his life. He died in 1808.

- ^a Why do these haunts of barbarous superstition
O'ercome me thus? I scorn them; yet they awe me.

MASON'S *Caractacus*—On scenes of Pagan rites.

The race of man is one vast marshall'd army—

Their leader the Almighty. In that march

Ah! who may quit his post?—*Elfrida*—against Suicide.

- ^b As women wish to be who love their lords.—HOME, *Douglas*, i., 1.

‘I am greatly struck with “*Douglas*,” though it has infinite faults: the author seems to me to have retrieved the true language of the stage; and there is one scene (between Matilda and the old peasant) so masterly that it strikes me blind to all the defects in the world.’—GRAY, *Works*, p. 201.

‘Home visited London when young, and his future power was foretold by Collins:—

Home, thou return'st from Thames, whose naiads long

Have seen thee lingering with a fond delay,

Mid those soft friends whose hearts some future day

Shall melt perhaps to hear thy tragic song.’

COLLINS' *Ode on Highland Superstitions*, inscribed to John Home, 1749

281. To the reign of George II. belongs a species of comedy called the farce, a species almost peculiar to our literature.

Farces. Among the earliest writers of farces was David Garrick^a (1716-1779). He was a native of Lichfield and

the pupil of Dr. Johnson, with whom he came to London. A liking for the stage led him to attempt the character of Richard III., and his success was so complete, that he adopted the profession of an actor. As one of the most efficient managers and actors, he has the merit of having banished from the theatre many pieces of immoral tendency, while his own personal character tended to give respectability and dignity to the profession. Fielding wrote several pieces, of which *Tom Thumb* is still popular. Macklin wrote *Love à la Mode* (1760), and *The Man of the World*, the latter as a satirical sketch of Scottish character described in the person of Sir Pertinax Macsycophant. *The High Life Below Stairs* (1759) by Townley, master of the Merchant Taylors' School, is a happy burlesque on the affectation and extravagance of servants in aping the manners of their masters. The most eminent writer of this class, however, was Sam Foote (1721-1777), who was educated at Oxford, and took to dramatic writing after he had squandered his fortune. Johnson, who disliked the man for his loose morals, admits his amazing power and the fascination of his conversation. His plays are twenty in number, and he used to boast, at the close of life, that he had added sixteen new characters to the stage—Jerry Sneak and Major Sturgeon, in the *Mayor of Garratt*, being among the best. In the *Minor* he attacks the Methodists, as Jonson had attacked the Puritans upwards of a century before.

282. It would seem, from the history of the drama, that something more is needed than genius and power for the successful playwright. Comic writers have not always succeeded

Qualities
needed in
play-writing.

in comedy, and poets skilled in delineating life and passion, have often failed in tragedy. Fielding and Smollett are examples of the first, Byron and Scott of the second. Campbell thinks that besides genius and power there is needed a peculiar faculty for the invention of incidents adapted to dramatic effect—a faculty seldom found in men who are not professional players, or who are not intimately acquainted with the theatre.

^a A fellow feeling makes us wondrous kind.—GARRICK, *Epilogue* in 1776

There are exceptions to this rule, as Dryden, Congreve, Talfourd : but generally, the rule holds. It is probably owing to this fact that so many modern English dramas are borrowed from foreign sources—German or French. The sentiment and the dialogue are often our own, but all that gives effectiveness—plot and incident—are appropriated wherever the writer may find them.

283. The next stage of the English drama illustrates the truth of these remarks. The theatre was now losing the little attractiveness which it had regained, and a fresh attempt was made to add to its charms by the introduction of plays from Germany—plays that appeal, amid much exaggeration, to the deeper sympathies of human nature. One of the first was *The Stranger* (1797), an adaptation from Kotzebue, made for the most part by Sheridan. The principal characters were acted by Mrs. Siddons and Kemble. In 1799, Sheridan adapted another of Kotzebue's pieces, *Pizarro*. Its subject forces into contrast the grandeur and romance of Spain, and the immoralities and superstitions of the new world. The piece being introduced with all the aids of splendid scenery and fine acting, it became exceedingly popular. Some of the sentiments and descriptions of *Pizarro* are said to have formed part of Sheridan's speech on the impeachment of Hastings. A third drama of Kotzebue's was translated by Mrs. Inchbald, and acted under the title of *Lovers' Vows*. To this same school belongs *The Castle Spectre* of Matthew Lewis—a play full of supernatural horrors, though with much poetical feeling. Lewis also published *The Minister*—an adaptation from a play of Schiller, and several others of the same character, which, however, are now entirely forgotten.

These plays are nearly all mischievous in their moral tendency. They abound in pernicious pictures, though sometimes the lesson they seek to teach is itself true. Sir Walter Scott was for a time fascinated with them, and translated a play of Goethe's though of a different stamp. Besides the objection just named, he finds fault with them for putting noble sentiments into the lips of persons least qualified by habit and education to express them, and for describing the better-educated classes as uniformly deficient in feelings of liberality and honour. This contrast, he adds, may be true in parti-

Kotzebue's
dramas.

Inchbald,
Lewis, etc.

Moral ten-
ency.

cular instances, and being used sparingly, might convey a good moral lesson ; but when assumed on all occasions, it forms the groundwork of a kind of intellectual Jacobinism, which is as mischievous as it is untrue. Dramas of this class were ridiculed for their extravagance by Canning and Ellis in their satire, *The Rovers*. They were thus driven from the stage. Their merit is, that they deal with feeling not with manners, with human nature and not with conventional life, and that they directed the attention of English readers not only to Kotzebue, but to Goethe and Schiller.

284. It is not unlikely that we owe to these German productions Joanna Baillie's volumes on the Passions. She published in 1798 *A Series of Plays: in which it is attempted to delineate the stronger Passions of the Mind, each Passion being the subject of a Tragedy and a Comedy*. In the introduction she discusses the drama, and maintains the supremacy of simple nature over all decoration and refinement. This theory, which found an admirable exponent in Wordsworth, she illustrated in her writings. As *acting dramas* her works are failures, each tragedy with its single passion wanting incident, variety, and life. But as *reading dramas* they have had considerable success. Five volumes have been published, and all have been largely read. Their unity and simple masculine style are among their chief excellences. Miss Baillie was the daughter of a Scottish minister, and was born at Bothwell in 1762. She was a personal friend of most of her distinguished literary contemporaries, and died at Hampstead in 1851.

285. Meanwhile other dramatic authors had appeared, who showed their skill quite as much in adapting sentiment and incident to the stage, as in their creative genius. Colley Cibber (1671-1757), George Colman (1733-1794), Colman, etc. Arthur Murphy (1727-1805), Richard Cumberland (1732-1811), all added to the stock of acting plays ; Colman introducing for the first time on the stage the character of an Irish gentleman.

Oliver Goldsmith (1728-1774), brought out his *Good-natured Man*, in which appears the well-drawn character of Croaker, and in 1793 *She stoops to Conquer*, one of the

most successful comedies ever written. It is founded on a ridiculous incident, two travelling parties mistaking a gentleman's house for an inn, an adventure which is said to have occurred to Goldsmith himself. The piece is rich in characters, in humour, vivacity, and dialogue. To the same class belong the writings of R. B. Sheridan (1750-1816). *The Rivals*, *St. Patrick's Day*, and the *Duenna*, are

among his earlier pieces. Of these, *The Rivals* is the most successful. The self-willed Sir Anthony, the Irish fortune-hunter, the novel-reading Lydia, who thinks disguises and elopements essential to happiness, Mrs. Malaprop and Bob Acres are all felicitously drawn. In 1777 he published *The School for Scandal*, the best comedy, it is said, of modern times. Some of the characters, as Charles and Joseph Surface, are taken from Fielding, as some of his earlier characters are taken from Smollett. But the piece itself is, as Moore describes it, 'an El Dorado of wit.' Its moral is objectionable on the same ground as the moral of so many of the earlier plays. The rake is always generous and warm-hearted, while seriousness is always associated with hypocrisy or meanness. *The Critic*,* another of his pieces, is formed after the plan of *The Rehearsal*. Sir Fretful Plagiary (who represents Cumberland), Sneer, the essence of critical bitterness, and Puff, the manager, are reckoned among the happiest efforts of Sheridan's genius. To the younger Colman (1762-1836), the stage owes a number of comic dramas, with characters that have made some of them popular. *John Bull* (1803), Scott praises as the best comedy of modern times. The character of Ollapod in *The Poor Gentleman*, a play after the manner of Sterne, and of Pangloss in *The Heir at Law* (1797), are highly entertaining, though somewhat overcharged. It is to his pen we owe a well-known humorous piece, *The Newcastle Apothecary*. Colman was a great favourite with George IV., who made him Licensor of Plays. Mrs. Inchbald (1753-1821), wrote several dramas, as did T. Holcroft (1745-1809). Mrs. Inchbald's best play is *Such Things Are*, and Holcroft's *The Road to Ruin*. Both writers are known also as novelists.

286. The present century has been more remarkable for acting,

* 'No scandal about Queen Elizabeth, I hope.'—SHERIDAN, *The Critic*, ii., 1.

'Where they do agree, their unanimity is wonderful.—ii., 2.

and for attention to decoration and stage effect, than for play-writing. Mrs. Siddons, John Kemble, Edmund Kean, Miss O'Neil, and others, did much to render the theatre popular; while Kemble, Charles Kean, Phelps, and especially Macready, have striven to encourage the legitimate drama by reviving Shakespeare's plays, and by embellishing them with tasteful scenery and appropriate decoration. Meanwhile many pieces have been written, more or less deserving of notice. The tragedies of Coleridge (*Remorse*), Scott, Byron, Proctor, Milman, Beddoes, and William Smith (*Athelwold*), are poems rather than dramas, and are better fitted for reading than for acting. *The Bertram* of the Rev. C. R. Maturin, *The Evadne* and *The Apostate* of R. L. Sheil, the *Brutus* of J. H. Payne, and the farces of O'Keefe and of F. Reynolds, all have merit. Henry Taylor has revived the stormy life of the fourteenth century in his drama on the subject of *Philip Van Artevelde*,^a the brewer king of Ghent (1834), and has written various poems all thoughtful, and some of them highly intellectual. To Douglas Jerrold, humorist and satirist (1803-1857), we owe *Black-eyed Susan* (1829), one of the most successful nautical plays, and several others. Nearly all the popular genial wits of our age have also attempted the drama, though not all with success. Higher praise is due to Sir E. B. Lytton for his *Richelieu* and the *Lady of Lyons*.

287. Two modern dramatists who deserve special mention in connection with the stage, are James S. Knowles, and Thomas Noon Talfourd. Mr. Knowles' first play, *Caius Gracchus*, appeared in 1815, and was soon followed by *Virginus*, which was exceedingly popular. He afterwards wrote *The Wife*, *The Hunchback*, *The Love Chase*, etc. His skill is in his plots, in a lively inventive imagination, and in the poetic colouring which he gives to all his conceptions. Mr. Knowles was born at Cork in 1784. He died in 1862. Talfourd, an eloquent barrister and an upright judge, was a native of Reading, and was born in 1795. When forty years old he published *Ion*, and afterwards *The Athenian Captive*. Both are classic dramas and had considerable success. *The Massacre of Glencoe* and *The Castilian* are less known. In 1849 Talfourd was raised to the Bench, and in 1854 he died of apoplexy, while

Knowles,
Talfourd.

^a 'The world knows nothing of its greatest men.'—TAYLOR, *Philip Van Artevelde*. 5

delivering the charge to the grand jury at Stafford. His style is remarkably chaste and beautiful, and yet rich in imagery, and his characters are drawn with great clearness and power. He is also the author of the *Life of Charles Lamb* and of *An Essay on the Greek Drama*.

288. A few sentences on the moral influence of the theatre may fitly close this brief outline. To the dramatic treatment of history or of truth there is clearly no objection. Shakespeare's historical plays give, as is admitted on all sides, a better idea of English history than the old chroniclers. Parables well spoken or skilfully penned are dramas, and all great teachers have used them. To the *reading* of dramas there can be no objection, provided we recognise certain conditions. Let the principal agents be virtuous and the sentiments pure and noble: or, if they describe character or manners, the working of passion in fact as found in actual life, let them be truthful; and let them be read by those who are of an age to appreciate the thought, and who are not likely to receive mischief from the descriptions. Or, if they are dramas of wit and humour intended for amusement and relaxation, then let them be read sparingly, and be made a relaxation and not a business. Even if they pourtray vice they may be cautiously read, if they render it loathsome,^a and if the study is likely to help the reader to such knowledge of human nature as may fit him the better for real life. Subject to these conditions the drama is, theoretically speaking, as harmless and as allowable as a novel, or a story, or a poem. But, as we have seen, many dramas are objectionable, and violate one or other of the four conditions we have ventured to prescribe.

To dramas as *acted*, however, that is to the theatre, there are serious objections. The company, the associations, the sensuousness of the whole scene, have most of them come to be mischievous, while the plays that are most popular, and are therefore most likely to be acted, are often questionable in character and lowering in tendency. Congreve indeed defended the theatre in this respect by defining comedy, after Aristotle, as 'the imita-

^a Pope's lines, however, should be remembered:—

'Vice is a monster of so frightful mien,
As, to be hated, needs but to be seen;

Yet, seen too oft, familiar with her face,

We first endure, then pity, then embrace.'

tion of what is worse in human nature.* But this remark, though a learned excuse for himself, is no plea for the stage. It is the opposite, and forms one ground of our censure. And even if, by chance, the theatre teaches great truths, it fails to impress them upon the mind. The accompaniments, as Johnson held, distract attention and weaken impression. Its best defence is that it is a recreation; and, it is added, it *may* be a harmless recreation. But even if particular plays be harmless, it would be much better to seek recreation in what is less sensuous, more helpful to the cultivation of true taste, less injurious to our youth, and free from the fearful risks which experience and history have shown to be connected with the stage.

In all this reasoning we have purposely taken the lowest ground. No argument against the theatre has been advanced which may not be conceded on the ground of morality alone; and, in fact, every argument has been conceded by moralists, and even by playwrights. If the theatre be estimated from a religious point of view, from its tendency to promote or to hinder the tastes and aspirations of spiritual life, our judgment becomes much more decided. It is not that religion is a system of gloomy restrictions. The delights of friendship and society, the exercise of every faculty in the investigation of philosophy, in the study of literature, or in the cultivation of taste, all arts and all knowledge, are within the range of the enjoyments it allows. Nothing is forbidden but what is evil either in itself or in its influence. Nor is it that religion is not aided by whatever can adorn and refine. The most exquisite relish for the grace and beauty of life is so far from being opposed to exalted piety, that they tend under proper regulations to elevate and perfect one another. But, in fact, a really earnest spiritual man has no taste for such enjoyment as the theatre presents. It affords him no relaxation or pleasure. And if, through the decay of piety, he does find enjoyment there, his whole tone of character is lowered, his consistency and power of usefulness are diminished, and at length the vigour and the influence of his spiritual life will be lost. Religious instincts are, in this case, a safe guide; and if men set them at nought, their violation will be followed by rapid deterioration and bitter experience.

* Hallam, *lit.*, 524, footnote.

CHAPTER VI.

ENGLISH PROSE WRITERS FROM THE AGE OF CHAUCER TO THE
NINETEENTH CENTURY.

SECTION I.—PROSE DEFINED AND CLASSIFIED

289. Prose as much the result of creation as Poetry. 290. Classification of Prose Works, according to their subjects. (1) History, Biography, Travels, and Novels. (2) Philosophy, Theology, Ethics, Politics, Æsthetics or Taste. (3) Oratory. (4) Miscellaneous Prose Literature: Works of fancy and imagination, of sentiment and reflection, of passion and feeling, of humour and satire. 291. Classification according to their chronology. Seven periods reduced to three: From the age of Chaucer to the death of Elizabeth (pars. 292-317)—The seventeenth century (pars. 318-400)—The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (pars. 401-513).

289. It is unfortunate that the popular voice has restricted the creative faculty to poets, and seems to regard the art of Prose-creation, 'making' as peculiar to them. The truth is, that there is as much creation in good prose as in poetry. Both require upon the part of the writer imaginativeness, skill in perceiving and describing analogies, and in combining words and thoughts. In the great prose authors of our literature these qualities are as conspicuous as in the poets themselves.

290. The classification of works of prose literature may conveniently be made to correspond to the classifications already adopted in poetry. Epic poetry with its varieties, the heroic, the narrative, the descriptive, the dramatic, has, as its counterpart, history, biography, travels, and novels or the prose drama. Didactic poetry—moral, philosophical, and critical—corresponds to philosophic prose,—theological, moral, political, and æsthetic. Lyric poetry corresponds to oratory; and the miscellaneous literature that cannot easily be included under these descriptions must be classified as works of fancy and imagination, of sentiment and reflection,

Prose works
classified as to
subjects.

of passion and affection, of humour and satire. They take a separate place because they are for the most part intended to illustrate or to excite the faculties or emotions under which we have placed them. As prose, however, has generally some practical purpose in view, it is not often necessary to classify it under this miscellaneous division.

This classification may be further simplified. History and biography appeal to the memory; philosophy appeals to the judgment, the reason, and the critical faculty; oratory, or impassioned utterance, to the heart; and other kinds of composition largely to the imagination, using that term in its widest sense as the opposite of memory and judgment. It is equally obvious that the same work may belong to several divisions, history, for example, being often philosophic and even imaginative.

291. The periods into which our prose literature naturally divides will be found to synchronise on the whole with those already adopted in the history of our language and of our poetry. We have the writers

1. Of the age of Chaucer and the following century.
2. Of the age of the Reformation,—the age of the revival of the study of classical learning.
3. Of the age of Elizabeth, James, and Charles I.
4. Of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate.
5. Of the Restoration and the latter part of the seventeenth century.
6. Of the reign of Queen Anne and the eighteenth century; and
7. Of the last fifty years.

Of these the first and second periods are important chiefly from the light they throw upon the history of our language, and on questions connected with the progress of theological sentiment and of learning. The fourth is the great era of Puritan theology. The third, fifth, sixth, and seventh are, for purely literary purposes, the most important. The fact is, however, that in giving the history of prose literature, longer periods, and a more rigid classification as to the thought and purpose of the writing, are most convenient. We shall therefore group these seven periods into three:

The first, extending from Chaucer to the death of Elizabeth;

The second, including the writers of the seventeenth century ;

The third, those of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The suitableness of this division will appear as we proceed. Occasionally it will be found convenient to carry the subjects under discussion beyond the chronological limit, and occasionally to place first the subjects of a division which in another century will more fitly take the second or the third place. The sixteenth century, for example, begins naturally with theology, the seventeenth with philosophy, and the eighteenth, the age of Queen Anne, with miscellaneous literature. The aim will be to give a just estimate of the most powerful influences at work in each period, and as the subjects of each division will always be indicated, the reader can, if he pleases, vary the order for himself.

SECTION II.—FROM THE AGE OF CHAUCER TO THE DEATH OF ELIZABETH.—ABOUT TWO HUNDRED YEARS.

THEOLOGY.—292. Wycliffe. 293. Influences at work in the Fifteenth Century: The revival of Letters: The overthrow of the Eastern Empire: The invention of Printing: Commercial enterprise: The Reformation: Influence of this last. 294. Questions raised by the Reformation. Fisher, More, Pole, Bale. 295. Tyndale, Latimer, Jewell, Bible-translators. 296. Results: Copies of Scriptures: Articles of Faith: Homilies. 297. Questions on Church Order: Cartwright, Parker, and Puritanism. 298. Travers and Hooker.

HISTORY.—*Travels*: 299. Mandeville. *Chronicles*: 300. Early history legendary. Successive stages. Layamon, Manning. 301. De Trevisa's translation of the Polychronicon. 302. Fabyan, Hall, Grafton. 303. Bellenden, George Buchanan, Leslie. 304. Holinshed. *Antiquities*: 305. Leland. 306. Stow. 307. Camden, Speed, Spelman, Cotton. *Biography*: 308. Bale. 309. More. 310. Foxe. 311. Cavendish. 312. Bacon, etc. *Histories*: 313. Baker. 314. Raleigh. 315. Daniel. 316. Knolles. 317. Usher.

The prose writings of the two centuries between Chaucer and the death of Elizabeth are but few. The fifteenth century especially is almost a blank, while the writings of the sixteenth century are chiefly theological and historical. The poets of the period have been already enumerated and their principal works described (pars. 41, 42, 46, 47, 50-56). The prose works of

Chaucer and Caxton, of More and Ascham, of Elyot and Fortescue, of Cheke and Lillie, of Wilson, Cox, and Sidney, the earliest critics, as we may call them, in our literature, have also been mentioned in connection with the history of the language (pars. 65, 67, 78). The theologians and the historians, including under this list travellers, antiquarians, and biographers, still remain for discussion.

292. Long before the era of the Reformation, either on the continent or in England, appeared the great English reformer, John de Wycliffe (1324-1384). He was born at Wycliffe.

Wycliffe, near Richmond, and studied at Oxford. Attaining a high reputation for theology and logic, he was made in succession Master of Baliol and Warden of Canterbury Hall, Oxford. There, and afterwards in his country livings, he attacked the abuses of the Church, the character of the mendicant friars, and the papal tribute. After a while he commenced a course of lectures on theology, there being no theological professor at that time. Many of the leading tenets of Romanism he questioned, embodying his sentiments in a Latin treatise, the *Triologus*. His boldness increased his popularity, and he was selected as a member of the commission that met at Bruges to remonstrate against the power claimed by the Pope over English benefices. Some concessions were made to Wycliffe's representations. On his return home (1374) he was made Prebend of Westbury as well as Rector of Lutterworth. His opinions, however, had created alarm, and he was several times cited for heresy; but the Church being weakened by the great schism which divided the papacy, and Wycliffe being protected by the king's brother, John of Gaunt, and other nobles, he retained his livings till the last: he was compelled, however, in 1381, to close the theological class, which he had kept up more or less successfully for so many years. Cut off from public employments he retired to Lutterworth, where he wrote a number of treatises on theology, and began his translation of the Bible. In this work he was aided by some of his former pupils, and finished it in 1383, a year before his death. Twenty years afterwards there burst upon his followers a storm of persecution which crushed nearly all dissent till the sixteenth century. 'His writings, English and Latin, preserved by stealth only, had by that time become difficult of identification.' Happily

some of them had reached John Huss, and helped to begin the great German Reformation. In 1484 the bones of Wycliffe were taken up from the chancel of the church at Lutterworth, burnt to ashes, and the ashes thrown into the Swift. 'The Swift,' says Fuller, 'conveyed his ashes into Avon, Avon into Severn, Severn into the narrow seas, they into the main ocean. And thus the ashes of Wycliffe are the emblem of his doctrine, which is now dispersed all the world over.'

293. Meanwhile four influences had combined to produce important results throughout the whole of Europe—the revival of letters, coeval with the fall of the Eastern empire, towards the close of the fifteenth century; the invention of printing; the rise of the commercial classes, owing to the discovery of the new world, and of the passage to India by the Cape; and the Reformation. The mightiest of these influences, so far as literature is concerned, was the last. It undermined the authority of Aristotle and of the Schoolmen, it encouraged freedom of inquiry on all subjects, it sent men to examine the Bible for themselves—a book everywhere favourable to thought and intelligence—and it addressed the multitude in their vernacular tongue. The scholars complained of this: 'all distinctions,' as they saw and said, 'were thereby thrown down, and the naked shepherd was levelled with the knight clad in armour.' It needed one or two generations before these influences produced their natural results; but early in the sixteenth century they were beginning to be felt, and by the close they were in full vigour.

294. The first works written under these influences were largely controversial. The subjects to be discussed were the authority of the Bible and of the Church, the supremacy of the pope and of the king, the bodily presence of Christ in the Supper, the celibacy of the clergy, the divine right of episcopacy, the proper place of rites and ceremonies, and the great doctrine of Justification by Faith. Among the leading Roman Catholic writers were Bishop Fisher (1459–1535), Sir Thomas More (1480–1535), and Cardinal Pole (1500–1558). Among the Protestants were John Bale (1495–1563), made Bishop of Ossory by Edward VI., William Tyndale

Questions
discussed.

(1485?-1536), Latimer, Cranmer, Hooper, and Ridley,—all martyred in 1555,—Becon, Cranmer's chaplain (1511-1570), and Bishop Jewell (1521-1571).

More's English works fill two black letter folio volumes (1557): the whole, except the life of Picus of Mirandula, and the life of Edward v., or Richard III. as it is sometimes called, consisting of treatises on devotion, or on controversial theology. Bale is known as a voluminous writer of theological tracts, besides being the writer of pieces noticed already (par. 242), and of a series of Latin *Lives* of British writers, which is still an authority as a book of reference.

295. William Tyndale, a native of Gloucestershire, adopted in the early part of the reign of Henry VIII. many of the opinions of the continental reformers; after offending the Tyndale. government by expressing them, he sought refuge in Hamburg, where he completed a translation of the New Testament. This work was printed at Antwerp, in 1526, though it has since been found that two editions had been already printed, perhaps without the knowledge of the translator. It was at once introduced into England, Tyndale devoting himself to the translation of the Old Testament. His version of the five books of Moses was printed at different foreign towns, and was then collected into one volume, being published in 1530. In 1534 a revision of the New Testament was printed, and with it his labours closed. He was, probably at Henry's instigation, imprisoned at Antwerp, and after two years was strangled and burned for heresy in October, 1536. The same year his New Testament was published in England, the first translation of the Word of God on English soil. Besides these versions Tyndale wrote treatises, of which *The Wicked Mammon*, and *The True Obedience of a Christian Man*, are best known. They are both admirable specimens of English. Cranmer's works fill two large volumes, and Becon's three. Most of the leaders of Protestantism are still better known as preachers; their sermons abounding in defences of the new faith, and in powerful appeals to the hearts and consciences of the people.

Another spirit meanwhile had come over the age. Henry, who had obtained the title of Defender of the Faith, by attacking Luther, had himself quarrelled with Rome. In 1535 there was

published the first complete translation of the whole Bible, dedicated to the king and queen. The translator was Miles Coverdale, afterwards Bishop of Exeter. It is based largely on the Vulgate, and from it is taken the version of the Psalms still used in the Book of Common Prayer. In rapid succession appeared 'Matthew's Bible,' which was really edited by John Rogers, the proto-martyr of the reign of Queen Mary, 'Cranmer's, or the great Bible' (1539), really a revision of Tyndale's. In the short reign of Edward VI. no new translation was attempted, but editions of previous translations were largely multiplied, fourteen of the Old Testament, and thirty of the New being issued from the press. The accession of Mary stopped this work; but a new translation was printed at Geneva; it was a revision of Tyndale's made by Gilby and Sampson, the latter Prebend of St. Paul's, afterwards a Nonconformist, and Whittingham, a brother-in-law of Calvin, refugee, and Fellow of Oxford.

The two other versions of the Bible that exercised marked influence on this and the following century were Parker's, or the Bishops' Bible, and the authorised version. Parker's was published in 1568, and prepared by fifteen translators, the majority of whom were members of the episcopate; the chief mover was Parker (1504-1578), who had lost all his preferments on the accession of Queen Mary, and was now Archbishop of Canterbury.

The authorised version belongs to the reign of James. It originated in the Hampton Court conference, where Reynolds, the leader of the Puritan party, and then President of Corpus College, Oxford, proposed that there should be a new version: and it was published in 1611. Among the translators, Oriental and rabbinical erudition was most fully represented, and its influence is very visible in the translation.

Perhaps we ought to include in the controversial works of this age Jewell's celebrated *Apology for the Church of England*: it is written in Latin, with spirit and terseness. *The Defence of the Apology* is in English, and is much more diffuse: the Jesuit Harding was his opponent.

296. The results of these labours are seen in various facts. There was, first, a large multiplication of copies of the Scriptures in the vernacular language, and a large increase of printing on all themes. As many as a hundred

Results.

editions of various versions of Scripture had appeared before the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth, and printers had multiplied from four, the number in all England at the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII., to fifty-seven, the number at the death of Edward VI. Thirty-one of this number, or more than half, had taken part in the printing of the Scriptures. During the reign of Elizabeth there appeared eighty-five editions of the English Bible, and forty-eight of the New Testament, sixty of the former being impressions of the Geneva version. There was, secondly, the settlement of the Articles and of the Prayer Book of the Church of England (1545-1571), the translation of the Psalms into metre for the use of English congregations (1548-1562); and there was, thirdly, the publication of the Books of Homilies (1547-1563),—every Homily and every Article representing the result of protracted discussion both in speech and in print.

297. Mixed up with these questions between Protestantism and Popery were others that referred to Church order and ritualistic observances. Out of the Church there were small bodies of Baptists and Independents, and a more considerable body of Presbyterians. In the Church a large body of both clergy and laity, who had received a university education, were disposed favourably to the Presbyterian government established by Calvin at Geneva, and by Knox in Scotland. Others who were on the whole in favour of episcopacy preferred a simpler ritual and a more rigid church discipline. This controversy now raged. On the one side were Thomas Cartwright (1535-1603), Margaret Professor of Divinity, Hugh Broughton (1549-1612), one of the most learned men of his time, and Travers, the opponent of Richard Hooker. On the other were the Archbishops Parker, Bancroft, and Whitgift. Hence originated the great Puritan party, the first act of Nonconformity (1559-1564), the exile or the deprivation of Bernard Gilpin, Miles Coverdale, and many other eminent men, the *Mar-Prelate* pamphlets, and a series of discussions which have continued more or less to our own age. Many of the results of these controversies are deplorable; but the mental activity which they excited among all classes had undoubtedly great influence on the literature of the next age.

298. One work at least of undying fame we owe to them, the *Ecclesiastical Polity* of Richard Hooker (1553-1600). This distinguished man was born at Exeter and educated at Hooker's
Ecclesiastical
Polity. Oxford. There he became eminent for his learning and piety, and after acting as tutor to the son of Bishop Sandys and to the grand-nephew of Cranmer, he entered holy orders and was appointed in 1585, Master of the Temple. The Afternoon Lecturer there was Walter Travers, a man of learning and eloquence, but of Genevan tendencies both in theology and on Church government. By degrees, the preaching of the two men became more and more antagonistic, till it was commonly reported 'that the forenoon sermon was Canterbury, and the afternoon Genevan.' At length Whitgift suspended Travers, and thereupon Hooker asked leave to retire into the country that he might live in peace and complete a work which he had already begun, *On the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*. In consequence of this appeal he was appointed in 1591 to the living of Boscomb in Wiltshire, where he finished four books of his treatise, which were published in 1594. In the following year Queen Elizabeth presented him to the rectory of Bishop's Bourne in Kent, where he finished the fifth book, which was published in 1597, and wrote three others, which, however, did not appear till 1647. At Bourne, Hooker spent the rest of his life in the faithful discharge of his duties.

The first book of his *Polity* is an ethical disquisition on law in general. To appreciate it we need to keep in mind that Occam, the founder of the school of the Nominalists, had taught that moral distinctions originated in the arbitrary appointment of God, 'and that no act is evil but as it is prohibited by Him, or which cannot be made good if commanded by Him.' Roman Catholics, who had held that practical theology, *i. e.*, morals, was based on the traditional teaching of the Church, and Protestants, who insisted on taking ethical duty only from the Bible, confirmed this mistake. On none of these principles could there be a science of morality: every ethical question must become at once a question of interpretation, and the only standard of morality is Scripture or tradition. Melancthon and the more intelligent reformers saw the mischief of this system. 'Those precepts,' says he, 'which learned men have committed to writing, transcribing them from the common reason and common

feelings of human nature, are to be accounted not less divine than those contained in the tables given to Moses; nor was it God's intention to supersede by a law graven on stone that which is written with His own finger on the table of the heart.' This principle, which needs care of course in applying, seems the dictate of common sense, and yet it needed the profound sagacity of Hooker to secure for it anything like currency among the great men of the sixteenth century, and many years were to elapse before it was applied to the formation of a sound ethical philosophy. It is to the consideration of those great laws which God has written on men's hearts and on the frame of the universe, that the first book of the *Polity* is devoted. Towards the close occurs one of the noblest outbursts of feeling and one of the finest sentences in our language.

The second book of Hooker is devoted to a different question. The Puritans are supposed to have held that, though Scripture may not be the exclusive ground of human duty, it is at least in matters of religion. Hooker maintained on the contrary that ritual observances are variable, and that 'no certain form of polity is set down in Scripture as indispensable for a Christian Church.'^a Hence he justifies the ceremonies of the Church of England, 'not as Scriptural but as indifferent,' and tries to show that the 'godly discipline' of the Presbyterian party, though a lawful form of Church government, is not *the* only form that Scripture allows. In all his argument there is great earnestness of feeling and fullness of detail.

Hooker's chief excellence, apart from the admirable doctrine of the first book, is his style. 'So stately and graceful is the march of his periods, so various the fall of his musical cadences upon the ear, so rich in images, so condensed in sentences, so grave and noble in diction, so little of vulgarity is there in his racy idiom, of pedantry in his learned phrase, that I know not whether any later writer has more admirably displayed the capacity of our language or produced passages more worthy of comparison with the splendid monuments of antiquity ;'^b though it must be added that for clearness and vigour it would sometimes have been better if he had taken his sentences to pieces or had interspersed among them others of brevity and point.

^a Hallam's *Constitutional History*, chap. 1v

^b Hallam.

Some of Hooker's sermons, it may be added, as those on *Justification by Faith*, and on the *Perpetuity of Faith in God's Elect*, are among the best defences of the doctrines they discuss. More than one eminent man has expressed his obligations to them as the means of his establishment in the fundamental truths of the Gospel.

299. The earliest book of English prose belongs to the reign of Edward III., and is a book of travels. It was written by Mandeville, who was born at St. Alban's in 1300, left England for the East in 1322, and died at Liege in 1371. He visited Palestine, Egypt, Persia, and parts of India and China, spending three years at Pekin. Many copies of his work were circulated in manuscript, and the earliest edition in English was printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1499. The standard edition appeared in 1725, and was reprinted with notes and glossary by Mr. Halliwell in 1839.^a

300. The successive stages of historical literature seem to have been pretty much the same in all nations. It is first legendary in matter, and generally poetical in form. History: Its successive stages. The poetical legend then gives place to the simple chronicle, which is itself sometimes legendary. This, in turn, passes into philosophic narrative which tells the story of national life so as to exhibit those influences that mould it, —influences at work both from without and from within. It is thus that the ballad poem of Homer passes into the chronicle history of Herodotus, and this is followed by the philosophic sketches of Thucydides. It is thus that the ballads of the early Latin poets are succeeded by the chronicle history of Livy, and this by the profound and philosophic pages of Tacitus. 'It may be laid down as a rule that history begins in novel and ends in essay.'^b

The ballad period of English history includes, as we have seen,

^a See par. 40.

^b *Edinburgh Review*, vol. 47, 1828. When history is studied as a whole either of one nation or of many, and the laws that regulate the progress of nations, in virtue, knowledge, industry, and happiness, are ascertained, the result

is a philosophy of deepest interest. This philosophy applied to actual life, on a larger or smaller scale, forms what is now called social science; or less happily—for the term is a hybrid—sociology.

the semi-Saxon writers, Layamon, monk of Ernsley (1180), the rhyming chronicles of Robert of Gloster, who flourished a hundred years later, and of Robert Manning, monk of Bourne, in Lincolnshire. The last was taken in part from the French metrical chronicle of Langtoft, and all were indebted to Wace's Britain, to the Latin prose chronicles, and especially to Geoffrey of Monmouth, whose *Historia Britannica* was the great storehouse for them all.

301. The English prose chroniclers begin with John de Trevisa's translation of the Polychronicon of Higden. This work of Higden's is a universal history in seven books. A part only was printed in Gale's *Scriptores xv.*^a Trevisa's translation, however, which was completed in 1385, includes the whole work, and Caxton who printed it added an eighth book, bringing the narrative from 1357 to 1400. Its author died at Chester in 1370.

302. Next in time comes the metrical chronicle of John Harding, who flourished in the reign of Edward iv.; then the prose chronicles of Fabyan, Hall, and Grafton. Fabyan was alderman and sheriff of London in the reign of Henry vii., and wrote a gossiping History of England from the days of Brutus to the year 1485. Hall, who was Judge of the Sheriff's Court in the same city, wrote the history of the houses of York and Lancaster, and brings down the story to the year 1532. Grafton, author and printer, continues Hall's history to the death of Henry viii. His abridgment of the chronicles of England was written in prison, where he was confined for printing the proclamation which declared the succession of Lady Jane Grey to the crown.

303. Meanwhile the process of historical chronicling commenced in Scotland. The first author in English was John Bellenden, one of the Lords of Session in the reign of Queen Mary and a favourite of James v. By the king's command he translated Hector Boece's *History of Scotland* and the first five books of Livy. The translation is somewhat free, and additions are made to it by the translator himself. The

^a Oxford, 1691.

original work was in Latin, and contains some of the wildest fables of the old chroniclers. Bellenden's translation is the earliest specimen of Scottish literary prose. It was published in 1526. The first *original* work in that language was also historical, and was entitled *The Complaynt of Scotland*. It was published at St. Andrews in 1548, and was written by 'an unknown hand.'

Other Scottish authors claim mention. Among the earliest of them is George Buchanan (1506-1582), distinguished as a writer of classical Latinity rather than of English. He was Buchanan.

Professor of Latin at Bourdeaux and Coimbra, Protestant Principal of St. Leonard College, St. Andrews, and tutor of Queen Mary and James VI. Having in those troublous times offended his pupil, he spent the last few years of his life in retirement, where he wrote in Latin his *History of Scotland*, which was published in 1582. 'If his accuracy and impartiality,' says Robertson, 'had been equal to his taste and to the rigour and purity of his style, his history might be placed on a level with the most admired compositions of the ancients, but unhappily he clothes with all the beauties and graces of fiction those legends which formerly had only its wildness and extravagance.'

To John Leslie, Bishop of Ross (died 1596), chronicler of Queen Mary, chief founder of the Scottish Colleges at Rome, Paris, and Douay, we owe, besides various historical works in Leslie.

Latin, a *History of Scotland* from 1436 to 1561, which was published for the first time in English in 1830 by the Bannatyne Club: to Sir James Melvil (1530-1606), Privy Councillor of Queen Mary, we owe *Memoirs of Affairs of State* relating to the reigns of Elizabeth, Mary, and James, written in a simple style, and containing an account of events which are not recorded in any other document: the whole was printed in 1683; and to William Drummond (1585-1649), poet and traveller, we owe *The History of the Five Jameses*, a work of some historical value, and remarkable chiefly as inculcating 'the right divine of kings' and the doctrine of passive obedience.

304. Perhaps the most illustrious of all this class of chroniclers was Holinshed (d. 1580), whose chronicles, written and translated partly by himself, and partly by William Harrison, and others, form the source of many of Shakespeare's plays. It was probably through Holinshed that

Shakespeare became acquainted with the story of *Lear* and of *Cymbeline*. The plot of *Macbeth* and the facts of most of the historical plays are taken from the same source, details being often filled in from Hall's *Chronicle*, from Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*, and from Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*. Prefixed to *Holinshed* is a valuable sketch of the state of England in the sixteenth century.

305. Occupying a middle place between the old chroniclers and the modern historians, are the antiquarians and the earlier biographers of our literature. Their work implies attention to details and the careful examination of facts—the beginning of course of all accurate history. The close of the sixteenth century is remarkable for the following eminent antiquaries—Leland, Stow, Camden, Speed, Spelman, and Cotton.

John Leland (d. 1552), the earliest English antiquarian writer, and one of our ablest scholars, was educated at St. Paul's School, and was one of the chaplains of Henry VIII. Having a great taste for antiquities, he obtained from the king a commission to examine records and papers. Armed with this authority, he visited different parts of the kingdom, and collected an immense mass of materials. The results of his inquiries he published in several works, most of them written in Latin; but the most important—his *Itinerary*—is in English. It gives a full account of the places he visited, together with a catalogue of English authors. Being prepared with great care, it is at once the beginning and the model of all later inquiries into our national antiquities. The original edition was 'geuen as a new yeares gyfte to Kynge Henry the viij.,' and was published in 1549. Three years afterwards, Leland died insane; his mind weakened, as it seems, by excessive application to his favourite study.

306. John Stow (1525-1605) was the son of a tailor, and was himself brought up to his father's business. Having a decided turn for antiquarian research, he travelled on foot through a large part of England, and examined cathedral and other libraries, finding many precious treasures scattered and wasted by the breaking up of the monasteries. Aided by the bounty of Archbishop Parker, he published the

results of his inquiries. His *Summary of English Chronicles* was printed in 1565, and dedicated to the Earl of Leicester. In 1598 appeared his *Survey of London*, his best known work, and the foundation of all later histories of the metropolis. His largest work, *The Chronicle or History of England*, seems never to have been published,^a but an abstract of it, entitled *Flores Historiarum*; or, *Annals of England*, appeared in 1600. Stow was regarded by his contemporaries as the highest authority, and was often quoted by them. In the last years of his life he had literally to beg his bread, James I. having given him the royal licence to repair to churches and to receive the charitable benevolence of well disposed people. He died in 1605, and his monument may still be seen in the church of St. Andrew-under-Shaft, London.

307. William Camden (1551-1623) was born in London, and was head master of Westminster School. The leisure hours of his earlier life he devoted to the study of antiquities, and travelled through most of the eastern and northern counties of England. The results he published in a Latin work, entitled *Britannia*, which appeared in 1586; a sixth edition was translated into English, and published in 1610, by Philemon Holland, the translator of Pliny, etc. This volume is the great store-house of all our antiquarian and topographical knowledge. The best edition is that edited by Mr. Gough and published with augmentations in 1789. Besides this work, Camden published *A Collection of Ancient English Historians*, and wrote *An Account of the Monuments and Inscriptions of Westminster Abbey*, as well as Latin histories of the Gunpowder Plot and the *Reign of Elizabeth*. He died at the age of seventy-two, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

One of the ablest of Camden's contemporaries was John Speed (1552-1629)—author and tailor. He published in 1614 a *History of Great Britain*, long deemed the best that had as yet appeared: it is remarkable for the care with which the author sifts his authorities, and for its rejection of many of the fables of the preceding chroniclers: it extends from the earliest times

^a What is called Stow's Chronicle was published in 1616 by Howes after Stow's death: it is a compilation made up from

Stow's papers with additions by the editor.

to the union of the two crowns under James I. Speed is also the author of the best maps in his day of the shires and cities of England.

Sir Henry Spelman (1562-1641) is a legal and ecclesiastical antiquary. His best known works are his *Glossarium Archaologicum* and a *History of the English Councils*. Sir

Spelman,
Cotton.

Robert Cotton (1570-1631) was a diligent collector of records, charters, and papers of every kind. Besides aiding Camden, he wrote several works of antiquarian interest; but he is now most favourably remembered for the valuable library of manuscripts formed by him. After it had been increased by his son and grandson, it became, in 1706, the property of the nation, and was in 1757 deposited in the British Museum. Unhappily, a fire had previously destroyed upwards of a hundred of the most precious documents. The manuscripts which Cotton collected possess the additional interest of having been examined by some of the greatest English scholars: Raleigh, Herbert, Bacon, Usher, Selden, all speak of their personal obligations to the collector: in the two centuries which have elapsed since Cotton's death, many hundreds must have examined them.

308. Biography, one of the most instructive departments of historical literature, finds early and influential representatives in Bale, More, Foxe, and Cavendish.

Biography:
Bale.

John Bale, Bishop of Ossory (1495-1563), was one of the warmest friends of the Reformation. He wrote in defence of its doctrines many tracts both in Latin and in English, besides several dramatic pieces and interludes, some of which he had acted at Kilkenny on behalf of the new faith. His most celebrated book is in Latin, and is entitled an *Account of the Most Illustrious Writers of Great Britain* (1548-1557), from Japhet, as he tells us, to the year 1557. With some fabulous history, it contains also a good deal that is partially inaccurate. *Chronicles*, written by him in English on the *Death of Sir John Oldcastle*, *Lord Cobham*, the first of the nobility who died for adherence to Wycliffe's doctrine, and on the death of Anne Askew, 'martyred in Smythfelde,' contain much that is beautiful. In him, and still more in Foxe, it is wonderful to notice what pathos and power personal sympathy with the events

they describe gave even to a style of writing otherwise bald and uninteresting. In their works, dry chronicling has often given place to utterances the most touching and impressive.

309. In More's *History of Edward v.*, of his brother, and of Richard III., we have one of the earliest attempts to blend with narrative striking and original thought: it is also in More.

Mr. Hallam's judgment the earliest specimen of dignified idiomatic prose. More minutely it may be said, that scarcely any of the vocabulary is obsolete, and though the structure of his sentences is often such as modern usage has not confirmed, yet the composition has, as a whole, 'an ease and rotundity,' as Mackintosh expresses it, 'of which there is no model in any preceding writer of English prose.'^a Strictly speaking, the volume is not a biography but a history. Horace Walpole, who went over the same ground as More, thinks that More's statements will not stand a comparison with the original authorities.

Sir Thomas More (1480-1535) was the son of a judge of the King's Bench, and was educated at Oxford. After a successful practice in his profession and the fulfilment of many duties as reader in law at one of the inns of court, and even as lecturer of divinity, he was made Lord Chancellor in 1529, the first layman appointed to that office. He was a zealous Catholic, and not altogether free from the persecuting spirit of his party and his age. After a life of honour and toil, he was unjustly condemned to death by Henry VIII. on the charge of attempting to deprive the king of his title of supreme head of the church. More expressly refused 'to meddle with that matter,' and was condemned for words which he never uttered, and which, if uttered, were not sufficient to justify the charge. There are few men with whom most readers sympathise so little in religious belief whose memory is so revered. In the pictures of Holbein, in his life by Roper and by Mackintosh, and in his correspondence with Erasmus, where he is seen in his house at Chelsea paying reverence to his parents and playing with his children, he has become endeared to modern readers; while his cheerful disposition is just such as we naturally associate with true greatness, and welcome wherever it is found.

Besides the *History of Edward the Fifth*, More wrote some

^a Life of Sir T. More

poems and some theological and other tracts. He is best known, however, by his *Utopia* ('No-land'), one of his earliest works; it has given a word to our language, and describes the social arrangements which he thought most likely to secure, in the greatest degree, the happiness and the improvement of a people. Some of his suggestions are really Utopian: 'that every one be content with the necessities of life—care in clothing only for what is most durable, and in eating for what is plain.' In this way greed and indolence, with all the evils that follow in their train, he thinks will be destroyed. On the other hand, many of his suggestions are before his age: instead of severely punishing theft, we ought, he says, to educate the people and improve their condition; there ought to be no war but for the grossest injury to ourselves or to our allies, and the glory of a general should be in proportion to the bloodlessness of his victories: nor must any man be punished for his religion, for punishment may make hypocrites but cannot make Christians.*

This treatise of More's commenced what proved to be a fashion in our literature. The *New Atlantis* of Bacon gave an outline of the Royal Society, and the *Oceana* of Harrington, of a model republic: indeed, plans of imaginary states came to be an easy mode of rebuking existing evils and of setting forth, in a dramatic form, theories of desired good.

310. One of the most illustrious of our early biographers is John Foxe (1517-1587), a native of Boston, and a student at Oxford. After protracted inquiry, he avowed his adoption of Protestant doctrines, and was expelled in consequence from his college in 1545. For some years he was without a certain dwelling-place, engaged now as a tutor to the family of the Duchess of Richmond, and now as corrector of the press for Oporinus, the printer of Basle. On the accession of Elizabeth, he was received into favour, and might have had considerable preferment: he felt a difficulty however in subscription, and declined all offers made to him except that of a prebendal stall at Salisbury. Here he gained a high character for modesty, great merits, conscientiousness, and learning. His *Acts and Monuments*

* The volume was first published in Latin about the year 1518, and was translated into English by Ralph Robin-

son in 1624, and by Bishop Burnet in 1683.

he published in 1563, the result of eleven years of hard toil; the work gives a history of the *troubles wrought and practised by Romish prelates, specially in this realm of England*, for the last five hundred years. Burnet bears strong testimony to the general accuracy of this compilation,^a and its general value is unquestioned. The narrative is sometimes rude and even coarse, but it is impossible not to be struck with its fervour and simplicity. The work contributed largely not only to the spread of the principles of the Reformation, but to the formation of habits of religious inquiry and of intellectual activity among all classes.^b

311. Biographers of less name are George Cavendish (d. 1557), the author of a *Life of Cardinal Wolsey*, warmly praised by Singer for its natural eloquence, and freely used by Cavendish, Hayward. Holinshed, and, through him, by Shakespeare: Sir John Hayward (d. 1627), the author of a *Life of Henry the Fourth* (1599), of *Lives of the Three Norman Kings*, (1613), and of the *Life and Reign of Edward the Sixth* (including part of Elizabeth), (1630); in all which he adopted the dramatic style of making his characters deliver speeches in which they express their policy: and Arthur Wilson (1596-1652), author of *The Life and Reign of James the First*.

312. Bacon's *Life of Henry the Seventh* is a great advance on most preceding biographies. The style is generally clear and precise, though there is sometimes a stiffness and ambitiousness which injure its simplicity. It is remarkable chiefly, however, for its philosophic spirit, motives are carefully analysed and actions weighed, laws and events affecting the progress of trade and agriculture are examined and described, and the whole is written with an evident purpose to enable the reader to gather from history those great lessons which he may hereafter turn to useful account.

The *History of the Reign of Henry the Eighth*, by Lord Herbert of Cherbury (1581-1648), is sometimes compared with Bacon's *Henry the Seventh*. Lord Orford deems it a masterpiece of biography, and it is certainly a good speci-

^a Preface to the *History of the Reformation*.

^b Four editions of Foxe's folios were

published in the reign of Elizabeth; every parish was bound to have a copy in the church.

men of manly composition. Herbert is also one of the earliest of our autobiographers, though his memoirs were not printed till 1764.

313. And now the blended research and philosophical disquisition which have already begun to show themselves in some portions of our historical literature, may be traced in **Histories.** larger histories. Among these may be mentioned the *Chronicle* of Sir Richard Baker (1568-1645), the *History of the World* of Sir Walter Raleigh (1552-1618), the *History of England* of Samuel Daniel (1562-1619), the *History of the Turks* by Richard Knolles (d. 1610), and the *Annals and Chronologia of the Bible* of James Usher (1581-1656).

Baker's *Chronicle* was compiled, as the author assures us, 'with such care and diligence, that, if all other chronicles were lost, this only would be sufficient to inform posterity of all passages worthy to be known.' **Baker.** Blount, however, has shown that it contains many errors, and though several of these were corrected in the edition printed in 1730, the book as a whole has but small authority. The style is described by Sir Henry Wotton, the writer's friend, as facile, 'full of sweet raptures and researching conceits.' The volume has special interest, as it was long a favourite with all classes, and especially with the country gentlemen of the seventeenth century. Addison tells us that it was the companion of Sir Roger de Coverley.* The book was written in the Fleet Prison, and was first published in 1641.

314. Raleigh's life is one of the most affecting in our history. He was born in 1552 of an ancient Devonshire family, and from his youth showed great intellectual acuteness and **Raleigh.** fondness for adventure. Before he was twenty he had fought for the Protestant cause in the wars of France and of the Netherlands, and soon after we find him visiting the coast of Newfoundland in company with his half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert. In 1580 he joined Lord Grey of Wilton, in an attempt to put down the rebellion in Ireland. Sent home with despatches, his handsome person and winning address attracted the attention of Elizabeth, and he at once became a favourite. His

* Spectator, No. 329.

love of adventure soon revived, and in 1584, he received a patent from the Crown for the discovery and settlement of unknown countries in the Far West; and though he was prevented from sailing with his friends, yet we owe to him indirectly the settlement of Virginia and the introduction into England of tobacco and of the potato: this last was first cultivated on Raleigh's property in Ireland. After offending Elizabeth by his marriage with the daughter of Sir N. Throgmorton, he visited Guiana, which he took possession of in the queen's name. On his return he published the history of the discovery. With the accession of James I., Raleigh's more serious troubles began. Cecil seems to have poisoned the king's mind against him, and probably Raleigh's own imprudence helped the plans of his adversaries. He was at all events implicated in the alleged plot to place Arabella Stuart on the throne, and was tried for high treason. Through the virulence of Coke and the servility of the jury, he was found guilty and sentenced, but he was imprisoned and not executed—all parties apparently feeling ashamed of the verdict. On his release, after an imprisonment of twelve years, he projected a secret expedition to Jamaica, with the view of planting the country and working the mines. Through the treachery of James, who disclosed the plan to the Spaniards, the expedition failed. Raleigh was disgraced, and after various attempts had been made to find a better accusation against him, he was executed in fulfilment of his old sentence.

One of the most interesting facts of his life is his intimacy with Spenser, who calls him, in one of his sonnets, 'the summer's nightingale,' and in *Colin Clout*, 'the shepherd of the ocean.'

Raleigh's *History of the World* was written during his imprisonment; it embraces a period extending from the creation to the fall of the Macedonian Empire, B.C. 170, and was printed in 1614. Raleigh himself ascribes its abrupt termination to the death of Prince Henry, but perhaps he had grown weary of his task, and the hope of new adventures allured him. Part of his work—the description, for example, of the antediluvian world—the discussions on the site of Paradise and the travels of Cain, are of little worth; but the sketches of the history of Greece and Rome are given with more exactness and vigour than in any previous writer. For the learning his work displays, he was indebted to Ben Jonson, Dr. Burrell, Rector of Northwold, and

others; but the political reflections, the illustrative episodes from modern times, the plain eloquence, the philosophic exactness, the consistency, and energy, and genius of the whole, are his own, and have given the book a classical reputation in our language. Hume has warmly praised it, and Tytler commends it as 'vigorous and purely English, possessing an antique richness of ornament, similar to what pleases us when we see a stately manor house, and compare it with our more modern mansions.'

His *Maxims of State*, the *Cabinet Council*, the *Sceptic*, and *Advice to his Son*, are among his best known minor pieces: they contain much good counsel, though not free from a certain worldliness which his hard experience must have fostered: some of his remarks on the service of God, in the last named of these pieces, are striking and just.

One of the finest passages in our language is to be found towards the close of his *History*.

315. Samuel Daniel, already mentioned as a poet, was also distinguished as a prose writer. His *History of England* extending from the Norman Conquest to the end of the reign of Edward Daniel. III., is divided into two parts, and was published in 1613 and 1618. A third part was added by John Trussel, continuing the history to the death of Richard III.; but this is decidedly inferior to the portions contributed by Daniel. As a historian, Daniel relies on common authorities, though he warns us against the uncertainty of the early history of nations in a way not usual with the old chroniclers: still there is little new matter to justify special commendation. But his style is remarkable: himself attached to the court, he seems to have written as the court spoke, with idiomatic purity and ease. This last quality is almost in excess; it begets a feeling of feebleness or of negligence, and it is so marked that Hallam thinks it difficult to distinguish his style from the style of the writings of the reign of Queen Anne.

316. Richard Knolles is a historian whose style all critics have praised. He was master of a free school at Sandwich, in Kent, and author of the *History of the Turks* (1610). His Knolles. subject is perhaps unfortunate, as Johnson deemed it, and wanting in general interest. His work, moreover, shows no

great depth of thought or fulness of learning; but 'his style, though obscured by time, and sometimes vitiated by false wit, is pure, nervous, elevated, and clear.' Hallam places him in this respect among the best of our early writers, and thinks, that on comparison, he will be found to paint better than Robertson, and to invest his story with a deeper interest.^a

317. James Usher, the friend of Camden and Cotton, a Professor of Divinity in the University of Dublin, was born in that city in 1581. He was eminently skilled in theology, Usher. and when the Irish Church determined in 1615 to assert its independence, Usher had the chief hand in drawing up its Articles. Their Calvinistic and evangelical tone exposed him to the charge of Puritanism—a charge strengthened by his low notions of the episcopal office. King James was so satisfied with his explanations on these points, that he raised him to the see of Meath, and afterwards to the Archbishopric of Armagh and Primacy of Ireland. In the Civil War he sided with the Royalists, and maintained the absolute unlawfulness of the struggle. The Irish Rebellion in 1641 drove him from his see: he found refuge, however, at Oxford with the king, and after a wandering life, died at Reigate in 1656.

His most celebrated work is his *Annals* (1650–1654), giving in two parts a chronological digest of universal history from the creation of the world to the times of Vespasian; a third part, intended to complete the history, he never finished. The volume was received throughout Europe with great applause, and its system of chronology is the system recognised in most histories. It is based for Scripture dates on the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, and fixes the three great epochs of the deluge, the exodus, and the return from Babylon in a way that is generally regarded as satisfactory. It must be added, however, that in profane history, dates are not easily fixed with entire accuracy before the Olympiads, nor in Scripture history before the building of the Temple (B.C. 1003): the duration of the antediluvian world, the period between the deluge and the call of Abraham, and between the exodus and the reign of Saul, are all uncertain, in consequence chiefly of the variations of reading of the Hebrew, Samaritan, and Septuagint texts. Still Usher's book is even in our

^a Hallam, iii., 148.

day the standard book, a decisive proof of its value. After his death, another work was published (1660) under the title of *Chronologia Sacra*, in which he investigates more fully Scripture chronology, and gives the grounds of the principal epochs which he had fixed in his *Annals*.

SECTION III.—THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

PHILOSOPHY, ETC.—*Science*: 318. State of, at the beginning of the Seventeenth Century. 319. Marked change in, by the end of the Century. 320. Bacon, his Life and chief Works. 321. Influence of his writings in England. Three methods of philosophising. The Royal Society. 322. Influence of his writings throughout Europe—on Physics. 323. On Mental Science. 324. On particular questions and on the Method of Study. 325. On Ethics. 326. His Essays. 327. Other Essayists—Jonson, Dekker, Earle, Overbury, Feltham, Browne, Clarendon, etc. *Physical Science*: 328. Boyle's writings and influence, Chemistry. 329. Ray. Natural History. 330. Grew, Botany. 331. Sydenham, Medical Science. 332. T. Burnet, as yet no Geology. 333. Newton, the System of the Universe, Optics, etc. 334. *Moral Science*: 335. Albericus Gentilis, Grotius. 336. Hobbes, and his influence. 337. Cudworth, Cumberland, Clarke. *Political Science*: 338. Harrington, Filmer, Sidney, Locke. 339. Thomas Mun, Child. 340. Locke on the Currency. 341. Others. *Mental Science*: 342. Stanley. 343. Gale, Cudworth, More, Norris. 344. Wallis, Aldrich (*Logic*). 343. Dalgarno, Wilkins (*Language*). 346. Locke—his works and influence.

HISTORY, ETC.—*Travels*: 347. Hakluyt. 348. Purchas. 349. Davis. 350. Sandys, Lithgow, Howell. *Antiquities*: 351. Selden. 352. Dugdale, Ashmole. 353. Wood, Rymer. *Contemporary Memoirs*, more or less political. 354. May, Whitelocke. 355. Clarendon. 356. Burnett. 357. *Other Histories*, more or less polemical: Spotiswood, Calderwood. 358. Echar, Oldmixon. 359. Collier, Neal, and others. 360. *Non-polemical Biographies and Histories*: 361. Walton. 362. Thomas Fuller. 363. Strype. 364. Evelyn. 365. Grammont. 366. Pepys. 367. Pri-deaux, Potter, Kennet. 368. Newspapers.

MISCELLANEOUS LEARNING.—369. Foundation of the Bodleian. 370. State of Learning at Oxford, especially of Hebrew and Oriental Languages. Authorised Version of the Bible, 1611. Polyglots: Complutensian, Antwerp and London. Commentaries on Scripture. Critici Sacri' Poli Synopsis. 371. Spencer, Pococke, Hyde. Classical learning of Gataker and others. 372. Bentley, C. Boyle. Epistles of Phalaris. 373. Temple, Swift, W. Cotton. The Battle of the Books.

THEOLOGY.—374. Origin of Puritanism. 375. Hooper and his successors. 376. Reigns of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I. Laud. 377. Doctrinal Puritans. 378. Presbyterianism. 379. Independency. Savoy Conference. Other Sects. 380. The Latitudinarians. The Non-jurors. 381. Connexion of these facts with the History of Literature.

382. Theology at *Cambridge*: Sibbes, Preston, Gouge, Mede, Calamy, Clarke, Arrowsmith, Sheppard, Whately, Scudder, Hildersham, Ames, Davenant, Burroughs, Pearson, D. Clarkson, Trueman, Charnock, Marshall, Bale, Gurnall, Whichcote, Culverwell, John Smith, Worthington.

383. Theology at *Oxford*: Ball, Bolton, Caryl, Manton, Flavel, Owen, Gale, Goodwin, Alleine, etc.

384. Preachers in *London*: Episcopalian and Nonconformist. 385. Owen. 386. Howe. 387. Sameness of human nature and of religious errors. Chillingworth. 388. John Hales. 389. Archbishop Leighton. 390. Jeremy Taylor. 391. Isaac Barrow. 392. Preaching in the Seventeenth Century: Influence of South and Tillotson. 393. South. 394. Tillotson. 395. Hale, Stillingfleet, Sherlock, Henry, Fox, Barclay, Penn. 396. Scholarship: Hammond and others. 397. Scotch writers: Rutherford, Traill, Halyburton, Boston. 398. Baxter. 399. Bunyan. 400. Questions settled: the supremacy of Scripture, and forgiveness through free and righteous mercy.

318. There was little or no science in England, and there are therefore no treatises on science, till the seventeenth century;

all departments—physics, mental science, ethics,
 Science in 1600. politics—are alike barren. In the fifteenth and six-

teenth centuries some great truths had been discovered. Algebra had been introduced into Europe from Arabia, and the first printed book upon it had been published towards the close of the fifteenth century. Leonardo da Vinci, the painter and engineer (1452-1519), had taught Europe the study of rational mechanics for the first time, apparently, since the days of Archimedes. Copernicus had just announced and defended the true system of the world. Towards the close of the fifteenth century Kepler and Galileo had applied the method of observation to investigation of nature, and had reached some generalisations which are still associated with their names. Paracelsus (1493-1540) had succeeded in directing attention to chemistry, and had begun to apply it experimentally to the treatment of disease. In our own country, Napier, of Merchiston, (1550-1617), had recently invented logarithms, and had made

considerable improvements in trigonometry. Dr. Gilbert (1540-1603) had discovered some of the properties of the loadstone, and had enabled Lord Bacon to appeal to him as an example of the wisdom of founding philosophical theories on experiment. But these facts are exceptional and isolated—there was as yet no science.

319. A hundred years later—at the close of the seventeenth century—there was a marvellous change. Observation and experiment were recognised as essential to all progress in natural knowledge : mathematical science had been enriched with some of its noblest treasures, and had been applied with great skill to mechanics and physics : the grandest mechanical theory of any age—that of gravitation—had been established and applied to the explanation of both earthly and heavenly phenomena. While men were questioning Nature in all her departments as to her facts and laws, the foundation of the modern science of ethics had been laid. Politics had risen to the dignity of a philosophy, though still largely speculative, and the science of the human mind was studied anew under the guidance of individual consciousness as well as of the recorded experience of the past.

These changes are owing chiefly to the influence of Bacon : in physics to Boyle, and especially to Isaac Newton and his colleagues, Hooke, Barrow, Cotes, Brook Taylor, and Halley ; in ethics to Hobbes, Cumberland, Cudworth, More, Clarke, and Shaftesbury ; in politics to Harrington, Sidney, and Locke ; and in mental science to Locke, in some sense the founder in England of inductive psychology.

320. The political life of Francis Bacon (1561-1627) is not one upon which the reader dwells with satisfaction. He was the son of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper in the reign of Elizabeth, and the nephew of Burleigh. Sir Nicholas was a sample of the statesmen whom the queen delighted to honour—men of practical wisdom and of great moderation in their religious opinions. From his early boyhood, Bacon showed such vivacity of mind and sedateness of manner, that Elizabeth used to call him her young Lord Keeper. At thirteen he was sent to Cambridge, and at sixteen he had already quarrelled with

the philosophy of Aristotle, 'not,' as he was wont to say, 'for the worthlessness of the author, who possessed all high attributes, but for the unfruitfulness of his method, a method rich only in disputation, but barren of works for the benefit of the life of man.' After finishing his studies, his father sent him abroad, and he visited France, Germany, and Italy, settling for some time at Poitiers. The death of his father in 1579 compelled him to return and to enter upon some profession. He seems to have felt his proper calling to be philosophy, but after in vain pressing his kinsman, Burleigh, to give him some place under government he devoted himself to the law, and entered at Gray's Inn. He soon became eminent as an advocate, though both Lord Burleigh and his son, Robert Cecil, refused to help him, on the plea that he was too fond of books and theories to make a useful public servant. The help which his uncle and cousin refused he soon obtained from the generosity and affection of the Earl of Essex, who attempted to secure for him the post of solicitor-general, and presented him with a considerable estate.

On the death of Elizabeth in 1603, his position improved. He was now attached to Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, had been knighted at the coronation of James, and was just married to the daughter of a London alderman—a lady of some fortune. He had been already for some years in Parliament, and was elected in 1592 member for Middlesex. As a parliamentary orator he was warmly praised by Ben Jonson, who often heard him. At length, in 1617, he obtained the object of his ambition, and was made Lord Chancellor, with the title of Baron Verulam, and three years afterwards he became Viscount St. Albans. When attorney-general, he had to prosecute Essex, his former patron, for high treason, and conducted the prosecution with more earnestness and bitterness than were welcome to on-lookers. As chancellor, he is accused of allowing Villiers to influence the proceedings of his court, and is charged with receiving large sums of money from suitors. He pleaded guilty to three-and-twenty charges, was fined 40,000*l.*, deprived of his chancellorship, made incapable of holding office under the crown, and imprisoned during the king's pleasure. Every part of this sentence the king remitted; but Bacon was a broken-hearted man, struggled with pecuniary difficulties for five years, and died in 1626, struck with a fever caught while making some experiments. He was buried at St. Albans.

His personal character has had many defenders. Among the earliest was Rawley, his biographer; among the latter, Montagu, Spedding, and Dixon. On the other hand he has been severely condemned by Hume, Hallam, Lingard, Macaulay, and Campbell. Many of the charges against him are unfounded, and others of them are greatly exaggerated; yet when we think of his intellect, the beauty and truthfulness of his writings, we long to find in the man more nobleness and independence: he is far from deserving Pope's censure, but we still miss the great and heroic qualities with which our reverence would fain clothe him.

During his public life, his ripest and best thoughts were given to literature. In 1597, he published the first edition of his *Essays*; the last edition appearing in 1625. These short papers, as he himself says, 'coming home to men's business and bosoms, and 'like the late new half-pence, of which the pieces are small, but the silver is good.' The subjects are of great variety and interest, and in the handling of them there is a singular combination of the imaginative and the intellectual, condensed brilliancy of illustration with profundity of thought. Like Shakespeare, Bacon is at once 'the richest and the most concise' of our authors. 'The volume may be read,' says Mr. Stewart, 'in a few hours, and yet after the twentieth perusal, one seldom fails to remark in it something overlooked before.'

In 1605 he published another work still popular, *Of the Proficiency and Advancement of Learning*: it was afterwards enlarged and published in Latin under the title, *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, constituting the introduction to his great work, the *Instauratio Scientiarum*, i. e., the Institution of the Sciences. The first part of the intended treatise, 'On the Classification of the Sciences,' was never written: the second part, called the *Novum Organum*, is the work on which his reputation as a philosopher chiefly rests. It is written in Latin, and first appeared in 1620; it consists of a number of *Aphorisms*, in which the principles and importance of the inductive method are laid down and demonstrated. The third part of the *Instauratio* is the *Historia Naturalis*—the 'collection of materials' out of which the glorious building of true science is to be reared: of this Bacon's *Sylva Sylvarum* is a specimen. To this department of the Inductive Philosophy Bacon himself contributed also the *History of the Winds*, *Of Life and Death*—illustrations at once of the need of his method and of

his admirable adaptedness to natural science. The fourth part is called *Scala Intellectus*, the ladder of the mind, or the *Thread of the Labyrinth*, indicating the steps whereby the mind is trained for such work, whereby it is kept from wandering into dangerous paths. Two other parts projected by the author were never completed—‘Conjectural Results’ hereafter to be verified; ‘Practical Results’ or science applied to ‘the endowment of man’s life with new commodities.’ His *Wisdom of the Ancients* appeared in 1610, and is an ingenious attempt to discover secret meanings in the mythological fables of antiquity. His *New Atlantis* is intended to represent the studies and successes of the coming scientific millennium, and is important as having suggested, it is said, the formation of the Royal Society.

His style is unsurpassed for brilliancy, richness, and expressiveness of imagery, and at the same time for conciseness and point: the thought is nearly always just, and often profound. His better and more important works may be briefly described as books of ‘philosophy, practical or scientific, with all the splendour, but with none of the vagueness of poetry.’

321. To form a just estimate of the influence of Bacon’s writings, it is necessary to keep in mind the methods of investigating truth prevalent before the publication of them. These methods he has himself classified as the sophistical, the empirical, and the superstitious. In sophistical methods, experience was but partially consulted, as in the scientific treatises of Aristotle, or was wholly neglected, as in the physical theories of the later schoolmen, its place being supplied by a verbal logic drawn from the philosophy of language or from the necessary conditions of human thought. In methods empirical, science was founded on a hasty generalisation of facts, as in the reasonings of Gilbert and Kepler; while in methods superstitious, philosophy was founded on theology, as in the physics of the Platonists and the earlier Schoolmen. It is true that towards the close of the sixteenth century the first and the third of these methods, and the systems that had originated in them, had become somewhat unpopular. The revival of Nominalism—a doctrine that involved an important truth on the origin of human knowledge, the success of the chemical and metallurgic arts, the general freedom of thought, all operated in

Influence of
his writings
in England.

undermining their authority; their errors had been detected by the discoveries of Fracasta and Kopernik, and were now being exposed with some bitterness by Ramus and Telesio, while Galileo, by his boldness and by his brilliant success, was giving to inductive inquiry an impulse which it had never yet experienced.^a

Still there was needed a master spirit, at once philosophical and practical, to raise the art of induction to the dignity of a science: it had been adopted from accident or from taste, it was now to be defended and applied on principle. And this is Bacon's merit—he was the first who taught accurately the philosophy, the importance, the method, and the extensive application of the inductive process, and is therefore justly regarded as the father of experimental science.

To the philosophy of induction a considerable part of the treatise *De Augmentis Scientiarum* and of the *Novum Organum* is devoted. After giving a sketch of the state of science in his own age, he proceeds to trace to their origin the perverse methods of philosophising that were then prevalent. He shows the folly of a blind reverence for antiquity 'in matters where our times are more ancient than those that were before us,' and of the use of logic not as a form of argument but in place of inquiry. 'The deficiencies' of the scholastic systems he proves from the confessions of their advocates, from the little progress that men had made in the knowledge of nature, and from the 'barrenness' of practical results. Finding that in these respects there was nothing but failure, he concluded that 'science must be advanced on other principles.'

The defence that Bacon has given of his own method is founded partly on the admitted need of some change, but still more on arguments drawn from the nature of the mind. His whole system was made to rest indeed on two truths—the first, that man's knowledge of external things is dependent on observation; the second, that true science requires the harmonious exercise of all his powers.^b

For his remarks on induction, on the rules he has given for its guidance, and on its extension to all the sciences whose defi-

^a See Drinkwater's *Lives of Galileo and Kepler*—two of the finest pieces of scientific biography in our language.

^b 'The analysis of the human mind was Bacon's instrument, as geometry was Newton's.'—Guizot.

ciencies he has noted, the reader must examine the works of Bacon himself.*

In a very able paper of Lord Macaulay's, Bacon's Logic, the foundation of his fame according to Gassendi and his early admirers, is represented as of small value, for in it he 'only told men to do what they were all doing.' But this objection is not just: it has been urged in the same form by practical men against all systems of logic, of rhetoric, and of grammar, and might be urged with equal propriety against all treatises on art or practical science. It is in this case, moreover, inconsistent with facts. When Bacon appeared, men were not generally practising induction in the investigation of nature, whatever they might be doing in the business of life. The reasonings of the schoolmen to prove that the earth is spherical, and that the planets move round it in circular orbits, the decision of the doctors of Pisa in rejecting the evidence of their senses because they were able to quote against them chapter and verse from the writings of Aristotle, the notable section of Stubbe on the 'Deceitfulness of Telescopes,' his complaints of the changes in the methods of ratiocination, which 'certain arrogant and ignorant experimenters' had introduced, and of the 'fetters which had thus been prepared for all ingenuity and learning,' the terms of depreciation in which a host of writers speak of modern systems as for the most part 'artificial and pedantic' when compared with the 'simple and natural' science of earlier inquiries, all show how little homage was then paid to the award of experience. Appeals to phenomena were in fact as heterodox in physics as appeals to Scripture in questions of theology. Even when men appealed to nature and employed the inductive method, they needed a master to teach them the use of the instrument. No doubt unlettered men had used it in every age. In its simplest form it is described by Aristotle: Kepler gives a somewhat whimsical account of it and of his own improvements: by Galileo, an incomparably superior man, a few practical additions were made to it; but by Bacon, the instrument was minutely described, and men were urged to use it. It may be called the same tool in the hands of Kepler and of Wells, just as we speak of the steam-engine of the Marquis of Worcester and the steam-engine of Watt; but between the

* *De Aug.*, bk. iil., c. 4. *Novum Organum*, i., aph. 103-6, 127.

induction of the one and the induction of the other, there is as wide a difference as between the admirable paper of Wells on 'the theory of Dew' and the fortunate guesses and fantastic reasonings of Kepler on the 'Copernican system.'

It must not be supposed from this statement that Bacon's rules of induction form the most important part of his treatises. The first place is due really to his treatise *De Augmentis* (with the exception of the *Essays*, the most popular of all his works), and to the first book of the *Organum*. They contain his refutation of the errors of previous systems, his defence of induction, his announcement of its value as an instrument of inquiry, and his remarks on its application to all those sciences in which experience is the guide. Second to these in influence are the profound reflections with which his works abound on numerous questions of ethical and political philosophy, which, besides forming a treasure of moral and jurisprudential wisdom, stimulated the thought and suggested the inquiries of after times. For the rules of induction and a specimen of the application of them, the reader may refer with great advantage to the admirable treatise of Sir John Herschel.

322. The first practical effect of Bacon's writing was produced in this country in the department of physics. Meetings were held in the rooms of Dr. Wilkins, at Oxford, for the purpose of cultivating natural science and making experiments. Out of these meetings sprang the Royal Society (1638, chartered 1662); and the more important members, Wallis, Wilkins, Childrey, Boyle, Sprat, Digby, all recognised Bacon as practically their founder. Within forty years of Bacon's death, a Fellow of Sidney College, and author of a treatise *De plenitudine Mundi*, and a friend of Otto Guericke's, complained that in his time Bacon's authority in matters of science was supreme, and that his followers had become worshippers of those very *idola theatri* which he himself had condemned. The '*Baconical* philosopher' was now with the mere schoolmen a term of reproach.

On the continent of Europe the influence of Bacon's writings was earlier and wider than in England. Many treatises were written on his method, and academies were formed in Germany, Italy, Switzerland, Russia, and Sweden; and in nearly all their reports Bacon is ex-

Influence on
the continent.

pressly recognised as the master by whose precepts all experimental philosophers professed to be guided. In France his authority was very widely acknowledged during the first fifty years after the publication of the *Organum*. 'However numerous and important be the discoveries reserved for posterity,' it was said, 'it will always be just to say of *him*, that he laid the foundation of their success, so that the glory of this great man, so far from diminishing with the progress of time, is destined to receive perpetual increase.' So wrote Gassendi, 'the Bacon of France,' as Degerando calls him. Yet in France, the scholastic philosophy remained the ascendant system even after the publication of the philosophy of Newton, nor did it give place to the doctrines of Descartes till Newton had overturned them. The truth is, that for a hundred years after Bacon's death, his writings were more praised than read, and more read than practised—an inconsistency which D'Alembert ascribes to the peculiarities of the national character. 'Our nation,' he says, 'has a particular regard for novelties in matters of taste, but is extremely attached to old opinions in matters of science: whatever is of the sentimental kind must be obvious to us, and ceases to please if it do not strike us immediately; but the ardour with which we receive it presently cools, and we grow disgusted as soon as gratified. On the other hand, when we attain to possession after long meditation, we are desirous of making the enjoyment as lasting as the pursuit.'^a At length the *Letters of Voltaire on the English Nation*, the *Essays of Condillac*, the *Discourse of D'Alembert*, and the *Analysis of Bacon's Philosophy*, by Deluc, brought the inductive method more prominently into notice, and since the appearance of these works he has been studied and honoured as the author and restorer of inductive philosophy in that country.

323. The influence of Bacon's writings on the science of the mind has been more fully discussed by foreign writers than by Englishmen. Bonald, Degerando, Schlegel, and Cousin, all maintain that modern psychology owes much of its progress directly or indirectly to his writings. 'The philosophy of Locke,' says Degerando, 'ought to have been called the philosophy of Bacon;' and for this reason,

On mental science.

^a *Discours Préliminaire.*

that the great principle of modern psychology is in fact the very principle on which Bacon has founded his entire system. He tells us again and again that experience exterior and interior, that is, in the phraseology of Locke, sensation or reflection, is the only origin of human knowledge, and that if men look for the truths of science, either physical or psychological, in the 'dreams of their own fancy,' their attempts to discover truth will be entirely futile. 'Francis Bacon thought thus: Man, the minister of nature, understands as much as his observation of it, either with regard to things or the mind, permits him, and neither knows nor is capable of more.'

Bacon's first scholars, Hobbes in England, and Gassendi and afterwards Condillac in France, traced too much to 'exterior experience,' pure sensation. Locke himself appealed to sensation and reflection, and all regarded Bacon as their master. 'I humbly beseech Mr. Locke,' writes one of his ablest opponents, 'that he would unbiassedly consider whether (since he cannot suspect his own excellent parts) this new way of philosophising be not the sole cause of all his mistakes.' This 'new way' the same writer characterised in a work, published in the preceding year, 'as the experimental method, whose author is that great man, Sir Francis Bacon; but which is now demonstrated to be false, both by the confessions of its followers and by the difficulties which of necessity adhere to it.'

324. Besides the advantages which the early diffusion of the method of Bacon has conferred upon the science of the mind, he has given one of the best illustrations of the cautious and sober spirit in which such subjects should be investigated. Himself possessed of the brightest fancy, he has employed it only in the *illustration* of truth: he infused the very spirit of poetry into his description of facts, but in his examination of them, he was guided solely by the spirit of the inductive system. His remarks on the scholastic discussions as to the nature of the mind, on the limits of its faculties, on the respective provinces of reason and faith in matters of revelation, may be referred to in proof: they have tended to promote a spirit of submission, they have diminished

* *Solid-Philosophy Asserted*, by J. S., London, 1697. *Method of Science*, by John Smith, London, 1696

the labour of discovery by confining inquiry within narrower bounds, and have thus saved an incredible waste of effort which had previously been expended on useless or irreverent speculation. It is this quality of the spirit of Bacon which modern readers notice in the theological writings of Butler and of Chalmers.

Nor should we omit to notice the influence of his writings on the progress of an inquiry into questions not immediately connected with the method of science. His observations for example on the power of words are familiar to most readers: their originality and importance are less known. It is remarkable that among all the treatises of the ancient metaphysicians there is not one on this subject. Bacon was literally the first to point out the evils resulting from the abuse of words and from their reaction upon the mind. Locke and Leibnitz carried out his suggestions, and analysed about the same time the prejudices to which Bacon had referred. Condillac, professedly following in the footsteps of Locke, prosecuted the subject to a greater extent than his master, and with still greater success. He explained the use of analogy in the terms of mental philosophy, and illustrated the connection between precision in the language of science and distinct consistent apprehensions of truth. One of the completest modern books on this subject is that of Degerando, *On Signs viewed in relation to our Intellectual Operations*, in which he has done ample justice to Bacon. Hobbes in several of his treatises, Harris in his *Hermes* (1757), and more recently, in another department, Dr. Whately and Dr. Hampden, have also called attention to this most important of logical questions.^a

325. The influence of the writings of Bacon on ethical science was owing partly to his incidental allusions to the subject, partly to the stress he laid upon the necessity of attending
 On ethics. to practical virtue, and partly to his general method. Descartes published his *Discourse on the Passions*, the notion of which he took from the *De Augmentis*, and several books were

^a It is a proof of the influence of Bacon, that by 1665 his treatise *De Augmentis* had gone through eighteen editions, of which eight were printed abroad: by 1669 the *New Atlantis* had gone through

seventeen, seven of which were printed abroad: by 1677 the *Novum Organum* had gone through nine editions, six of which were printed in England.

published in Germany with the same practical object in view, all suggested by Bacon's works. In 1696, Werenfeld published his *Georgics of the Mind; or, Practical Pathology*, the idea of which was taken, as the title indicates, from the *De Augmentis*: he also tells us in the preface that Gassendi, More, Malebranche, were all more or less indebted to Bacon, though they had not thought it necessary to acknowledge their obligations. Several books were also written applying his method to ethics. In 1677 while More and Cudworth were reviving in England the Platonism of Alexandria, Placcius, Professor of Moral Philosophy at Hamburg, published a work in which he sketches the history of moral science, and gives rules for collecting facts with a view to the discovery of new or sounder principles. It was not however till the next century, that the method of observation had superseded in ethics the older methods of the schools.

326. The *Essays* of Bacon are a good specimen of his moral writings, and had extensive literary influence of another kind; they belong to a class of literature then new in our language—collections of short condensed reflections on moral prudence, character, and manners. The volume was first published in 1597, and contained only ten essays, all much briefer than in their present form: others were added in 1612; and the whole were enlarged in 1625. Bacon himself describes them as 'brief notes set down rather significantly than curiously,' and calls them modestly *Essays*—a late word, he adds, though the thing is ancient, 'dispersed meditations' being found in Seneca's *Epistles* and elsewhere. Their excellence is admitted on all hands: Voltaire, Johnson, Burke, Stewart, Mackintosh, Hallam, all have praised them. 'They are deeper,' says Hallam, 'and more discriminating than any earlier and almost than any later work in the English language, full of recondite observation, long matured and carefully sifted. It is true that we might wish for more vivacity and ease . . . The sentences have also too apothegmatic a form and want coherence . . . but it is from this condensation, from this gravity, that the work derives its peculiar impressiveness . . . it might be introduced into a sound method of education, one that should make wisdom rather than mere knowledge its object, and might become a text-book of exa-

Bacon's
essays.

mination in our schools.^a It became at once popular, and by 1632 had passed through a dozen editions.[†]

327. The *Essays* originated a style of composition of great interest, but not always possessing the same qualities. Their peculiarity is that they are eminently practical: sometimes they describe human nature, and so sketch character; but they often dissect it, and so become philosophical, and occasionally sarcastic: oftener than either they give counsels and aim to improve it. In all these qualities they had imitators: writers on manners, character, moral prudence, and social life.

Ben Jonson, Bacon's friend and admirer, was among the first: he wrote, *Timber; or, Discoveries made upon Man and Matter*, partly a collection of moral remarks—unconnected, judicious, sometimes severe—and partly of literary criticisms; the only book indeed on criticism in the first half of the seventeenth century. The style is vigorous and suggestive, but the thought commonplace. Thomas Dekker, the dramatist, published several prose works, of which the *Gull's Horn Book* (1609) describes the follies of the town, and seeks to expose them to ridicule. In 1628 John Earle, Chaplain and Tutor of Prince Charles, and after the Restoration, Bishop of Worcester and subsequently of Salisbury, published anonymously, *Microcosmographia; or the Ways of the World discovered in Essays and Characters*. The characters are sketched with great acuteness and humour, though the style is disfigured with the affectation of the age. The chapter on *The Sceptic* is one of the best known, and the whole book has additional value from the light it throws incidentally on the manners of the times. Earle had been preceded in this style of sketching by Sir Thomas Overbury, who was poisoned in the Tower in 1613. His *Characters; or, Witty Descriptions of the Properties of sundry Persons*, are often very happy. Every sentence is meant to have a point or to be a witticism. There is nothing profound or striking in the sentiment, which is often little better than a conceit; but the book shows graphic skill, and occasionally beauty of imagery. Cowley's *Essays* deserve mention as among the earliest models of good prose writing; his *Essay on Cromwell* especially, is easy and graceful throughout, with the exception of the close. The quaint

^a Hallam, II., 515.

[†] An admirable edition with notes has recently been edited by Archbishop Whately

antithetic style which he uses in his poetry is here dropped, and he gives thought an expression alike natural and flowing. To Owen Feltham we are indebted for a book very popular in its day, the *Resolves*, the first part of which appeared in 1627, and the second about thirty years later. The volume contains the moral reflections of an earnest and thoughtful mind; and though Hallam complains of the style as wanting in elegance and vigour, and as full of words unauthorised by any usage, he admits that there is pervading the book a certain contemplative sadness that is agreeable: others find there occasional picturesqueness of expression, and a fine vein of thought.

The *Religio Medici* (a physician's religion), of Sir Thomas Browne (1605-1682), is another specimen of the same style. It was published in 1642, and raised its author, who had recently settled as a physician at Norwich, to great fame. It became widely popular, and was soon translated into several languages, 'exciting the attention of the public by the novelty of the paradoxes, the dignity of the sentiment, the multitude of the allusions, the subtlety of the disquisitions, and the strength of the language.'^a The author gives himself, as Coleridge notes, with the utmost entireness to his subject, and never wanders. He is full of 'good thoughts and conceits, all set off with a diction truly magnificent though hyper-latinistic.' In religious questions he is sometimes disposed to be sceptical, sometimes paradoxical, oftener credulous. Belonging to a class then numerous, who halted between Popery and Protestantism, there is in his writing a measure of vacillation that probably represented exactly the state of his mind. His best work is his *Urn Burial*, rich in ideality of style and in whimsicalness of fancy. A collection of brief essays entitled *Christian Morals*, was published in 1726, and later, Johnson prefixed to it a life of the author.

To this list others may be added. The *Meditations* of Joseph Hall, Bishop of Norwich, 'the English Seneca,' are alike rich in imagery, and sententious in expression. The *Table Talk* of Selden abounds in bright sallies of shrewd racy thoughts. The *Brief Discourse concerning the different Wits of Men*, published by Dr. Charleton (1619-1707), the friend of Hobbes, and the physician of Charles II., gives some lively sketches of character,

^a Dr. Johnson.

and ascribes the differences between men to the form and size of their brains. In Scotland Sir George Mackenzie (1636-1697), Lord Advocate under Charles II. and James II., is author of moral essays on *Happiness*, *The Religious Stoic*, etc., that are good models of pure English. He and Evelyn both wrote on the comparative advantages of solitary and public life, taking opposite sides. Nor are the *Essays* of Clarendon and the prose sketches of Samuel Butler unworthy of the fame of their authors in other departments.

It is hardly fitting to place in this list *The Anatomy of Melancholy* by Robert Burton. The work seems a scholar's commonplace book, a collection of *adversaria*; yet as it abounds in observations on life and books it may be reckoned among essays. Burton was born at Lindley in Leicestershire (1576-1640), studied at Christ Church, Oxford, and became rector of Seagrave. He resided, however, at his college, and 'led a monastic life,' a mere spectator of other men's fortunes and adventures. His work *The Anatomy of Melancholy by Democritus, Jun.*, was published in 1621. It is devoted to the discussion of all the forms of the disease it treats of, and the methods of cure which imagination and experience have suggested. The whole is interspersed with learned quotations, and abounds in shrewd and amusing remarks. It was at once successful, and made the fortune of the publisher. Warton praises its 'variety of learning,' 'its rude wit and shapeless elegance,' 'its agreeable tales,' and 'its uncommon quaintness of style.' Johnson testifies that it is 'the only book that ever took him from his bed sooner than he wished,' and Byron calls it 'the most amusing and instructive medley of quotations and classical anecdotes' he ever perused.

Prefixed to the *Anatomy* is a poem of twelve stanzas on melancholy, from which Milton borrowed some of the imagery of *Il Penseroso*: and in 1798 Dr. Ferriar of Manchester created some sensation by showing that Sterne had copied passages verbatim without acknowledgment. To many other authors it is thought to have supplied materials of easy and cheap scholarship.

Burton, who believed in astrology, foretold the time of his own decease and fulfilled his prediction: a circumstance, to which his epitaph, written by himself, alludes, when it speaks of him as owing 'to Melancholy, Life and Death.' He was buried in the Cathedral at Oxford.

328. The most eminent of Bacon's early disciples in England was Robert Boyle (1627-1691), son of the Earl of Cork. He was educated at Eton and Geneva, and settled in England in 1644, where he devoted himself to chemistry and natural philosophy. His works fill six quarto volumes, two-thirds of which consist of accounts of his experimental researches in those sciences: the rest consist of theological pieces on *The Style of Scripture*, on *The Reconcilableness of Reason and Religion*, on *Seraphic Love*, on *Final Causes*, and on *The Christian Virtuoso*, in which he shows that 'a man addicted to natural philosophy is rather assisted than indisposed thereby to be a good Christian.' A youthful work in an essay form published in 1665, and entitled *Occasional Reflections on several Subjects*, excited Swift's ridicule, and it certainly wants the taste and judgment of his later writings. His interest in religion is shown by the time and the money he gave to the propagation of the Gospel and the translation of Scripture,^a and by his will, in which he provides for the delivery of eight sermons yearly in London for proving the truth of the Christian faith, though the preacher 'is not to discuss the controversies that are among Christians themselves.' His religious writings have considerable value, and the style is clear and precise. His *Discourse on Final Causes* modifies the impression which some remarks of Bacon were likely to produce. Bacon had asserted that the study of final causes was often mischievous to science: he had noted that men are apt to consider the reasons for an arrangement before they have fully ascertained what the arrangement is, and that, having once settled the reason, further inquiry into the arrangement seems to them a denial of the wisdom and goodness of the Creator in making it. More and Cudworth both blamed Bacon as if he had questioned the doctrine of final causes itself. The Cartesians had denied the doctrine, holding that no adaptation of means to ends in the universe gives proof of an intelligent Providence. Boyle sought to correct this mistake, and took a wider view than previous writers had taken. He held that there was probably design everywhere, and that in many cases familiar to us we could cite proofs of it, either in adaptation

^a He largely aided Elyot and Seaman in providing translations of the *New Testament* for the Indians and the Turks.

to individual happiness or to great cosmical ends, the former referring to men, and the latter to the creation at large.

Born the year of Bacon's death, Boyle has been spoken of as designed to succeed him in his great work. And he is his successor,—not indeed in grasp and comprehensiveness of intellect, but in the patient and successful pursuit of experimental truth. In natural philosophy he made several important discoveries. To him we owe the improvement of the air-pump and the announcement of the law of the elasticity of the air. His chief honour, however, is that he was the first to direct attention to chemistry as the science of the atomic constituents of bodies. In his *Sceptical Chemist* (1661), he taught that the 'four elements' of the Peripatetics have no existence as such, and that the true elements of bodies are atoms of different sizes and shapes, the doctrine in substance of our own time.

329. What Boyle did for chemistry was done for natural history by his colleague in the Royal Society, John Ray (1628–1705), the son of an Essex blacksmith. Hitherto Ray.

natural history had been merely descriptive, was unaided by anatomy, and was not entitled to be regarded as a science. Ray commenced his work by publishing the *History of Birds* (1676), and the *History of Fishes* (1686), of his friend Willoughby, with whom he had travelled through part of Europe: his own book, the *Synopsis Methodica*, did not appear till 1693. Animals he divided into those with blood and those without blood, the former breathing through lungs and the latter through gills; the cetacea he knew to be blooded animals, but out of deference for popular impressions he reckoned them among fishes. He further divided them into viviparous and oviparous. Quadrupeds he classified according to their claws or hoofs or teeth: while he carefully recommended the study of comparative anatomy as the commencement of all accurate knowledge. In all these respects he may claim to be the founder of modern natural science.

For his popular fame Ray is chiefly indebted to a treatise published in 1691, and entitled *The Wisdom and Goodness of God manifested in Creation*. The book was rapidly republished, and was translated into French, German, and Dutch. Boyle, Stillingfleet, and Wilkins had all called attention to the marks of design in nature; but Ray was the first to systematise the subject, and

to make it intelligible to the common reader. Herein, indeed, he anticipates Paley, whose admirable work on *Natural Theology* was suggested by Ray's volume, from which he has taken some of his most striking illustrations.

In 1672 Ray published a collection of English proverbs, and in 1700 *Persuasive to a Holy Life*. His *Collection of English Words not generally used* (1674) is a valuable contribution to our philological stores.

330. Nor ought the name of Nehemiah Grew (1628-1711) to be omitted from this list. He was born at Coventry, and educated as a physician. In 1677 he was elected Secretary of the Royal Society, and was much esteemed both for piety and for learning. To him we owe the commencement in this country of the science of botany. In 1682 he published his *Anatomy of Plants*, and in that and subsequent works has carried observation so far that comparatively few discoveries of importance in the mere anatomy of plants have been made since his time. His great discovery is the sexual system of plants. In 1701 he published the *Cosmographia Sacra; or, A Discourse of the Universe as the Creature and Kingdom of God*.

331. Among the first of physicians who applied the Baconian principles of philosophy to medicine Hallam reckons Thomas Sydenham, the friend of Locke (1624-1689). Paracelsus had suggested the application of chemistry to the cure of disease, and his disciple Van Helmont, and Sylvius, the founder of the Chemicatrical School, had held that most diseases are results of excessive acidity in the human system, and must be cured by alkaline treatment, 'thus degrading the physician,' it was said, 'into a mere brewer.' A second school had sprung up in Italy, called the ratio-mathematical, which explained everything by static and hydraulic laws. The third was the experimental or empirical school, which held that till we knew more of disease and of the qualities of substances, it was the physician's business to use experience. This was Sydenham's principle, and he was himself unrivalled for the accuracy of his observations: fever and small-pox he is said to have treated with peculiar skill. About the same time the discovery of several new remedies, the Jesuits' or Peruvian bark especially, added to the credit of the

Empiricists. These remedies were unknown to previous physicians, nor could their efficacy be explained on any existing hypothesis.

332. Geology had as yet no existence as a science. The only treatise that professes to discuss it is *The Sacred Theory of the Earth*, by Dr. Thomas Burnet (1635-1715), Master of the Charter House and an able scholar. The first edition appeared in 1680, and was written in Latin; the second, in English, appeared in 1691. The book seems to have been suggested during a journey which the author made across the Alps and Apennines; and it professes to give an account 'of the original of the earth and of all the general changes it hath already undergone or is to undergo till the consummation of all things.' In a scientific point of view it is of no value, but it contains a good deal of vigorous writing. When describing the final conflagration of the world—an event that takes place in order that the surface of the earth may be reduced to smoothness, in preparation for the new world that is to arise out of the ruins—his language becomes magnificent: 'a funeral oration' it is, as Addison describes it, not unfit to be pronounced over the globe itself.

333. The first place among the followers of Bacon is due to Isaac Newton (1642-1727), who was born at Woolsthorpe, in Lincolnshire. From his childhood he showed a strong taste for mechanics, and at Trinity College, Cambridge, he made such progress that in 1669 Isaac Barrow, his tutor, resigned in his favour the Lucasian professorship of mathematics. In 1688 he was elected Member of Parliament for the University, an office he held during several Parliaments. In 1695 he was appointed Warden (and became afterwards Master) of the Mint. In 1703 he was made President of the Royal Society, receiving from Queen Anne, in 1705, the honour of knighthood. To his genius and sagacity the world owes some of the most splendid discoveries in mathematics and in natural philosophy—among the former the *Calculus* or *Fluxions*, and among the latter our knowledge of the law of gravitation and of the elements of light. The work on gravitation which explains mechanically the system of the universe, was written in Latin, and appeared in 1687 under the title of *Mathematical Principles*

of *Natural Philosophy* (*Philosophiæ Naturalis Principia Mathematica*). His other discoveries were made in the course of thirty years, and were published in his *Optics* (1704), a volume which was translated in 1706 into Latin by Dr. Clarke, to whom Newton presented 500*l*.

Like his countrymen Boyle, Ray, and Locke, Newton devoted much attention to theology as well as to natural science. Among a large number of papers which he left behind him two were published; one, *Observations on the Prophecies*, printed after his death, and the other *An Historical Account of Two Notable Corruptions of Scripture*, edited by Horsley in 1779. He wrote also some papers of value on ancient chronology.

The state of Newton's mind in the last years of his life has been a subject of some controversy: he seems to have suffered in 1692-1693 from mental depression, and it has been hinted by Biot that his powers were permanently impaired. It is remarkable that in this year he wrote, at the request of Dr. Bentley, his four letters *On the Existence of the Deity*, displaying great vigour and freshness. In recent times Sir David Brewster has established the fact that the illness was but temporary, and that towards the close of his life his mind possessed all the power that had ever distinguished it. He died in 1727, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. From a paper published for the first time in Brewster's *Life*, it seems that Newton adopted views on the person of Christ not unlike those held by Milton (par. 164).

Among the excellences of Newton's character was his humility and truthfulness. His epitaph speaks of him as 'the glory of human nature,' 'an intelligent, penetrating, and faithful interpreter of nature, antiquity, and the sacred writings,' 'maintaining in his philosophy the majesty of the Supreme Being, and in his manners expressing the simplicity of the gospel.'

The more eminent of Newton's contemporaries were—in mathematics, Barrow, the Gregories, Maclaurin, Wallis, Whiston, Clarke, and Cotes; and in natural philosophy, Bishop Ward, Robert Halley, Hooke, Brooke Taylor, Bradley, Lord Brouncker, and Wren. The continental names of greatest eminence are Descartes and Leibnitz, with both of whom Newton's name is intimately associated—with the first in a controversy on the system of the world, with the second on the discovery of the calculus.

It deserves to be carefully marked that the men most illustrious

for philosophy in the seventeenth century—Bacon, Boyle, Ray, and Newton—were distinguished by their reverence for Scripture and devout submission to its lessons.

334. Moral science, in modern times, opens with the discussion of the rights of belligerents. Nor is it difficult to explain the connexion of these two subjects. The extension of Moral science. commerce and the increased intercourse of civilised nations in the sixteenth century made these rights of great importance, and to settle them it was necessary to consider those principles of equity, those *legum leges*, as Bacon had called them, which underlie all law.

335. The first treatise on this subject has been supposed to be that of Grotius, *De Jure Belli et Pacis*; but Albericus Gentilis (died 1611), who was driven from Italy for his attachment to the reformed faith, and who became in 1582 Professor of Civil Law at Oxford, published a book on the same subject in 1588-1589: he is, therefore, the precursor of Grotius by about forty years. To the settlement of these questions Bacon contributed by several pregnant passages on the principles of law, passages to which Mackintosh has alluded in his lectures *On the Law of Nature and of Nations*.

336. The first English writer on the subject of ethics after Bacon is Thomas Hobbes, who by the vigour, the novelty, and, it may be added, the heresies of his writings, directed Hobbes. the attention of all classes to mental, ethical, and political science. Hobbes was born at Malmesbury in 1588, and after studying at Oxford he became travelling tutor to Lord Cavendish, afterwards Earl of Devonshire. On his return to England he enjoyed the intimacy of Bacon, Lord Herbert, and Ben Jonson. After the death of his old pupil he travelled again with the new peer, and visited Pisa, where he formed the acquaintance of Galileo. In 1640, being a zealous royalist, he retired to Paris, where he lived on terms of friendship with Descartes, and where in 1647 he was appointed tutor to Prince Charles. Already he had begun a series of works on political and ethical questions. In 1642 he published, first in Latin and then in English, his *Philosophic Rudiments concerning Government*

and Society; the principles it maintains he more fully developed in his *Leviathan; or, the Matter, Form, and Power of the Commonwealth* (1651), having previously published in 1650 a small *Treatise on Human Nature*, and a book on the *Body Politic*, both of which are included in the *Leviathan*, though with several important omissions and additions. The religious sentiments of the *Leviathan*, as well as its political views, raised a great outcry against the author, and he was compelled to leave Paris. He retired to England, where he resided with the Devonshire family, and became intimate with Selden and Cowley. In 1654 appeared his *Letters on Liberty and Necessity*, in which he advocates the views of the philosophical necessitarian with great subtlety and power. His mathematical notions were less tenable: he had not begun that study till he was forty, and his mistakes created some ridicule: he strenuously held that he had discovered the quadrature of the circle; and though refuted, was never silenced on that question. On the Restoration he received a pension of 100*l.* a year from the king, but his chief works continued to provoke replies from all parties. Bishop Bramhall attacked his *Letters on Necessity*, Clarendon his political principles, Cudworth and Cumberland his ethical system. When upwards of eighty he translated the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. His translation of Thucydides, made in 1629, is still one of the best versions of that author: it was undertaken to promote his own views on the evils of popular rule. In 1674 Hobbes retired to Chatsworth, where he spent the rest of his life. He continued to write up to the close. Among the latest productions of his pen is the *Behemoth; or, the History of the Civil War* from 1640 to 1660, published after his death, which took place in 1679. The titles of his books, the *Leviathan* and the *Behemoth*, are both intended to express the author's dread of an unruly people, which can be tamed, if at all, only by untempered despotism.

It is not easy to realise in our time the feelings which Hobbes' writings created in the seventeenth century among all classes: 'he was the terror of the last age,' says Warburton, 'as Tindall and Collins are of this.' Nor was the feeling unfounded. In *Ethics*, Hobbes held and taught that there is no natural distinction between right and wrong, and that both depend for their quality upon the will of the magistrate. In *Theology* he held that upon the same will all religious duty rests, that therefore every man is

bound in conscience to believe and obey whatever the magistrate ordains: persecution in favour of the religion of the State being part of the business of the government. In *Political Science* he held, as Locke afterwards held, that all men are created equal, and that prior to government they have equal rights to all the good things of the world: on the establishment of government, however, all natural rights cease; the ruling power is supreme, can do no wrong, and can be punished for no mis-government. All this he taught at a time when there were thousands who wished to raise the kingly office into despotism, to relax the obligations of morality, and to make religion a mere matter of state policy. He added that all men were influenced only by self-interest—all virtue being in his view simply love of power. The emotions of the heart he blotted out of the map of human nature, and ascribed all acts to intellectual deliberation alone, and maintained that in that deliberation men are to look only at their own interests. In *Mental Philosophy* he was a sensationist, holding that there is no conception in a man's 'mind which hath not at first totally or in part been begotten upon the organs of sense.'^a He adds indeed justly, that we have two kinds of knowledge—the one sense, or knowledge original and remembrance of the same; the other science, or knowledge of the truth of propositions derived from the understanding: only this last statement is qualified by the explanation that both kinds are but experience, one of things from without, the other derived from the proper use of words in language; and experience being but remembrance, all knowledge is remembrance. This is sensationism, and of the sensationalist school Hobbes is really the founder.

With all these errors and half truths there are in his writings several whole truths of great value. The theory of association of ideas, which Locke just touches upon in his *Essay*, and which Hartley has so fully developed, is clearly described by Hobbes in his *Treatise on Human Nature*.^b His remarks on the doctrine of necessity contain the germs of most of the arguments which Jonathan Edwards has so strikingly introduced into his book on *the Will*. On language as essential for purposes of logical reasoning, and on the relation between words and general notions

^a *Leviathan*, c. i.

^b Ch. iv., and in *Leviathan* iii.

he is a strong nominalist, and has stated the question as clearly as Whately. To him may be traced also what Stewart calls 'the philological materialism' of Horne Tooke: things are regarded as mere names, and the etymology of the name is regarded by both as an explanation of the thing itself. Thus Tooke thought that he had answered the great question of all ages, 'What is truth?' by saying simply, 'What each man troweth!' In his remarks on the aim of philosophy, namely, to ascertain the established connexion between events in order to determine their causes, he has anticipated the speculations of Dr. Thomas Brown, though he has avoided apparently the error of that eminent metaphysician when he seems to make cause to be simply 'stated antecedency.' His remarks on the incomprehensibility of God remind the reader very forcibly of the reasoning of Mr. Mansel: 'We use His name,' says he, 'not to make us conceive, for He is incomprehensible, and His greatness and power are inconceivable, but that we may know Him.' He has pushed this principle too far: indeed he seems disposed to materialise all intellectual processes, and when he fails to force things immaterial to our faculties into something imaginable, he is apt to reject them as unmeaning or as untrue. It is through this fault that he has been regarded as an atheist, though strictly speaking the charge is not true: yet if the being of God is admitted, he practically denies his character and rule; while his theory of virtue is altogether degrading in the highest degree.

His excellences are twofold. First, his philosophy is based professedly on observation alone. He is, as to time, the father of experimental psychology, though Locke claims that honour from the fact that his writings were more generally received and that they exerted wider influence. Secondly, his style is unrivalled: it is, as Mackintosh remarks, the perfection of didactic language, short, clear, precise, pithy: he has never more than one meaning, and that meaning never requires a second thought to find it. In this judgment Lord Macaulay concurs: his style, he adds, is more precise and luminous than has ever been employed by any other metaphysical writer.* It may be added that the reader finds endless amusement in the paradoxical sentiment and shrewd thoughts with which most of his works abound.

337. The chief opponents of Hobbes in ethical science were Cudworth, Cumberland, and Clarke. Ralph Cudworth (1617-1688) was one of the most eminent men educated at Cudworth.

the English universities during the rule of the Puritans, and was one of the leaders of the Latitudinarian or Arminian party—a party that included all shades of belief, though its leaders, Jeremy Taylor, Burnet, and others, were evangelical. By his *Intellectual System* (1678), the first portion of a much larger work, he attacked the Epicurean philosophy and its atheistic tendencies: the other two parts of this work were intended to prove the moral perfections of God and the freedom of human action, but they seem never to have been written. A posthumous volume on morals was published by Dr. Chandler, entitled *A Treatise concerning Eternal and Immutable Morality* (1731): in it he maintains against Hobbes that there are many conceptions discernible by the reason alone, and among them the conceptions of justice and duty: these conceptions he thinks eternal, existing from everlasting in the Divine mind, as indestructible and unchangeable as that mind itself. Bishop Richard Cumberland (1632-1718) was the only professed answerer of Hobbes, though both Cudworth and Clarke really wrote in reply to his theories. Cumberland calls his treatise *Laws of Nature*, and in it he seeks to establish the conclusions of Grotius, resting his defence of natural law not on authority, as Grotius did, but on benevolence and the desire of happiness, which he thinks are essential parts of man's nature. The work had the effect of introducing Grotius and Puffendorf into the universities of this country, where they became the text-books of ethical and political instruction. After some interval, Samuel Clarke (1675-1729), philologist, mathematician, and divine, resolved to demonstrate the attributes and being of God from a few axioms and definitions, in the manner of geometry. Whatever may be thought of the *a priori* argument, as it is called, for the being of God, it is certain that Clarke has based his ethical system on a just foundation: morality is in his view acting and feeling in harmony with the relations of things. Right reason is on its side, though probably most men will reach moral duties more easily in the method adopted by Butler. It is also to his honour that he defended the doctrine of moral liberty against the Fatalist school which Hobbes had fostered. Its real founder in that extreme

form was Spinoza, and one of its warmest supporters, Anthony Collins. Clarke, however, belongs really to the eighteenth century.

338. In the department of political science there were four other writers whose works originated in the civil struggle which Hobbes sought to control. Of these James Harrington (1611-1677) is the earliest. He was a pupil of Political science : Harrington. Chillingworth's, was one of the Parliamentary Commissioners during the Civil War, and apart from his politics, somewhat of a favourite with Charles I. His work is entitled *Oceana*, and was published in 1656. It is a political romance, giving the author's idea of a republic framed so as to secure the greatest amount of freedom and happiness. *Oceana* is England, and the Lord Archon is Cromwell, both being idealised so as to represent what they ought to be rather than what they really were. All power, he thinks, ought to originate in property, and chiefly in land (not, as Bacon had held, in knowledge), and to be proportionate to it: only an agrarian law must fix and maintain the proper balance of lands. The result of his proposed arrangement, however, if carried out, would be the establishment of an aristocracy, and not, in the modern sense, of a republic. To that age, when the plans of an imaginary republic were subjects of frequent debate, the *Oceana* was well adapted; and even in our own times it is admired as a work of genius and invention. 'The style, however, wants ease and fluency, but the goodness of the matter,' Hume adds, 'makes compensation.' At the Restoration Harrington was regarded with suspicion, and was imprisoned for a time. He died in 1677.

In 1680, Sir Robert Filmer published his *Patriarcha; or, The Natural Power of the Kings of England asserted*. He revived a theory which was a great favourite with King James, and which derives the power of the crown by paternal authority, from Adam and from God: he holds the 'right divine of kings' independently of the people's choice and in spite of any positive laws: he intimates that there is a wide-spread prejudice among both Papists and Protestants in favour of natural liberty, but denies that this doctrine is taught in the Fathers. The theory is admitted to be very questionable even as an exposition of the origin of civil communities as a reason why all actual sovereigns should reign

with untempered despotism it is monstrous, and the defence of it is certainly trifling and feeble.

The work was answered by Algernon Sidney (1621-1683), son of the Earl of Leicester, member of the Council of State on the deposition of Richard Cromwell, and a patriot whose character was without a flaw, till it appeared that he had accepted money from France in the hope of ultimately establishing his darling republic. His *Discourses on Government* first appeared in 1698, and in them the writer seeks to prove that Filmer 'has not used one argument that is not false, nor cited one author whom he has not perverted or abused.' The style is too diffuse, the volume forming a folio of four hundred and sixty-two pages, but the work would have retained a place in our literature if it had not been superseded by the treatise of Locke. Sidney does not condemn a limited monarchy, and the republic he prefers to it is really like that of Harrington—an aristocracy.

339. Both the philosophers and the 'merchant adventurers' of the seventeenth century turned attention to the subject of trade and national wealth. Several passages may be found in the works of Raleigh, Bacon, and Hobbes, and in books of travel of that age, bearing on these questions, and containing sometimes profound remarks on the whole subject, but oftener giving brief hints of a narrower range: on particular trades, the precious metals, and the laws affecting them, papers were also written by Raleigh, Evelyn, Josiah Tucker, and others,^a though the difficult subject of political economy as the science of national wealth belongs properly to the next century.

The first of the literary merchants who called attention to commercial questions was Thomas Mun. His work, *England's Treasure by Foreign Trade*, was not published till 1664, but must have been written more than thirty years before. Mun teaches that the great object of trade is to sell more to strangers yearly than we consume of theirs in return, the difference being paid in silver or gold: we must therefore sell as cheaply as possible, and the result will be increased trade and increased wealth. This is the principle or what has been called 'the mercantile system.' It seems never to have struck Mr. Mun that as our gold and silver increase,

^a See a valuable collection of papers edited by Lord Overstone.

the greater in money value will be the cost of production, unless, indeed, the community agree to lay up money and not to use it, when of course wealth itself becomes profitless. It is to Mun's credit, however, that he treats gold and silver as common articles of trade, and leaves their exportation to the operation of the common law of demand and supply.

In 1694,* Sir Josiah Child, the eminent banker, wrote *A Discourse of Trade*, to which he added a paper *Against Usury*.

The chief aim of this publication is to reduce the legal interest of money from six per cent. to four. Child. The argument is that all previous reductions had tended to the increase of trade and of wealth. It made all the difference of course whether previous reductions were natural or forced: low rates of interest that are consequences of abundant supplies of money do increase trade; forced low rates only promote violations of the law or send money into other channels. It required all the vigour of Bentham's intellect to make it clear that the price of money, like the price of everything else, should be left to the demand and supply; and even Adam Smith had to change his views on this question, convinced by the arguments of *The Defence of Usury*. An abler book than Child's, on the true principles of commerce, was Sir Dudley North's *Discourse on Trade* (1691).

340. Among the difficulties of the government of William III., the most serious were created by the scarcity of the precious metals and the depreciated condition of the currency.

The currency: Lowndes, the Secretary of the Treasury, supposed Locke.

that if the ounce of silver were coined into seven shillings instead of five, foreign nations would give us a proportionately larger quantity of silk and wine: could not the same principle be applied to the clipped coinage of the kingdom? if not, who is to replace it and bear the loss? It was reserved for Locke to settle these perplexed questions. In his *Considerations of the Consequences of lowering the Interest and raising the Value of Money* (1691), he lays down principles most of which are now generally received, and which were at the time of great importance. He seems to understand that while money is, by

* McCulloch says the *second* edition was published in 1690; *Pol. Econ.*, cap. i. 1694 is the date given in *Lowndes*.

its inconsumable nature and by the constancy of the demand for it, one of the most important articles of exchange, it is only an article of exchange. He was disposed to hold, in advance of his age, that the price of money should be left unfixed, and he protests against calling five shillings seven, on the ground that thereby every creditor will be robbed of so much of his debt, and on the further ground that no foreigner would give more for the nominal seven shillings than for the actual five. He suggested that the clipped money should be received by the Treasury for a time at its full nominal value, but that after that it should be taken only at its value by weight. These questions, though some of them are now regarded as creating no difficulty, originated scores of pamphlets, and even threatened the stability of the throne.

341. To the same century belong a number of statistical works, showing that political philosophers were at length beginning at the right end, not with general theorems to be applied to every new case, but with isolated details which were to be grouped and examined with a view to ascertain their principles. Among them may be reckoned Grant's *Observations on the Bills of Mortality* (1661), Sir William Petty's *Political Arithmetic* (1691), and Dr. Charles Davenant's *Essay on Ways and Means* (1693), and on various other questions connected with the trade and revenue of England.

342. Before giving an outline of the life and labours of Locke, there are a few names that claim notice in mental science.

In 1655, Thomas Stanley, D.D. (1625-1678), published his *History of Philosophy*, which comes down to the time of Carneades, the founder of the New Academy (B.C. 213). His work is chiefly biographical, and is derived largely from Diogenes Laertius: the account of Platonism is given from Alcinous—an independent expositor of his master's views; the account of the Peripatetic philosophy is taken from Aristotle; the doctrines of the Stoics and of the Epicureans being described from the independent inquiries of Stanley himself. The book belongs to mental science, but the author is rather a historian than a critic.

343. The *Court of the Gentiles*, published in 1669 by Theo-

philus Gale, is a work of much more learning, and aims to prove that all Gentile philosophy was borrowed from the
Gale.

Scriptures, or at least from the writings of the Jews. Gale has been called a Platonist, but he has no title to be regarded as belonging to that school, and makes morality dependent upon the will of God—a notion that Plato would certainly have repudiated. Cudworth's *Intellectual System* is also largely historical, the fourth chapter being devoted to proofs from general belief of the unity of a supreme God. The curious reader will note that his doctrine of plastic energy, the power whereby the Deity acts on matter, and which energy Cudworth seems often to regard as a sentient being, is a form of the *Demiurgic* doctrine of the old Christian heresies, as it is an anticipation of that 'vital force' to which some modern naturalists attribute the phenomena of animal and vegetable life. The tendency of modern philosophy, however, is to regard the true vital force of the universe as God himself, who alone has the unity of purpose, the power of causation, and the infinite intelligence which are required for His works, and are manifest in them.

Henry More and John Norris of Bemerton, deserve notice as two of the chief Platonists of the seventeenth century. More (1614-1687) held with Gale that the wisdom of the Hebrews had descended through Pythagoras to Plato, and that in the writings of that great master the true principles of philosophy were to be found. His treatise on *The Immortality of the Soul* (1659), his *Enchiridion Ethicum* and *Enchiridion Metaphysicum* are among his best-known treatises. Norris is the author of an *Essay on the Ideal World*, which however was not published till 1701-2. He is a writer of fine genius and noble sentiment. Both he and More are still better known as theologians.

344. In spite of the attacks on Aristotle by the advocates of the new philosophy, there were many who held that the disputations of the schools were the best discipline for young minds, and there were some who held that the old method of inquiry was the true one. The latter were attacked by Joseph Glanvil in his *Vanity of Dogmatising*, a work which had great popularity, and which is better known under the title of the second edition as the *Scep sis Scientifica* (1665). This treatise contains much on the new

Logic:
Glanvil.

philosophy that is just, but it is occasionally rhapsodical and extravagant. A surer means of promoting the proper use of logic was adopted by Wallis and Aldrich. In 1687 the former published his *Institutio Logica*, which he claims to be an improvement upon the common system: he thinks himself the first to treat singular propositions as universals, and has reduced hypothetical syllogisms to categorical by a method of his own. In 1691, a similar treatise, the *Compendium Artis Logicæ*, was published by Dr. Aldrich, Dean of Christ Church. Aldrich is eminent for music as well as for logic, and we owe to him about forty of our finest anthems.

345. The abuse of words and the classification of ideas, themes more or less touched upon in several of the treatises already mentioned, suggested to two ingenious men the notion of a universal language—the invention of signs that should represent to all nations the same thoughts, and that should moreover show the connexion of related thoughts. George Dalgarno, a native of Aberdeen, published his *Ars Signorum* in 1661, and dedicated it to Charles II. In 1668, Dr. Wilkins, Bishop of Chester, published his *Essay towards a Philosophical Language*, in which he sought the same results in a way somewhat more satisfactory. Both attempts were premature: things and ideas had not then been successfully examined or classified. Dalgarno's signs are simply combinations of the English alphabet with additions from the Greek: Wilkins' signs are arbitrary characters of greater variety and appropriateness. Whether the thought will ever be carried out, so as to form a really philosophic language, is very questionable. It is upon this classification and the use of appropriate signs that the instruction of the deaf and dumb is now made to depend. Dalgarno was probably the first to apply some such system to this practical and important work. It may be added that Dalgarno was the first English grammarian that traced all other parts of speech to the noun.^a

346. The English metaphysical writer most distinguished at once for originality and soundness is John Locke, a man equally

^a Hallam, iii., 363.

illustrious for simplicity of character and for devotion to the interests of freedom and of truth. He was born in 1632, and received the rudiments of his education at Westminster, and afterwards at Christ Church, Oxford, where he remained from 1651 to 1664. During this period he seems to have studied the Aristotelian philosophy, and, like Milton, grew disgusted with its verbal subtleties. He intended preparing for the medical profession, and must have made considerable progress in the science of medicine; but the delicacy of his own health compelled him to relinquish the design. After visiting Germany as the secretary of Sir Walter Vane, he returned to Oxford, and was offered by the Duke of Ormond preferment in the Irish Church. Like Milton he excused himself, not feeling sure that he was fit for that work, and being careful, as he himself tells us, not to engage in a calling 'wherein if one chance to be a bungler, there is no retreat.' In 1666 he made the acquaintance of Lord Ashley, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury, Chancellor, and head of the parliamentary opposition, and the author of the Habeas Corpus Act. The intimacy between them introduced Locke to Sheffield, to the Earl of Halifax, and to other wits of that age. While residing with Lord Ashley, Locke undertook the education first of his son and then of his grandson, the third earl, and known to us as an able philosophic writer of the reign of Queen Anne, the author of the *Characteristics*. When, in 1672, Lord Ashley became Chancellor, Locke received the appointment of Secretary of Presentations, but held it only till the following year, when his patron was deprived of the seals.

In 1675 Locke's state of health compelled him to visit France, and he spent some time at Montpellier, where he mingled in the literary society of the day. His letters written at this time are very animated and amusing. On the return of Shaftesbury to power in 1679, he was rejoined by Locke, but after a stormy agitation, created by the Exclusion Bill, both retired to Holland, where Shaftesbury died in 1683, and where Locke resided for some years, reckoning among his personal friends Le Clerc and Limborch. Here he published his *Letter concerning Toleration*, one of the most original and vigorous of his pieces. It appeared first in Latin, but was at once translated into French, Dutch, and English: three additional letters were afterwards

added in further defence of his views. At this time Locke was deprived of his studentship at Christ's Church, his liberal sentiments being obnoxious to that venerable body. The Revolution of 1688 witnessed the triumph of his principles, and restored him to his native land, to commence a public career of great usefulness and even brilliancy. Soon after his return he took an active part in carrying out the plan of the government for calling in and re-issuing the silver coinage—an operation which Macaulay has described with much power; and in 1695 he was made a member of the Board of Trade, though from ill health he had to resign that office. In 1690 he published his most celebrated work, the *Essay on the Human Understanding*, a treatise on which he had been engaged for eighteen years. About the same time appeared his two treatises on Civil Government in defence of the principles of the Revolution, or, as he himself expresses it, 'to establish the throne of our great restorer, King William, . . . and to justify to the world the people of England, whose love of their just and natural rights, which are essential to preserve them, saved the nation when it was on the very brink of slavery and ruin.' His other productions are *Thoughts concerning Education* (1693), a book in which he discountenances exclusive attention to philology as the means of disciplining the mind; *The Reasonableness of Christianity* (1695), with two *Vindications* of the work (1696), and an admirable little book on *The Conduct of the Understanding*, published after his death. Letters and miscellaneous pieces have since been published, some at the beginning of the last century, others in Lord King's *Life of Locke*. The last years of his life were spent at Oates, in Essex, the seat of Sir F. Masham, and were soothed by the affection and kindness of Lady Masham, the daughter of Cudworth. He died in 1704, in the seventy-second year of his age.

The influence of the writings of Locke it is difficult to over-estimate. His *Letter on Toleration* goes over, in part, the same ground as Milton's *Areopagitica*, and Jeremy Taylor's *Liberty of Prophesying*. Milton's argument is based largely on the majesty of truth, and on the solemn duty of men to follow wherever she leads. Jeremy Taylor insists on the justice of allowing diversity of religious opinions from the difficulty of ascertaining truth. Locke adopts the theory that government is essentially a compact for procuring, preserving, and advancing man's civil interests

only : this is its chief, if not its sole end, and it is wrong to sacrifice the primary end to ends that are secondary or even questionable. He therefore pleaded for the toleration of all modes of worship not immoral in themselves or involving doctrines directly inimical to the stability of the ruling power.

His two *Treatises on Civil Government* are devoted, the first to an examination of Filmer's arguments, and the second to the announcement and vindication of the principles on which he thinks government is founded. The state of nature is a state of equality and freedom, but of freedom within the bounds of natural law. This last is an important modification of the doctrine of Hobbes. The law of nature is binding, Locke holds, on all, and it is itself sufficient to prevent a state of nature from becoming a state of licence : it has force between men in their original condition, as, after societies have been formed, it has force between communities. Natural liberty being defined to be freedom from any superior power except the law of nature, civil liberty is freedom from any power except that which a legislature established by consent of the commonwealth has confirmed. The difficulty that men do not formally consent to the government under which they live, Locke meets by maintaining that the occupation of land, or even residence, within the jurisdiction of a community, is itself tacit consent. The parliament which declared the throne of James II. vacant, made the ground of their declaration that he had broken the social compact between himself and the people ; and Dr. Whewell has justly said, this phrase represents perhaps more accurately than any other 'the mutual relations of the governor and the governed, and of all classes to one another.'^a Whatever may be thought, however, of the soundness of Locke's theory—and it may be questioned whether even the Revolution would have stood the test which his theory implies—it is certain that his treatises exerted great influence on the history of both Europe and America, and that it changed the mode of thought and speech even among writers who did not accept his explanation of the facts.

His work on *Education*, which may be regarded as an introduction to the *Conduct of the Understanding*, contains sound principles. It is admitted to be too austere, and attaches to mere

^a *Moral Science*, ii., sec. 849.

education a greater power than facts justify. Hallam thinks it the source of nearly everything good that has been written upon this subject.

The *Conduct of the Understanding* was intended as a supplemental chapter to the *Essay*, and is regarded by Hallam as one of the best treatises that can be put into the hands of a youth when the reasoning faculties are being developed: it is adapted to foster a spirit of manly independence, blended with sufficient deference for the authority of great names.

The *Essay* of Locke is the work for which he is best known. It was at once frequently reprinted, and became the code of English philosophy. Its merits are threefold—first, that it is largely a system of inductive psychology based on observation, and that it introduced this method of philosophy to all classes. Hobbes, in England, had already acknowledged this principle, as had Descartes in France; but Locke adhered to the method more consistently than either of them, while the popularity of his writings on freedom and on religion gained for the *Essay* a celebrity greater than that of both his competitors: he is, therefore practically the founder of the experimental science of the mind in this country. The second excellence is that it is in its principles and aim substantially sound. Locke holds that all our *simple* ideas are derived from sensation and from reflection: on the first he is clear and consistent; on the second he is neither clear nor consistent. The misapprehension of his meaning did no doubt strengthen the sceptical tendencies of the following century, or, at all events, it supplied men of sceptical tendencies with arguments against the truth, and his writings have been quoted by his French followers in defence of pure sensationalism; but recent and candid interpreters are now agreed that Lockism is not sensationalism, but a combination of sensation and reason such as underlies most of the more trustworthy systems of modern times. It is but just to add that, while Locke's style is thoroughly idiomatic and familiar, and made so on principle, it is wanting in the precision so essential in metaphysical discussion: the ambiguity of his language has indeed done great mischief, both to the appreciation of his excellences, and to the truth he meant to defend. His third and chief excellence, however, is in the tendency of his works to exert a beneficial influence on the minds of his readers. 'Few books,' says Sir James Mackintosh, 'have contributed

more to rectify prejudice, to undermine established errors, to diffuse a just mode of thinking, to excite a fearless spirit of inquiry, and yet to confine it within the boundaries which nature has prescribed to the human understanding. An amendment of the general habits of thought is in most parts of knowledge an object as important as even the discovery of new truths, though it is not so palpable, nor in its nature so capable of being estimated by superficial observers. In the mental and moral world, which scarcely admits of anything which can be called discovery, the correction of the intellectual habits is probably the greatest service which can be rendered to science. In this respect the merit of Locke is unrivalled. His writings have diffused throughout the civilised world the love of civil liberty, the spirit of toleration and charity in religious differences, the disposition to reject whatever is obscure, fantastical, or hypothetical in speculation, to reduce verbal disputes to their proper value, to abandon problems which admit of no solution, to distrust whatever cannot be clearly expressed, to render theory the simple explanation of facts, and to prefer those studies which most directly contribute to human happiness. If Bacon first discovered the rules by which knowledge is improved, Locke has most contributed to make men observe them.'

347. Fifty years after the printing of Mandeville's *Travels* the spirit of commercial enterprise and of national activity, which belongs to the middle of the sixteenth century, *Travels.*

added greatly to our geographical knowledge. Expeditions were fitted out, sometimes by the State, and sometimes on private speculation, to find new openings for trade, and especially to discover a north-west passage to the Eastern hemisphere. The rivalry between England and Spain, and afterwards between England and Holland, produced a band of navigators whose skill and daring shown sometimes in commercial undertakings, sometimes in privateering, laid the foundation of that empire of the sea which England so long claimed. Drake, Frobisher, Davis, Raleigh, are all distinguished in this department. Their adventures contributed to the naval greatness of the country, and the record of them, often written in simple and picturesque language, began a branch of literature of deep interest to Englishmen—the

narrative of maritime discovery. It extends from Richard Hakluyt (1553-1616), Samuel Purchas (1577-1628), and John Davis (born 1595), down to the innumerable volumes of our own day—volumes which give the history of discovery in all lands, and in every sea.

Hakluyt was a Westminster boy, and was born in London in 1553. At Oxford he had a high reputation for linguistic and geographical learning, lectured on cosmography, and
 Hakluyt. corresponded with the eminent geographers, Ortelius and Mercator.* After acting for some years as Chaplain to the British Embassy at Paris, he was appointed by Raleigh one of the council to whom he assigned his patent for prosecuting discoveries in America. Between 1598 and 1600 he published his great work in three volumes, *The Principal Navigations and Discoveries of the English Nation, made by Sea or over Land, within these last Fifteen Hundred Years*. He also published translations of other geographical books, and on his death, in 1616, his numerous papers passed into Purchas' hands.

348. Purchas, himself a clergyman, had already published a volume entitled, *Purchas, his Pilgrimage; or, Relations of the World, and the Religions observed in all Ages and Places discovered from the Creation unto this present*
 Purchas. (1613-1626). On obtaining Hakluyt's papers he compiled a history of voyages in four volumes, *Purchas, his Pilgrimes*, which was published in 1625. These five volumes contain many papers of great value, and have been of much utility to later writers. It is a peculiarity of the author that he mingles largely theological reflections and discussions with his narratives. He professes to have consulted twelve hundred authors: his knowledge is less accurate but more comprehensive than Hakluyt's. Purchas wrote also the *Microcosmos; or, The History of Man* (1619), and some other pieces. He died in 1628.

349. Davis was a daring and skilful navigator, as well as historian of his own discoveries. He was one of the Devonshire
 Davis. men who threw such glory on the age of Elizabeth. In 1585 he sailed for the North Sea, hoping to reach

* A line map found in a few of the copies of the first edition of *Hakluyt* gives a good idea of the state of geogra-

phical knowledge at the end of the sixteenth century.

China, and discovered the strait which has ever since borne his name. In 1595 he published *The World's Hydrographical Description*, now a very scarce volume, 'wherein is proved, not only by auctoritie of writers, but also by late experience of trauellers, the reasons of substantiall probabilitie, that the worlde in all his zones, clymats, and places is habitable and inhabited, and his seas likewise universally nauigable,' and then proceeds to affirm the existence of a north-west passage. Davis afterwards went for five voyages to the East Indies, and was killed in 1605 in an encounter with some Japanese near Malacca.

350. Travels of another kind were recorded by George Sandys (died 1643), son of the Archbishop of York, a poet and translator of some eminence. In 1610 he started for the East, Sandys. and in 1615 published *Four Books, containing a Description of the Turkish Empire, of Egypt, etc.* This work enjoyed great popularity and was made the model of Addison's *Travels*. Sandys seems to have been one of the first to quote the allusions of the ancient poets to the places through which he passed, a plan so successfully adopted by Dodwell, Eustace, and others.

Another traveller of a very different kind was William Lithgow, who walked, according to his own statement, "thirty-six thousand miles, and visited the most famous countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa." In 1640 he published, Lithgow. *The total Discourse of his rare Adventures and painful Peregrinations in Nineteen Years' Travels perfited by three dear bought Voyages in surveying forty-eight Kingdoms, twenty-one Republics and two hundred Islands.* He seems to have travelled from the love of adventure simply. At Malaga the Spaniards put him in prison as a spy, and subjected him to torture and severe suffering. From the effects of this suffering he never recovered, and died in 1640.

To this class belongs also the name of James Howell (1596-1666). He was born in Carmarthenshire, and studied at Hereford and at Oxford. Going to London in search of Howell. some employment he became secretary to a patent glass manufactory. In 1619 he went abroad on the business of the company, and visited different parts of Holland, Italy, Spain, and France. In 1627 he was chosen Member of Parliament for

Richmond, and in 1630 went to Copenhagen as Secretary to the English Ambassador. At the Restoration he was made Historiographer Royal, and was the first to fill that office. Among his numerous publications, some forty in all, his *Familiar Letters*, *Epistolæ Ho-Eliaæ*, first printed in 1645, have permanent interest. The volume is among the earliest specimens of epistolary literature in our language: it contains many striking remarks on the events and characters of the age, and especially on the state and manners of the countries he visited. His *Instructions for Foreign Travel* (1642), has many shrewd and humorous suggestions.

351. The antiquarians of the seventeenth century begin with John Selden (1584-1654), the most learned man of his age. His first works were published between 1607 and 1610, and relate to Sussex his native county. His largest English work, a *Treatise on Titles of Honour*, appeared in 1614, and is still an authority on the degrees of nobility in England, and on the origin of similar dignities in other countries. Three years later he published a treatise on the *Idols of the Syrians*, a work that gained great celebrity throughout Europe. In the following year he offended many of the ruling party by his *History of Tithes*, wherein he denied their divine right. As a Member of Parliament he took the popular side, though always opposed to the extreme measure of civil war. In 1640 he was elected by the University of Oxford a Member of the Long Parliament, and both then and previously his papers on parliamentary law and privilege exercised great influence on the decisions of the ruling body. In 1643 he was appointed Keeper of the Records in the Tower. Among other works of his that deserve mention are his treatise on the Arundel marbles, which were brought from Greece in 1627; various books on legal and ecclesiastical antiquities, especially those of the Jewish nation; and his answer to Grotius on the dominion of the sea. His entire works fill three large folio volumes, and were published in a collected form in 1726. His *Table Talk*, a collection 'of the excellent things that fell from him,' as its editor describes it, is still popular, and is distinguished by great acuteness and humour. All authorities agree in the character they give to this eminent man: Milton speaks of him as 'the chief of the learned men of his age,' and

Antiquarians:
Selden.

Clarendon his political opponent, passes upon him the following eulogy: 'He was a person whom no character can flatter, he was of so stupendous a learning in all kinds and in all languages that a man would have thought he had been entirely conversant amongst books: yet his humanity, affability, and courtesy were such that he would have been thought to have been bred in the best courts, but that his good nature, charity, and delight in doing good, exceeded that breeding.' Selden's funeral sermon was preached by his friend Archbishop Usher, and his library was given by his executors to the Bodleian.

352. Sir William Dugdale (1605-1686) was eminent for his knowledge of heraldry and of antiquities. His *Baronage of England* is the best work on that subject, and his *Antiquities of Warwickshire* has long occupied a first place among county histories. His great work, however, is the *Monasticon Anglicanum* (1655-1673), in which he was assisted by Dodsworth. The work was intended to give the history of the religious foundations which existed in England before the Reformation, and three of the volumes were written by him. Many of his manuscripts are now in the Bodleian at Oxford. The edition of the *Monasticon* by Ellis and others (1817-1830: 1846), is enriched with much additional information.

His son-in-law, Elias Ashmole (1617-1692), is the author of the *Institution, Laws, and Ceremonies of the Order of the Garter* (1672); and his collection of coins, relics, and manuscripts formed the foundation of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

John Aubrey (1626-1700), who studied at Oxford, aided Dugdale, and acquired a taste for curiosities which showed itself in his study of popular superstitions, ghost stories, and dreams. The results of his inquiries he published in his *Miscellanies*. Many of his manuscripts are still preserved in the Ashmolean Museum, and in the library of the Royal Society.

353. Anthony Wood (1631-1695), a native of Oxford, was an inquirer of a higher order. To him we owe the *Athenæ Oxonienses*, an account of most of the eminent writers educated at Oxford. His work is often one-

sided and partial, but the facts he has collected are of great value. His *Antiquities*, a history of the University of Oxford, though written in English, was published only in Latin, having been translated into that tongue by Bishop Fell.

To Thomas Rymer, who was appointed Historiographer Royal in 1692, we owe the publication of a collection of treatises under the title of *Fœdera, Conventiones, et Acta Publica, ab anno 1101*. The whole appeared in fifteen volumes folio, to which five more were added after Rymer's death. These volumes are of great importance in the study of our history, though the materials they contain are somewhat unskilfully compiled. Between fifty and sixty manuscript volumes of Rymer's are now in the British Museum.

These antiquarian volumes were many of them prepared amid the struggles of the Civil War, and contributed in some degree to the strife. Selden's tracts were often on questions of the day—the rights of the Crown or of the Parliament; and Dugdale's *Monasticon* gave rise to a number of lawsuits, and strengthened the dread of Popery, which it was thought he was seeking to reintroduce.

354. The seventeenth century was most remarkable in the department of history for contemporary memoirs of the events of the time. The spirit of the Tudors had not been

Contemporary
memoirs.

favourable to the publication of such histories. Holinshed had been called to account for his *Chronicles*, and Hayward had been imprisoned for his *Life of Henry IV.*—not for the felony of it, as Bacon suggested to Elizabeth he might have been, his conceits being stolen from Cornelius Tacitus, but for what her majesty deemed its treason. The times, moreover, were exciting, and the actors in them were anxious to defend their party. Even the retrospective histories of the age, secular and ecclesiastical, give evidence that they were prepared in part to illustrate the principles and strengthen the cause of the writer. There is little to be said against this spirit, but it is important that the student should know of its existence, and make allowance for it in his estimate both of books and of facts.

Fairness therefore requires that the works of this period should be read in couples rather than apart. If we refer on the one

side to the *History of the Parliament of 1640*, by Thomas May (1593-1650), its secretary, who gives a candid and clear account of the beginning of the Civil War, written in a terse vigorous style; to the anti-royalist *Memorials* of Bulstrode Whitelocke (1605-1676), the legal adviser of Hampden, though, like Selden, averse to bloodshed; or to the *Memoirs* of Edward Ludlow, 'a furious but honest republican,' as Warburton calls him; we must read on the other the *Sighs* of Bishop Gauden, his religious and loyal protestations against the army, or the *Short View* of Peter Heylin. If we read the *Icon Basilike* of Bishop Gauden we must read the *Iconoclastes* of Milton. If we read Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion* we must read also Burnet's *History of His Own Times*. After Calamy's *Lives of the Ejected Clergy* we must add Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*. If we read Baxter's *Narrative of His Life and Times*, and Lucy Hutchinson's *Memoirs* of her husband, we must read the much less touching story of the troubles of Laud and the life of Lady Fanshaw. If we come down later and investigate the privileges of Parliament, we must read, on the one side, Tyrrell, who in his five folio volumes, entitled, *A General History of England, both Civil and Ecclesiastical, from the Earliest Times* (1700-1704), advocates the Whig view; and Dr. Brady, on the other, who in his *Introduction to the Old English History* (1684), advocates the rights of the monarch—neither of these works, however, though in folio, bringing the history lower than the reign of Richard II. Some of these works—Whitelocke's *Memorials* and Mrs. Hutchinson's *Memoirs* for example—are of the nature of private diaries not intended for publication, and have therefore the greater claim to regard. Whitelocke, especially, is a standard authority on the period to which he refers.

355. Of these writers, Clarendon and Burnet deserve special mention. Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon (1608-1674), was the son of a Wiltshire gentleman. He studied at Clarendon.

Oxford, intending to enter the Church, but on the death of two of his elder brothers he removed to London and gave himself to the study of law. Here he made the acquaintance of Falkland, Selden, Chillingworth, and other eminent public men, and deemed it his 'highest honour to be of their company.' In 1640 he entered parliament and devoted himself to public

affairs. In the struggles between Charles and the popular party, he was often consulted by the king, and drew up many of the royalist papers. After following the fortunes of Charles at home, and of his son abroad, he returned to England at the Restoration, and took his seat as Speaker of the House of Lords and as Lord High Chancellor. In the same year, 1660, his daughter married the Duke of York, so that he became grandfather of two of our queens—Mary and Anne. At the coronation in 1661, he was made Earl of Clarendon, and was presented by the king with a gift of 20,000*l*. The chancellorship he retained till 1665, when the unpopularity of some of his measures, and his opposition to the extravagance of the court, created many enemies: he therefore resigned his office, and retired to France. There he busied himself in writing his *History of the Great Rebellion*, a book which is deservedly placed among the first of its class—the class of histories in which disquisition is combined with description, the explanation of motives and of characters with the narration of events.

The style of Clarendon is exceedingly loose and ungrammatical, the sentences prolix and involved. Yet in character-painting the work is unrivalled. Though in narration he is often inferior, yet there is sometimes a majesty and a beauty in his descriptions which had not, up to that time, been found in historical composition. He shows strong royalist prepossessions, and his legal turn of mind sometimes unfits him for taking a comprehensive view of men and things; but his high sense of national honour, and his general fairness, when the facts he describes are within his own knowledge, and when he takes pains and time to set them forth, make his volumes of great worth.

The *History* was not intended for publication till after the death of the chief actors, and in fact it was not published till 1707. It was then edited by Bishop Sprat and Dean Aldrich, who altered some passages and omitted others. The original text, however, was restored in the edition printed at Oxford in eight volumes in 1826. Clarendon's later work, his *Life* and the *Continuation*, is less accurate and less interesting than his *History*. It also was printed complete in the Oxford edition of 1827. Among other works of Clarendon's are an answer to the *Leviathan* of Hobbes, and an essay on the *Comparative Advantages of an Active and a Contemplative Life*, in

which he gives good reasons for preferring the former as the more conducive both to the happiness of the individual and to the good of the community.

356. Gilbert Burnet (1643-1715) was equally eminent in theology, in politics, and in history. His father was a Scottish Bp. Burnet. Royalist and Episcopalian, raised to the bench as one of the Scotch judges. His mother was a Presbyterian, daughter of the Covenanted leader, Johnston of Warristoun, whom Cromwell made a peer and Charles II. a martyr. This parentage must have taught young Gilbert the virtues of toleration.

Burnet was educated at Aberdeen, and became successively minister at Saltoun and Professor of Divinity at Glasgow. Here he was offered a bishopric, but declining it, he moved to London and received the appointment of Preacher at the Rolls Chapel and Lecturer of St. Clement's. In these offices he was exceedingly popular: his frank manner and ready eloquence drew large congregations. His reputation was increased by the publication, in 1679-1681, of the *History of the Reformation*, in two volumes, to which a third was added in 1714. This work is still one of the best histories of that important event.

He next published an account of the life and death of the Earl of Rochester, the libertine, infidel, and poet, whom he had attended on his deathbed, and to whom his teaching had brought peace: the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah was blessed to him, as it had been sixteen centuries before to an Ethiopian eunuch. This *Life* appeared in 1680. A bishopric was again within his reach, but he declined it, and about the same time wrote earnestly and respectfully to the king on his vices and misgovernment. Charles threw the letter into the fire, and seemed severely offended. Later, Burnet attended Lord Russell to the scaffold, and wrote an account of the noble sufferer's last moments. This deepened the offence, and Burnet was deprived of his offices as lecturer and preacher. He still found work however. Several treatises and sermons were written, some on toleration, others on Popery, and in 1682-1685, he published lives of Sir Matthew Hale and Bishop Bedell.

Travelling abroad, he visited Switzerland and Italy, where he wrote letters remarkably 'curious and entertaining,' which were

published at Amsterdam in 1686. He finally settled at the Hague, where he became one of the advisers of the Prince of Orange. At the Revolution he accompanied William as chaplain, and was soon after raised to the bishopric of Salisbury. Besides a long list of works written by him, he published *An Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles*, still one of our standard books. He died in 1715.

Among his papers he left for publication, the *History of His Own Times*—a full narrative of events from the beginning of the Civil War to the year 1713. The work was ordered not to be published till some years after his death. It appeared in 1723 with some passages left out, though they are now restored. The history was at once attacked by the Jacobite and Tory party. Swift and Lansdowne denied its accuracy, Pope and Arbuthnot ridiculed its style; but with all its faults, it is a life-like and important addition to our historical treasures. Burnet was garrulous and egotistical; but he was honest, shrewd, and generous—a faithful chronicler, whose pages must be read by the historian, and will always be read by the public. The character-painting of the first volume, in which he has sketched Milton, Vane, Baxter, Hobbes, Marvell, and others, is remarkably good and striking.

357. The same tendency to write history in a party spirit, which we note in England in the middle of the seventeenth century, is found at a somewhat earlier period in Scotland, and in England it perpetuated itself into the eighteenth century. In Scotland we have Spotiswood and Calderwood, and in England we have Echard and Oldmixon, Collier and Neal. Their works belong to the early part of the eighteenth century, but the men themselves to the seventeenth, and it is the history of the seventeenth which they discuss.

John Spotiswood (born 1565) was Archbishop of Glasgow and St. Andrews, and was a strenuous supporter of James VI.'s plans for introducing Episcopacy into Scotland. He was a favourite both with that monarch and with Charles I., the latter making him, in 1635, Chancellor of Scotland. At the suggestion of James, he wrote a *History of the Church of Scotland* from A.D. 203 to 1625, and it was published

in London in 1655. It is regarded as on the whole a truthful narrative, though written with an obvious bias. Scotland was in no mood for meeting the king's wishes on this question, and Spotiswood was compelled to leave the kingdom. He retired to London, where he died just before the breaking out of the Civil War.

David Calderwood (1575-1651) was an eminent Presbyterian divine and minister in Roxburghshire. When, in 1617, James VI. Calderwood. summoned a Parliament and sought to arrange for the introduction of Episcopacy, Calderwood and others drew up a strong protest against the measure, and though they induced the king to lay it aside, they were themselves involved in trouble. Calderwood was summoned before the High Commission at St. Andrew's, imprisoned, and then banished the kingdom. He went to Holland, and there remained till James's death in 1625. On his return he retired to Edinburgh, where he occupied himself in collecting materials for his *True History of the Church of Scotland from the Death of James V. to the Death of James VI.* An abridgment of this work was published in 1678, and the work itself has recently appeared in eight volumes under the auspices of the Woodrow Society. The original manuscript, in six volumes folio, is still preserved in the library of the University of Glasgow. The style is not attractive, but the book has great value as a collection of important historical facts.

358. Laurence Echard (1671-1730) was educated at Cambridge, and was ultimately a prebend of Lincoln. His leisure he Echard. spent in historical research, and published several works of value. His *History of England* (1700-1718) extends from the time of Julius Cæsar to the Revolution. The early portion is impartial, and is more complete than any previous history; but when he reaches the seventeenth century he loses both his fairness and his good sense; yet his book was long popular, especially with the Royalists. He was warmly attacked by Oldmixon (1673-1742), who was a strong opponent of the Stuarts.

Oldmixon's principal works are *A Critical History of England* (1726), and the *History of the Stuarts* (1730). The Oldmixon. whole were published in three volumes folio between

1730 and 1739. His talent is said to be moderate, and his work not without useful information.^a

359. Jeremy Collier (1650-1726), a nonjuring clergyman is the author of many works. That for which he is best known is his *Ecclesiastical History*, which extends from the first planting of Christianity to the end of the reign of Charles II. He also translated Moreri's great *Historical Dictionary* (1701-1721), which ultimately appeared in four volumes folio, and had a large sale. His *Ecclesiastical History* contains many valuable documents, but produced great discussion, his chief opponents, Bishops Nicolson, Burnet, and Kennet, being members of the English Church. Collier was himself a man of most exemplary character, the author of a very effective attack upon the stage,^b and notwithstanding the apparent asperity of his writings, he was personally distinguished by his cheerfulness and amenity.

Daniel Neal (1678-1747), the historian of the Puritans, was educated at Merchant Taylors' School, and at Utrecht. He became minister of a congregation in Jewin Street. His great work is a *History of the Puritans*. He is also the author of a *History of New England* (1720). He presents, as may be expected, the other side of the shield of truth; but his works are valuable, 'being based on documentary and oral evidence.'^c

These are but specimens of the contemporary historians of this age: the student who wishes to examine others must consult Bishop Kennet's *Complete History of England* and his *Register*; Rushworth's *Historical Collection* (1618-1648), with leanings to the side of the Parliament; Nelson's *Impartial Collection*, with leanings to the side of the Crown; the Collections of *State Papers*, *Ordinances*, and the works of Winwood, Burton, Strafford, Fairfax, Hacket, etc.

The constitutional questions at issue were discussed apart from history by some men of the greatest name. On the one side were Hobbes and Filmer; on the other Milton, Harrington, Sidney, and Locke.

360. Besides these writers, who for the most part took sides in

^a *Edinburgh Review*.

^b See par. 276.

^c Arnold.

the great controversies of the age, there are others who deserve mention, and who practically stand aloof from them all. Among biographers and historians are Walton, Fuller, and Strype: among writers of memoirs are Evelyn, Grammont, and Pepys.

Non-polemic
biographies
and histories.

361. Izaak Walton (1593-1683) was one of the most popular of the writers of this century—a position he owes to his simplicity, his fondness for country rambles, his powers of description, his humour, his quaint wise thoughts, his pure and benevolent character. At fifty years of age he retired from business, having made a competency by his trade as linen-draper, first in Cornhill, then in Fleet Street. His wife, whom he had married twenty years before, was the sister of Bishop Ken, through whom probably, and his own qualities, he gained the acquaintance of many of the eminent men and dignitaries of the time.

His first work was written before he had left business—the *Life of Dr. Donne*, prefixed to his sermons, and published in 1640. It was followed by the *Life of Sir H. Wotton*, whose literary remains Walton edited. Some years later appeared the *Life of Richard Hooker* (1662), the *Life of George Herbert* (1670), the *Life of Bishop Sanderson* (1678)—all circumstantial, simple, and touching. Walton's principal production, his *Complete Angler; or, the Contemplative Man's Recreation*, appeared in 1653, and passed through five editions during the author's life. To the fifth edition (1676) is added a second part by Charles Cotton, poet, and adopted son of Walton. It was written in ten days, and is said to display much technical knowledge and accuracy. It is to this work that the river 'Dove' owes part of its fame.

The *Angler* is one of the popular books of our language. It is written largely in the form of dialogue, and owes much of its success to the genial disposition of Piscator: it abounds, moreover, in minute pictures of rural life, and combines picturesque poetry and gentle morality with a style at once antiquated and clear.

362. Aldwinkle is the native place of both Thomas Fuller and John Dryden. Fuller (1608-1661) was educated at Cambridge, where his maternal uncle, Dr. Davenant, was Master of Queens' College. After taking the highest honours

Fuller.

of the university, he became one of the most popular preachers in the town. Through his uncle's influence he was made a prebend of Salisbury, and was in succession rector of Broad Windsor, lecturer at the Savoy, and chaplain to Charles I. After the taking of Exeter he became lecturer at St. Bride's, in Fleet Street, but was soon silenced. Through John Howe's influence he passed the 'Triers,' however, and on the Restoration regained his lectureship at the Savoy, and was made chaplain to the king. But for his premature death he would no doubt have received a bishopric. During these struggles his sermons excited the displeasure of both parties—an argument for his sincerity and moderation, if not for his worldly wisdom.

His earliest works, except sermons, are his *History of the Holy War* (1640), and his *Holy and Profane State* (1642), 'a collection of characters, moral essays, and lives.' While attending the army he was very busy collecting materials for his *History of Worthies*, and he now proceeded to turn these materials to account. In 1656 was published his *Church History of Britain*, from the time of our Lord to the year 1648. His *Worthies of England* he completed in 1660, but it was not published till after his death. To his Church History was appended the *History of Cambridge and of Waltham Abbey*—the whole forming a considerable folio volume. Besides these historical works he wrote many sermons and several books on practical or expository theology: *A Pisgah View of Palestine* (1650), *Good Thoughts in Bad Times* (1645), and, after the Restoration, *Mixed Contemplations in Better Times* (1660).

All his compositions have the same faults and the same excellences—a somewhat loose style, with many trite and romantic stories, but withal an amount of wit and beauty and variety of truth, combined with practical wisdom, unsurpassed in any of the writers of that age. Coleridge* puts him next to Shakespeare, as the writer who excites in him 'the sense and emotion of the marvellous.' His humour is indisputably attractive to many minds, and it is admitted that his Church History of Britain has never been superseded.

The composition of all his works is strongly antithetic and euphuistic, but in him euphuism is part of the wit.

* *Notes on English Divines.*

363. John Strype (1643-1737) is the author of some of the most valuable of our memoirs. He wrote the *Life of Cranmer* (1694), the *Life of Sir Thomas Smith* (1698), of *Cheke* (1795), of *Grindal* (1710), of *Parker* (1711), and of *Whitgift* (1718), besides *Annals of the Reformation*, in four volumes, and *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, in three (1721). He also edited part of Lightfoot's works and Stow's *Survey of London*. He was the son of a refugee, John Van Strype, a native of Brabant. After receiving his education at Cambridge, he became sinecure rector of Terring, in Sussex, and lecturer at Hackney.

He was laborious, intelligent, and truthful. His literary merits are acknowledged by all parties. A complete and uniform edition of his works was published at the Clarendon Press in 1812-1828, making twenty-seven volumes in all.

364. John Evelyn (1620-1706), a gentleman in fortune and in character, is well known as the author of several scientific treatises written in a popular style. Among these are the *Sylva, a Discourse on Forest Trees* (1664), and the *Terra, a Discourse on the Earth* (1675). He was also among the first to cultivate gardening and ornamental planting, and his grounds at Sayes Court, near Deptford, were visited by a great number of his countrymen and foreigners. During the greater part of his life he kept a *Diary*, which now forms one of the most valuable collections of historical materials for the latter half of the seventeenth century. It was published in 1818, and records common incidents of daily life as well as events of national importance. His description of the profaneness and dissoluteness of the last Sunday of Charles II.'s life is shocking: 'six days after,' he adds, 'all was in the dust.'

365. In 1713 the *Memoirs du Comte de Grammont* were published, and were translated in the following year. The author came to England in 1662, and was one of the most brilliant adventurers at the English court. He married the sister of Anthony Hamilton, a member of the Abercorn and Ormond families, and towards the close of his life he dedicated these memoirs to his brother-in-law. The scandalous chronicle is admitted to be substantially a true record: it has

often been republished, and was edited with notes by Sir Walter Scott (1811).

366. Samuel Pepys (1632-1703) is immortalised by his *Diary*, which was deciphered and published by Lord Braybrooke in 1825.

Pepys. Pepys was the son of a tailor, and entered Cambridge as a sizar. Through the influence of his cousin, Sir Edward Montagu, afterwards Earl of Sandwich, he became secretary to the General of the Fleet, clerk to the Accountant of the Navy, and at last secretary to the Admiralty in the reigns of Charles II. and James II. Pepys' *Diary*, written with the utmost frankness and *naïveté*, is a Dutch picture of the times, and gives a better insight into public and social life, into the domestic economy and amusements of the time, than any more formal history.

367. Beyond the limits of English history are other names requiring mention. Dr. Humphrey Prideaux (1648-1724), Archdeacon of Suffolk, and Hebrew Lecturer at Christ Church, Oxford; Dr. Potter, Archbishop of Canterbury (1674-1747), and Basil Kennet (1674-1714), chaplain of the English factory at Leghorn.

Prideaux was the author of a work still popular, *The Connection of the Old and New Testament* (1715-1717), and the *Life of Mahomet* (1697). His *Connection*, giving the

Prideaux. history of the interval between the Old Testament and the New, is a work of great value. His library he presented to Clare Hall, Cambridge. Dr. Potter is the author of the

Potter. well known and often published *Antiquities of Greece*. The book is superseded by modern inquiry, but it claims notice as the first publication of that kind. Kennet's *Romæ Antiquæ Notitia*, conferred a like benefit on Latin

Kennet. literature. His work was for a century the class book on that subject. Now both it and its successor, Adam's *Roman Antiquities*, are largely superseded by books that embody the results of more recent investigation.

368. Meanwhile a new style of chroniclers had appeared in our history,—the newspaper. In the middle of the sixteenth century, during a war between the Venetians and the Turks, the desire for news had called forth written

Newspapers.

sheet, which were read in public places to any who were willing to pay a small sum (a *gazetta*) for that privilege. Somewhat later the father of Montaigne had introduced a like luxury into France, and had stuck up placards (*affiches*) on the walls of public places for general information. The reign of James I. is remarkable for the commencement of a similar system in England. The events of the Thirty Years' War and the exploits of Gustavus Adolphus excited intense interest in this country. To meet the feeling the *Weekly News** first appeared in print on the 23rd May, 1622, and was a very small and meagre chronicle—the more important intelligence, both foreign and domestic, being still conveyed through the news-letters of those days, a kind of composition that afforded support to many writers.

At the commencement of the Civil War *Diurnals* and *Mercuries* greatly multiplied, and several of the large towns had one of their own. They were published at first weekly, then twice or thrice a week. So important were these deemed that each of the rival armies took with it a printer.

After the Restoration these papers were continued, though subject to a licenser: they grew naturally less political, and their information became more varied. The *Kingdom's Intelligencer* was begun in London in 1662, and gave much useful information—obituaries, notices of proceedings in Parliament, and in the Courts of Law. In 1663 Roger l'Estrange published his *Intelligencer* 'for the satisfaction and information of the people.' He was a warm advocate of the Crown, but contrived to make his paper very popular and entertaining. He continued it till the appearance of the *London Gazette*, called at first the *Oxford Gazette*, from the fact that the Court had removed from London to that city in consequence of the plague. The first number appeared on the 1st January, 1665. Publications similar to the *Intelligencer* multiplied yet more, and as many as seventy appeared between 1661 and 1688. In 1709 the first morning paper was printed, the *Daily Courant*, and from this time political questions are largely introduced as well as general intelligence.

* It is now admitted that the three newspapers, entitled *The English Mercurie*, Nos. 50, 51, and 54, preserved among Dr. Birch's historical collection in the British Museum, professing to be 'published by authority' at the time of

the visit of the Spanish Armada, on the genuineness of which the introduction of newspapers is ascribed to Lord Burleigh, are forgeries—practical jokes of Dr. Birch himself. See Watts' *Letter to A. Panizzi, Esq.*, London, 1839,

The first Scotch newspaper was a reprint of the *Mercurius Politicus*, a London diurnal, and was published at Leith, for the amusement of some of Cromwell's soldiers: it appeared on the 26th of October, 1653. Between 1660 and 1667 a couple of original papers were published in Scotland. Then we find only reprints up to the end of the century, when (1699) the *Edinburgh Gazette* was first established.

369. The scholarship of the first half of the seventeenth century is almost as remarkable as the intellectual vigour displayed in other departments. The great endowments of the English Universities attracted to them a large resident class, of whom some were teachers, but others enjoyed unbroken leisure for study. Above all, the religious excitement of the Reformation led men to examine Scripture and to meddle with all knowledge that might help them to understand and explain it.

At the beginning of the century a library was founded at Oxford by Sir Thomas Bodley, with a munificence which has made his name immortal. The building was completed in 1606, and large funds were bequeathed for the purchase of books. The Earl of Pembroke, Selden, and Laud added to its stores: through Laud especially, it became rich in Oriental manuscripts. About the same time Usher founded the library of Trinity College, Dublin, and considerable additions were made to the public library at Cambridge.

370. The effect of the Reformation in England was first seen in the increased attention paid to Hebrew and to Greek. In all

Protestant countries of Europe those languages were now studied with fresh zeal, and in England Hebrew especially was popular. It may be said indeed, that from the death of Elizabeth to the Restoration there was a more general knowledge of Hebrew, both among the laity and the clergy, than at any period of equal length, either before or since. Ainsworth, Godwin, Lightfoot, Selden, and Pococke were among the chief of these scholars; and they were scarcely, if at all, inferior to their foreign contemporaries—Bochart, a Protestant minister at Caen; Cappel, Professor at Saumur; the Buxtorfs, Professors of Hebrew at Basle, and De Dieu at Leyden.

State of learning at Oxford and elsewhere.

This learning produced important results in Biblical science. To the Biblical scholars of that age we are indebted for the

Authorised Version. Authorised Version of the Bible published by authority of King James in 1611. This work is the fruit of the labours of forty-seven men of learning, some residing at Westminster and others at Cambridge and Oxford. Among the most eminent are Dr. L. Andrewes, Dean of Westminster and at last Bishop of Winchester, Dr. J. Reynolds, President of Corpus Christi College, 'whose memory and reading were near to a miracle,' as Bishop Hall describes them, Sir Henry Savile, Provost of Eton, William Bedwell, the tutor of Erpenius and Pococke, and many others. Several of them were eminent Orientalists, and hence the Eastern versions had great influence on the translation. This revised translation was greatly facilitated by the recent publication of various ancient versions of Scripture in the Polyglots and in separate forms.

For the earliest Polyglots we are indebted chiefly to foreign printers. Early in the sixteenth century Cardinal Ximenes of Toledo, 'dreading the spread of false doctrines with **Polyglots.** captious interpretations of the Scripture, which whilst they deluded the simple might appear unanswerable to the learned,' devoted much time and large sums to the preparation of the Complutensian Polyglot. It contained the Hebrew, Greek, and Chaldee of the Old Testament, with a Latin version of each, and the Greek and Latin of the New. The whole was printed in 1517; but the Cardinal dying soon after, doubts were raised whether it ought to be circulated, nor was it till 1522 that copies were distributed to the world at large.

The next Polyglot was published at Antwerp, and was executed between 1558 and 1573. In addition to the versions given in the Polyglot of Ximenes, it contains the Syriac version of the Testament, and a version into Latin by Pagninus, with a large apparatus of grammars and lexicons at the close. The *London Polyglot* (1654-1657) was prepared by Brian Walton, afterwards Bishop of Chester, and was aided by Cromwell. It added the following versions to the versions given by Ximenes—the Samaritan, the Syriac, the Cretic, the Ethiopic, the Persic, with a Latin version of various Targums. Lexicons were added by Dr. Castell, who spent all his fortune of 12,000*l.* upon his

two volumes, and who, through the incessant labour required in the preparation of them, became nearly blind. Hutter, Wolder, and Schindler, had all been working in the same way. Nor had less been done in separate volumes. Robert Stephen alone—the Paris printer, through whom Francis I. gained greater glory, De Thou says, than from all the warlike and pacific undertakings in which he was engaged—published in ten years (between 1544 and 1554) two editions of the Hebrew Bible, three of the Greek Testament, seventeen of the Latin versions of Scripture, three Concordances, and twenty-seven Commentaries on the Bible, Jewish and Christian. For printing these books he was censured by both king and pope; but he went on with his work at risks not inferior to those incurred by the foremost reformers, and is not less entitled to our admiration.

At the same time, commentaries on Scripture became numerous. The Reformation on the Continent began with the expositions of Luther and Melancthon, and even in the

Commentaries. Romish Church there were many who praised these portions of their writings, but hesitated to follow them into their new faith. Zwingle and Calvin both engaged largely in the same work. Calvin's Commentaries, and those of Beza and of Diodati, exercised great influence not only in France and Italy but in England: they were translated into English, and brief notes taken from them were incorporated in the Genevan and other versions of the English Scriptures. On a still larger scale were the collections of critical commentaries which appeared soon after the publication of the Polyglots, and which were no doubt suggested by them. The first was published by Father de la Haye in 1642: it appeared under the title of *Biblia Magna*, in five volumes folio, and then as *Biblia Maxima*, in nineteen. A much more valuable collection was published by our countryman, Pearson, and others, in 1660, as a companion of Walton's Polyglot: it was called *Critici Sacri*, and appeared in nine volumes folio. A somewhat briefer collection of a very useful kind was published fourteen years later under the title of *Synopsis Criticorum*, the editor being Matthew Poole. These works, with the six volumes of Walton's Polyglot and the two folio volumes of Castell's Lexicon, twenty-two volumes in all, were begun and finished in the city of London in the comparatively short space of twenty years,

at the expense of a few noblemen and divines--and that amid the distractions of the Civil War.

371. Besides the names already mentioned, there are those of Spencer, Pococke, and Hyde. Spencer's treatise *De Legibus Hebræorum* is one of great learning. It gave offence, however, by suggesting that several of the

Other Oriental learning.

institutions of the Mosaic law were borrowed from the Egyptians, the fact being, as Michaelis has shown, that the alleged borrowings were rather contrasts than resemblances. Towards the close of the century, Pococke published various translations from the Arabic, the *Annals of Eutychius* (1658), and others. Hyde also published the *History of the Religion of the Persians* (1700), in which he warmly praises the religion of Zoroaster. The novelty of the subject gained for the book considerable credit; but the increase of Oriental information in later times, makes it difficult for any book of the seventeenth century on such topics, to keep its ground. Of the Indian languages, little or nothing was yet known. The an-

Classical learning.

cient classic languages had made less progress than the Oriental amid the disturbances of the seventeenth century. Duport, Greek Professor at Cambridge, had a high character for learning, but he was almost alone. Barrow, who was made a Greek Professor in 1660, complains that he had no pupils. Yet there are a few exceptions. In 1651, Thomas Gataker, Preacher at Lincoln's Inn, and one of the Assembly of Divines, published his *Adversaria*, which continental critics warmly praised. In 1652 he edited *Marcus Antoninus*, the earliest edition, Hallam thinks, of a classic published in England with original notes. Then comes Stanley with his edition of *Æschylus* (1663), Meric Casaubon with his *Persius*, Pearson with *Diogenes Laertius*, Gale with *Iamblichus*, Hudson with his editions of Thucydides and Josephus; Potter, and William Baxter, all more or less eminent as scholars and as editors.

372. The greatest scholar, however, beyond comparison, was Richard Bentley (born 1661), though he belongs in part to the following century. He graduated at Cambridge, but spent some years at Oxford as well as in London, engaged chiefly in philological study. Being appointed the first

Bentley.

preacher of the Boyle Lectures, his sermons created some sensation, and were published in 1693. Soon after he became keeper of the royal library at St. James', and while in that office, his first literary controversy arose. It originated in a few lines of Sir William Temple's, who, in his essay *On Ancient and Modern Learning*, eulogised the *Epistles* of Phalaris as undoubtedly genuine. Bentley, in a dissertation appended to Wotton's *Reflections on Ancient and Modern Learning*, a reply to Temple, gave evidence to the contrary. Meanwhile, Charles Boyle, a member of the family of the Earl of Cork, had published an edition of the *Epistles*, with some reflections on Bentley for personality and incivility in withdrawing a book which he said Bentley had lent him. In his dissertation, Bentley noticed and answered this charge; and in the next year, Boyle, assisted very largely, as it now seems, by Atterbury and by Aldrich, printed an examination of Bentley's dissertation, 'Boyle against Bentley,' as it was briefly called. Other combatants entered the field, and Swift, with his *Battle of the Books*, increased the din of war. For some time it was thought that Bentley was silenced, but in 1699, appeared his *Dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris*, 'Bentley against Boyle,' and covered his opponents with ridicule. He proved the *Epistles* to be full of anachronisms and a palpable forgery. In learning, he excels all his adversaries put together, and by his wit he foiled even the wits of the age at their own weapon. By his reasoning power and sarcastic humour, his scholarship and subtlety, he gained for himself a first place in classic critical literature. His book, though the controversy has long ceased, is still read as an admirable specimen of critical investigation. In taste, he was lamentably defective, his edition of Milton raising the laugh against him on all sides.

373. Sir William Temple (1628-1698) can hardly be reckoned among the learned men of his age, though he gave occasion to Temple, one of the most celebrated literary controversies which have occurred in England. He was a pupil of Cudworth's, and took an active part as ambassador at the Hague in the Triple Alliance formed for checking the career of Louis XIV. He was afterwards employed in negotiating the marriage between the Princess Mary and William of Orange. On his return to England, he was pressed by Charles II. to be-

come Secretary of State, but declined this trust. To help the king in his difficulties, however, he suggested the appointment of a Privy Council, consisting of the great officers of state, on whose advice the king should always act, and by whom all important public affairs should be discussed. He was for a time a member of this council, but in 1685 retired from public life. He was, however, often consulted by King William, who had great faith in his caution and knowledge but not in his courage and decision.

In his retirement, Temple wrote several essays and political tracts—*On the Gardens of Epicurus*, *On Heroic Virtue*, *On Poetry*, etc. His style is not very clear nor precise, but he is one of the masters of harmony of cadence. Johnson indeed says, that he was the first who wrote harmonious prose; but this must have been in forgetfulness of Cowley and Dryden, to say nothing of our earlier writers—Hooker and Drummond.

His essay *On Ancient and Modern Learning* originated in a French work by Perrault on *The Age of Louis the Great*. The aim of the writer is to prove that the ancient classic authors are excelled by those of modern times. The French defender of the ancients was Boileau; their English defender, Sir William Temple. Unhappily, Temple was in learning altogether unfit for this work: he knew neither of the great schools which he attempted to compare; hence, he ascribes to the ancients a knowledge of all the sciences, and proves his case by appealing to the fables of antiquity. In his list of the moderns, he omits Shakespeare and Milton among the poets; and among the philosophers, he omits Bacon and Newton. Among other proofs of the superiority of the ancients, he quotes from the Greek *Epistles* of Phalaris, and shows thereby, as he says, that the ‘oldest books we have are still among the best.’ He notes that some have supposed these *Epistles* to be the production, not of Phalaris, who lived five centuries before Christ, but of an author who lived in the decline of Greek literature. This supposition he answers by enumerating the excellences of the *Epistles*, and pronounces the man ‘to have little skill who cannot find out that the work is an original.’ Swift afterwards helped his patron by his famous *Battle of the Books*. How Temple was answered we have just seen.

An able reply to Temple was written by William Wotton

(1666-1726), a clergyman residing in Buckinghamshire, a man of precocious and remarkable learning. His work Hallam Wotton pronounces the 'most solid that was written in any country upon this famous dispute.' He takes, as might be expected, a middle course, admitting the eminence of the ancients in poetry and eloquence, but maintaining the superiority of the moderns in all the philosophical sciences.

374. We have already indicated the struggles which preceded the adoption of the Articles of the English Church and the passing of the Act of Uniformity of the reign of Elizabeth. To understand the merits of the theological literature of the seventeenth century it is necessary to carry that history a little farther.

The discussions between Hooper and Cranmer in 1550, the Hampton Court Conference held in 1604 in the presence of James I., between Dr. Reynolds and his party on the one side and Archbishop Whitgift on the other, the Savoy Conference in 1661 where Baxter and Sheldon were leaders, mark the successive stages of a controversy that extends over more than a hundred years, a controversy of momentous interest on religious grounds, and from its influence on the literature of the nation.

375. When Hooper was abroad he formed the friendship of Bullinger, one of the leaders of the Protestant cause in Switzerland. On his return to England in the reign of Edward VI., his piety and talents were at once appreciated, and he was nominated to the see of Gloucester. But he demurred first to the oath of supremacy, and then to the robes in which the newly elected bishop was to be consecrated. The oath, in which an appeal was made to the saints as well as to God, was altered by the king's own hand; but the difficulty of the vestments remained. Peter Martyr and Bucer, who were then Professors of Divinity at Oxford and Cambridge, advised him to wear them not as scriptural but as harmless and even as legal. For once at least he did wear them, but it seems to have been against his conscience, and great interest was excited by his misgivings. Four years afterwards, in the year 1555, he was martyred at Gloucester. Hooper's eloquence and holi-

Origin of
Puritanism
in England.

Hooper and
others.

ness and death endeared his memory to the Reformers, and his scruples were shared by many of the clergy.

On the accession of Mary, the foreign professors and the German Protestants, who had settled in England in considerable numbers, were all commanded to leave the kingdom, and there went with them nearly a thousand of our countrymen, who deemed it unsafe to remain. Frankfort, Basle, Zurich, and Geneva, were filled with English settlers, and in those towns their religious tastes became simpler and stronger. Forms grew less welcome to them, and some probably learned to prefer the Genevan model of Church order and discipline to Episcopacy. On the death of Mary they returned to England: 'they went abroad,' says Peter Heylin, 'Zwinglian Gospellers' and they came back Puritans. On the passing of the Act of Uniformity by Elizabeth, many good men were ejected, among whom were Miles Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter, and John Foxe, the Martyrologist: they both died in poverty, the first victims of this new persecuting spirit.

376. During part of the reign of Elizabeth, Puritans continued to multiply, gaining strength in London, and in the two chief seats of learning. The firm and overbearing policy of the queen however discouraged them, and towards the close of her reign their numbers diminished; though without the Church the Brownists, as they were called, became more numerous and influential. The Puritans were as a body still in the Church.

On the accession of James the moderate Puritan party presented a petition signed by eight hundred of the clergy asking redress. They wished for less popery in the vestments of the clergy and for the alteration of some parts of the Church service, the Absolution and the use of the Cross in Baptism for example. James dismissed them with fair promises, and the Hampton Court Conference was the result of their appeal. Dr. Reynolds and Mr. Knewstub, both eminent Cambridge men, represented the Puritan party, and Whitgift the other side. Doctrinal difference as yet there was none, except so far as it might be supposed to be implied in their objections. They said nothing against prelacy, nor did they plead for Genevan Church order. The Puritans were moderate Calvinists: Whitgift was a High Calvinist; but they were prepared even to accept the Lambeth Articles, as they

were called, in which higher Calvinism was maintained. The only things in dispute were forms and some expressions or practices sanctioned by the Prayer Book, and which they thought liable to serious misinterpretation. Little however was gained by this Conference, though to Dr. Reynolds' suggestion we are indebted for the Authorised Version of the Bible.

377. On the death of Whitgift a new system of theology became popular with the king and with some of his advisers. The Calvinism in which James had been bred, and which he began to associate in his mind with Presbytery, was discountenanced: and for the first time doctrinal differences arose between the two parties in the Church. When Charles I. came to the throne and took Laud to his counsels, the Romanizing tendencies of the party became at once apparent. New forms and ceremonies were introduced: sacramental efficacy was proclaimed: to the injunctions of Elizabeth new regulations were added: lighted tapers were placed on the altars: the churches were decorated with the images of saints: the *Book of Sports* was ordered to be published in every parish church: the Lord's Supper was pronounced a sacrifice, and the minister a sacrificing priest. In consequence of these changes multitudes, as Bishop Sanderson and Bishop Hall affirm, were forced into the ranks of the Puritan clergy: several were compelled to resign their livings, and a few, to use the king's expression, 'were harried out of the land.' Among the most prominent were Bishops Davenant, Hall, Williams, and Carleton, and they were soon known by the name of *Doctrinal Puritans*, a title given to them against their will by the followers of Laud. They held and taught the doctrines of the Reformation in opposition to the sacramental system which had been recently introduced. So far they agreed with the earlier Puritans, as they did also with Cranmer and Ridley, and Martyr and Bucer, and Hooker; but to forms they raised no objection, and therefore the name of Puritan is apt in their case to mislead. To make the division between the two parties more marked, the disciples of Laud were generally Arminians, and the Doctrinal Puritans moderate Calvinists. Both parties were still in the Church.

Soon after the outbreak of the civil war, the Church of England fell. Many of these Doctrinal Puritans were among the

severest sufferers, and they were, some of them, among the most decided opponents of the Republicans: others were favoured by the authorities, and continued to preach till the Restoration.

378. Meanwhile there had sprung up outside the Church, and partly within it, a strong feeling in favour of another ecclesiastical system. This feeling had been largely promoted by the Scotch, who were warmly attached to Presbyterianism, and who had marched twenty thousand soldiers into England to assist the Parliament. It was promoted also by further intercourse with the Continent and by the recollections of a former generation. The London clergy petitioned for reform, and the House of Commons resolved to call an assembly of learned and godly divines and others to settle the government and the Liturgy of the Church of England. They met in Henry VII.'s Chapel on the 1st of July, 1643,—the world-famous Westminster Assembly. Here for a time were gathered Archbishop Usher, the Bishops of Exeter and Bristol, Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Hammond, six or ten Independents, thirty members of the two Houses of Parliament, and about a hundred ministers besides, who were mostly in favour of Presbyterianism. All professed to be anxious for a pure and spiritual Church. The Assembly's Confession and Catechisms were the results of this conference, results in which all parties agreed: they were published in 1647 and 1648, and as theological productions are entitled to great respect.

After protracted discussion it was carried that Presbyterianism was a Divine ordinance, and an attempt was made to give the Church courts power to prohibit all private assemblies and to prevent the publication of all unlicensed books. But when these decisions were referred to the House of Commons, and afterwards to the army, where the Independents were strong, great opposition was threatened. Milton protested that Presbyter was but 'priest writ large,' and in his *Areopagitica* pleaded with unrivalled eloquence for a free press. Selden, who in the Assembly had advocated the Erastian doctrine, that a Church is only a common association of men without any divine rights, and Whitelocke in his place in Parliament, joined in the protest, the latter affirming that men should not be punished in their secular interests for their religious delinquencies. A few Presbyteries were formed,

but within the year the Presbyterian party lost ground: their chiefs were threatened with impeachment, and their rule was at an end.

379. Burroughes, John Goodwin the Arminian, and John Owen had all pleaded in favour of toleration and liberty of conscience, but for a time in vain. Now however, the Independency. Independents formed a powerful body. Anxious to complete their organization they appealed to Cromwell for leave to hold a conference. He reluctantly consented, and they met at the Savoy in September, 1658. About a hundred churches were represented, and a committee was appointed to draw up a confession of faith. Among its members were Thomas Goodwin, Nye, Caryl, and Greenhill, with Dr. John Owen at their head. They adopted in substance the Assembly's Confession, as the Baptists did afterwards, simply omitting the passages on Presbyterianism and inserting some words in favour of congregational order. The preface was written by Owen, and insists upon the necessity of forbearance and charity among Christian men: the whole document however, takes as granted the right of the magistrate to defend and propagate the truth.

At the Restoration, both parties, the Presbyterians and the Independents, would have laid aside their differences and have joined the Church on the basis of Archbishop Usher's 'reduced Episcopacy.' This was proposed at the Savoy Conference held in 1661, but was haughtily rejected by the prelates and the court. Baxter and the moderate Presbyterians were willing to admit that their assemblies might be governed by a bishop, and the moderate Episcopalians were willing to admit that the bishop might be assisted and even controlled by a clerical council, but the scheme failed. Bishoprics were offered to Calamy, Baxter, and Reynolds, the Puritan leaders, and Deaneries to Manton and Bates, but all were declined except by Reynolds, who became Bishop of Norwich. The plea they used was, that till the terms of conformity were known, they could not accept preferment with a safe conscience.

In 1661 the Savoy Conference was held, but it only ended in widening the breach between the two great parties: Clarendon was now powerful in the Privy Council, and was inveterate against the Presbyterians, the bishops were disposed to be severe,

and the House of Commons was eager for revenge: and in 1662 the Act of Uniformity was passed, requiring the clergy to declare their unfeigned assent and consent to everything in the Book of Common Prayer. As the result two thousand of the Puritan clergy resigned their livings. By the Corporation Act, the Conventicle Act, the Five Mile Act, and at last by the Test Act, the Nonconformists were forbidden to preach, and were deprived of all secular offices of profit and trust.

The fall of Clarendon gave some hope of carrying a measure in favour of the nonconforming clergy, and in 1668 a project of comprehension was renewed by Tillotson, Stillingfleet, and Reynolds, and communicated to Bates, Manton, and Baxter. This project, however, failed through the clamours of the Sheldon party; and thereupon the House of Commons passed 'a resolution that no Act for the comprehension or indulgence of Dissenters should be brought into that House.' For twenty years there was great suffering on all sides, but the only effect was to strengthen the Popish tendencies of the Court, and to give greater vigour to the various dissenting communities which had meanwhile sprung up in the country. Soon after the Revolution an Act of comprehension was prepared, and passed the House of Lords, substituting a promise of general conformity for the promise of assent and consent, but it was thrown out in the House of Commons. The *Toleration Act*, however, was passed in 1689, and thenceforward Nonconformity and Dissent became recognized by the law.

380. Meanwhile two new parties had come into existence in the Church. The first were men of liberal minds and studious habits, old enough to see the mistakes of their contemporaries, and young enough to strike out a path for themselves. Many of them had been educated under the Puritans at both universities: all wrote and spoke of them with kindness and moderation: they were, moreover, nearly all anti-Calvinistic in their creed. Careful to avoid the errors into which the Puritans had fallen through the extreme use of Scripture language, the introduction of sacred things on trivial occasions, the high doctrinal tone of the Puritan preaching, they fell into more serious error. They ceased to quote Scripture either in their daily talk or in the pulpit. They spoke as philoso-

Latitudinarians.

phers rather than as divines; and though they gave an occasional dissertation on the Trinity, and insisted upon the necessity of a holy life, they seldom touched on the great truths of the gospel. On church questions they adhered to the Liturgy, but would have allowed great freedom to their conscientious nonconforming brethren. This is the school to which Whichcote, Cudworth, More, and Worthington belonged; and it was to their influence that we owe the characters of Tillotson, Patrick, Stillingfleet, Sherlock, and Tenison, the greatest men of the next generation. The school was called the Philosophic in the person of its founders, the Latitudinarian in the person of its later members. It is instructive to notice how powerless they became to arrest the decay of piety, or to effect a second reformation.

The other party consisted of men whose notion of the divine right of kings led them to believe that nothing could free a people from their allegiance, and who therefore felt bound to adhere to the oath they had taken to King James. Nonjurors. They bore the name of Nonjurors; and there were among them Sancroft, the Archbishop, and a considerable number of the clergy. They retained most of the forms of the English Church, and kept up a separate organization for a century in the hope of one day seeing a Stuart upon the throne. On the death of the Pretender they merged into the Scottish Episcopal Church. To this party belonged Bishop Ken, Charles Leslie, and Atterbury.

The effect of these struggles, and still more of the profligacy of the Restoration, had brought religion at the end of the seventeenth century to a very low ebb. The Church was as much divided as ever; not, indeed, into Puritans and their opponents, but into High and Low Church. Macaulay has drawn the character of the parochial clergy at this period in very dark colours, and his representations are sustained by Bishop Burnet, the author of the *Pastoral Care*. 'Political and party spirit,' says he, 'eat out what little of piety remains amongst us:' the Ember weeks, he further tells us, when candidates were examined for holy orders, were the misery of his life; and he augurs the worst results from the ignorance and the incapacity of the future race of clergymen who were then passing under his hands: there were noble exceptions, but this was to a large extent the character of the clergy. The influence of this low religious life on the religious literature of the eighteenth century will presently be seen.

381. This account of the parties of the seventeenth century has been given at length for more than one reason. (1) It illustrates the prodigious activity of that age—the age of Shakespeare and Bacon, of Hobbes and Milton, of Raleigh and Selden, of Hampden and Cromwell; while there was as much doing in theology as if the whole intellect of the country had been devoted to that theme. Indeed it may be said that each department of our literature, poetry excepted, was as productive in the seventeenth century as all departments together had been in the sixteenth. (2) It enables us the better to appreciate each man's merits. A knowledge of the exact standpoint of eminent writers in relation to the learning and theories of their age is as essential in theology as in philosophy, and the praise or blame awarded to each must be looked at in connexion with his system. (3) Above all it simplifies our work, by setting aside a large amount of controversial literature. Treatises on priestly vestments, on the divine right of episcopacy, on the oath of supremacy, have no place here: our business is with the great writers and the great works of the period. That these are enough will be clear from the mere enumeration of names. Among the earlier Puritans were William Perkins, Richard Sibbes, John Preston, and Samuel Clarke. Among moderate men who loved the gospel, and felt few Puritanical difficulties, were Lancelot Andrewes, Joseph Mede, John Donne, and Joseph Hall, Thomas Fuller, Thomas Adams, and Robert Leighton. Among the later Puritans were Edmund Calamy, Thomas Goodwin, Richard Baxter, John Owen, William Bates, Stephen Charnock, John Flavel, Joseph Alleine, Philip Henry, Samuel Clarke, jun., and John Howe, all of whom became Nonconformists. Among divines who remained in the Church, and who were most of them faithful to the gospel, were John Pearson, Isaac Barrow, Robert South, Gilbert Burnet, and John Tillotson. Among the later of the Nonconformists were John Caryl, Greenhill, Jeremiah Burroughes, David Clarkson, William Gouge, and Daniel Burgess, most of whom had been ministers of the Established Church. Others, now in the Church and now out, were Reynolds, Hildersham, and Byfield. Among the Baptists were John Tombes, John Bunyan, John Gifford, Henry Jessey, Hansard Knollys, and Benjamin Keach. And there were besides, the Quakers, Fox, Penn, and Barclay, not to mention a host of lesser though still eminent

names. Among religious laymen an honoured place is due to Boyle and Hale.

382. Most of the eminent theologians of the seventeenth century were to be found either at the universities or in London, and an occasional visit to those places would have made the student familiar with nearly all of them. Theology at Cambridge. When Charles I. was ascending the throne (1625), the Master of Catherine Hall, Cambridge, was Richard Sibbes (1577-1635). At the beginning of the century he had entered at St. John's as a sub-sizar, and had undergone a marvellous religious change under the preaching of Paul Bayne, one of the doctrinal Puritans, and the author of some beautiful letters and an *Exposition of the Ephesians*. Bayne was preacher at St. Andrew's, where he had succeeded William Perkins, another Puritan (1558-1602), whose preaching had filled Cambridge, Fuller tells us, with the fragrance of the gospel, and whose works are still read with interest. Sibbes' preaching was blessed in turn to Cotton, and Cotton's to John Preston, who was now Master at Emmanuel, while Sibbes was Master at Catherine Hall. Both were frequent preachers at St. Mary's, the university church. Among the more valuable of Sibbes' published volumes are *The Bruised Reed* and *The Soul's Conflict*. Both books were favourites with Richard Baxter and Izaak Walton.

Among Sibbes' occasional hearers at St. Mary's, were John Milton, who was then at Christ's; Jeremy Taylor, who had entered as a 'poor scholar,' and who afterwards became Fellow of All Souls, Oxford; Thomas Gouge (1605-1681), son of Dr. William Gouge, then a student at King's, and who when 'outed' for Nonconformity, spent his fortune in works of charity, visited Wales every year for the purpose of Bible circulation, and Christ's Hospital every week for the purpose of catechizing the children, and thus became qualified to speak of various truths, and especially of the *Surest Way of Thriving*; George Herbert, Fellow of Trinity, poet and Public Orator; and Joseph Mede (1586-1638), who was now Fellow at Christ's, and the author of the *Clavis Apocalyptica*, the work that led the way in the right interpretation of the prophecies of Scripture, and which is still a standard book in that department of literature. Among his occasional hearers were also Thomas Fuller, the historian, with his

wonderful memory and ready wit; Edmund Calamy (1600-1666), who had recently taken his degree at Pembroke, and was now lecturing at Bury, soon to be driven out for refusing to read the *Book of Sports*, and well known hereafter for several sermons and treatises; Samuel Clarke (1599-1682), who had just left Emmanuel, and was soon to gain eminence for his *Marrow of Ecclesiastical History*, a volume of English biography, praised by Fuller; and perhaps his son Samuel, the author of *Annotations on the Bible* (1690), who was a student at Pembroke, whence he went to become minister at Alcester, and where for a short time he gave Richard Baxter a home; John Arrowsmith, Fellow of St. John's, of which he was afterwards, on the appointment of the Earl of Manchester, Master, and later still, Master of Trinity, the author of *A Chain of Principles, or A Collection of Theological Aphorisms* (1659), the *Tactica Sacra*, and the *God-Man*, a posthumous work (1660); the renowned Thomas Goodwin (1601-1679), who, though best known in connexion with Oxford, and as the friend of Oliver Cromwell, whom he attended on his death-bed, was about this time Fellow of Catherine Hall; Thomas Shepherd, of Emmanuel (born 1605), author of various sermons and learned treatises, and reckoned by Fuller among the learned men of his college; and William Bridge (1600-1670), Fellow of Emmanuel, who was silenced for Nonconformity and ejected, but is honoured as the author of various theological works. Among the men of learning who occasionally heard him were A. Whelock, then at Clare Hall, the translator of the New Testament into Persian, the editor of *Bede*, and the assistant of his friend, Edmund Castell; Castell himself (born 1606), already looking weary with study; Brian Walton (born 1600), now at Peterhouse; and John Lightfoot (1602-1675), now or recently at Christ's College, already busied with Rabbinical and Oriental literature, whom the Parliamentary visitors made Master of Catherine Hall, and who retained his post after the Restoration, chiefly through the influence of Sheldon. Among the laymen were Lord Wriothsley, son of Shakespeare's Earl of Southampton, 'whose bright face was often seen in the church,' and Sir Dudley North, both members of St. John's. At King's was Edmund Waller, and at Trinity, Thomas Randolph, both known to us already as poets.

If we could introduce the reader to the more eminent of Sibbes'

contemporaries, including under that phrase those that studied with him at the beginning of the century and those who were at the University when he left, they would be found to be some of the most remarkable men of their time. From Christ's College had recently gone William Whately (1583-1639) to settle as lecturer at Banbury, the author of an able treatise on *Regeneration*; Henry Scudder, the author of *A Christian's Daily Walk*, a favourite book of Baxter and Owen; and A. Hildersham (1563-1631), the author of treatises rich in practical and experimental divinity. There were, at the beginning of the century, Thomas Adams, at Sidney College; Samuel Ward, afterwards lecturer at Ipswich, persecuted for nonconformity, and author of several tracts of great scarcity and worth; William Ames (1576-1633), who had inveighed against the immorality of the University, and who, amid the storm he raised, took refuge at the Hague, where, under the name of Amesius, he wrote several well-known books on theology and on ethics, especially his *Medulla Theologiæ*, and his treatise, *De Conscientia*; Jeremiah Burroughs (1599-1646), minister of the Nonconformist churches at Rotterdam, Stepney, and Cripplegate, and author of a learned *Commentary on Hosea*; John Donne (1573-1631), divine and poet, who studied at Trinity and became Dean of St. Paul's, leaving behind him sermons which now rank high for pathos and dignity. Among the later members of the University were Samuel Cradock, a Nonconformist, author of a *System of Divinity* and a *Harmony of the Evangelists*; John Pearson (1612-1686), of King's, afterwards Master of Trinity (1662) and Bishop of Chester, whose *Exposition of the Creed* is one of the best-written pieces of theology in our language; David Clarkson (1620-1686), one of the most eminent of the Nonconformists, Fellow of Clare Hall, and tutor of Tillotson, who succeeded him in his fellowship, the co-pastor and successor of Dr. Owen, and author of several discourses; Joseph Trueman (d. 1671), a member of Clare Hall, author of *The Great Propitiation*, and of a discourse on *Natural and Moral Impotency*, in which he anticipates some of the best-known modern distinctions on freedom and necessity; Stephen Charnock (1628-1680), who went while yet a youth to Emmanuel College, and afterwards to New College, Oxford, the author of one of the best treatises in our language *On the Attributes of God*, and a preacher for several years

in London; Stephen Marshal, who was one of the most popular chaplains of the House of Commons in the days of the Parliament, who died in 1655, and was buried in Westminster Abbey; the 'Silver-tongued' Bates (1625-1699), who studied at Emmanuel's and King's, was Chaplain to Charles II., an active member of the Savoy Conference, was ejected in 1662, the friend of Tillotson and the author of several treatises, of which the best known is his *Harmony of the Divine Perfections in the Work of Redemption*; and William Gurnal (1617-1674), Fellow of Emmanuel and minister at Lavenham, the author of the *Christian in Complete Armour*, a popular treatise on practical divinity. Add to this list several eminent members of Emmanuel College—Tuckney, its president, a man of great learning and candour; Benjamin Whichcote, Provost of King's, Professor of Divinity, afterwards Minister at St. Ann's, Blackfriars, and author of some admirable sermons, and of a book of *Aphorisms* on religion; Henry More; Ralph Cudworth; and John Davenant (d. 1641), Master of Queen's in 1614, sent by King James with Bishop Hall and the 'ever-memorable Hales' to the Synod of Dort, Bishop of Salisbury, and author of an *Exposition of the Epistle to the Colossians*; Nathaniel Culverwell, author of an impressive treatise on *The Light of Nature*, recently edited by Dr. Caird; John Smith (1618-1652), the pupil of Whichcote, and author of *Select Discourses*, a book of uncommon penetration and learning; and John Worthington (1618-1671), Fellow and Master of Jesus, editor of the *Select Discourses*, and author of the *Life* of John Smith, his college friend.

Such are a few, a few only, of the names that made the seventeenth century illustrious for theology. The greatest names of all, those of Baxter, Owen, Howe, and Bunyan among the Non-conformists; of Taylor, Leighton, Barrow, Tillotson, and South, among those who adhered throughout to Episcopacy, deserve fuller mention.

383. Oxford sympathised much less with theological inquiry and less with the Parliament than Cambridge. It was the

University of Laud, the adviser of Charles I. in some of his unwise measures, and of Juxon, the chaplain who attended him in his last moments. There, moreover were educated some of the most eminent of the Non-

Theology at
Oxford.

jurors, Ken, and Kettlewell, and Hickes. Some of its most learned men, indeed, were members of the Puritan party, Prynne, of Histriomastix celebrity, a member of Oriel; John Hampden, the patriot; and George Wither, the Republican poet of Magdalen; John Ball, of Brazenose (1585-1640), the Puritan writer *On Faith*, and on *The Power of Godliness*; Robert Bolton (1572-1631) of Lincoln, the first Greek scholar of his age, author of *The Four Last Things*, and of other works, all written in a style sometimes florid and sometimes magnificent; Joseph Caryl, of Exeter (1602-1673), the author of an elaborate *Commentary on Job*; Thomas Manton, of Wadham (1620-1677), ordained by Bishop Hall before he was twenty, minister at Stoke Newington, chaplain to Cromwell, though he protested against the execution of the king, one of the best preachers in England, Bishop Usher says, and one of the ablest expositors of Scripture; John Flavel, of University College (1627-1691), Minister at Deptford and at Dartmouth, who, though silenced by the Act of Uniformity, continued preaching till his death, the author of the *Fountain of Life Opened, Husbandry Spiritualized*, and many other treatises. But the great men of Oxford were generally of another class. Now, however, the Puritan authority was in the ascendant. All Souls, where Sheldon, afterwards archbishop, was warden till 1648, was now presided over by a nominee of the Parliament. St. John's, where Laud and Juxon had been Masters, was under the care of Thankful Owen, an able man, though very unlike his predecessors. At Magdalen, Thomas Goodwin, the Puritan, was President, and at Christ's Church, the Dean was John Owen (1651), who became in the following year Vice-Chancellor. The Hebrew Professor was Dr. Pocock, a Royalist and a Prelatist, but carried through the ordeal of the Parliamentary Triers by Owen's influence. The Savilian Professor of Mathematics was Wallis, who had used his mathematical skill in deciphering the intercepted letters of the Royalists; and the Warden of Wadham was Dr. Wilkins, afterwards Bishop of Chester, and brother-in-law of Cromwell. He was now dividing his thoughts between *the possibility of a passage to the moon* and the hope of framing a language of symbols that should be everywhere intelligible. These two learned gentlemen met weekly in rooms at Wadham to talk over questions connected with the new philosophy, and were joined by a tall sickly man,

Robert Boyle, and a young scholar of All Souls, Christopher Wren: Sydenham, the founder of the new school of medicine, will soon join them. Jeremy Taylor had been here some years before, having a fellowship at All Souls, but he had been sequestered, and was now school-keeping in Wales. Robert Sanderson, one of the ablest writers on ethics and divinity, had also just left Christ's College, a man of great learning and ability both as author and as preacher. Owen's predecessor was Edward Reynolds, who had been a member of the Westminster Assembly, and who was at the Restoration made Bishop of Norwich: he was the author of a treatise *On the Passions*, and of several volumes of elaborate and striking sermons. The previous Dean was John Fell, and the Sub-Dean, Dr. Hammond, both men of great learning. Fell became Bishop of Oxford, and aided the criticism of the text of the New Testament: Hammond was the author of four folio volumes, expository and practical.

Owen and Goodwin proved no dishonour to the University, and among their pupils were men bearing some of the most eminent names in our literature. At Christ Church were Robert South, the wit and divine; John Locke, the philosopher; and Philip Henry, the model pastor, all of whom must have listened to Owen's teaching. At Magdalen were Richard Cumberland, a pupil of Goodwin's, eminent for historical learning and for ethical inquiry; Theophilus Gale, author of *The Court of the Gentiles*, a full account of ancient philosophy, and author of various sermons; and John Howe, 'the prince of theologians.' At Wadham was Bishop Sprat, the historian of the Royal Society, and at Corpus was Joseph Alleine, the author of *The Alarm*. Indeed, both Burnet and Clarendon bear witness to the good condition of the University when it passed from under Owen's care into the hands of his successors. During most of this time, Owen and Goodwin, from their interest in the spiritual welfare of the members of the University, added to their regular work the duty of preaching on alternate Sundays at St. Mary's.

384. It has been noticed already that the greatest theologians of the seventeenth century were to be found at the Universities or in London. About the time when Tillotson was preaching at Lincoln's Inn, there were Wake and Jeremy Collier at Gray's Inn, Sherlock at the Temple,

Preachers in
London.

Burnet at the Rolls, Stillingfleet at St. Paul's, Patrick at Covent Garden, Sharp at St. Giles's-in-the-Fields, Tenison at St. Martin's, Sprat at St. Margaret's, Beveridge at St. Peter's, Cornhill. Most of these men were famous for learning or for eloquence. Nine of them became bishops and four archbishops, and all were London clergy.^a

Nor were those connected with the Nonconformist bodies men of less eminence. Between the Commonwealth and the beginning of the eighteenth century, there were lecturing at Pinner's Hall, Bates, Manton, Owen, Howe, Mat. Mead, and Daniel Williams; at Jewin-street, the meeting-house of Lardner, Benson, and R. Price, was Dr. W. Harris; at Carter-lane, Doctor's Commons, were in succession, Sylvester, Baxter, Edmund Calamy, and Jeremiah Burroughs; at Crosby-square were Charnock and Dr. Grosvenor; at Bury-street were Caryl, Owen, and D. Clarkson; at Silver-street, among the Presbyterians, were Dr. Jacobson; and among the Independents, Philip Nye and Daniel Neal; at Haberdashers' Hall were Strong, the author of *The Covenants*, and Theophilus Gale, of the *Court of the Gentiles*; at Salters' Hall was Nathaniel Taylor, 'the dissenting South,' and Spilsbury, the brother-in-law of Bishop Hall; at the Three Cranes in Thames-street, Thomas Gouge and Thomas Ridgeley, the author of a well-known *Body of Divinity*; and in other parts of London were Hansard Knollys, Henry d'Anvers, Daniel Dyke, William Kiffen, Joseph Stennett, Daniel Burgess, Thomas Vincent, Henry Denne, and later Dr. James Foster, whom Pope names as the model preacher of his age. All these men were authors, and their works still claim a place in our theological literature.

385. John Owen was born in 1616, being the son of the minister of a small parish in Oxfordshire, a descendant of a long line of Welsh ancestors. When quite young, he went to Queen's College, Oxford, with an ardent passion for study, to which he gave nearly twenty hours out of the four-and-twenty, and made great progress in all departments of knowledge, 'from mathematics to music.' He intended entering the Church of England, but his plans were changed by a visitation of religious earnestness while yet a student. Thereupon his conscience grew tender, perhaps morbidly tender; and Laud's new code of statutes for the regulation of the University

^a Macaulay, i. 330.

filled him with alarm and drove him from the place. Happening to reside for a time in London, he went to hear Edmund Calamy, then a celebrated preacher. Calamy, however, was from home, and his place was supplied by a country minister, whose name Owen could never ascertain. The message of the truth was blessed to him; his fears were dispelled, and gradually he gained an earnestness and a definiteness of purpose in life such as he had not yet known. In the Gospel he found peace, and to the cause of the Gospel he consecrated all his powers.

A book which he published at this time attracting the attention of the Parliament, he was presented to the living of Fordham, and afterwards to that of Coggleshall, both in Essex. Here his reputation grew so rapidly that in 1649 Cromwell took him to Ireland, where he was employed in remodelling Trinity College, Dublin. After visiting Edinburgh with Cromwell he was made Dean of Christ Church, and in the following year (1652), Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford—an office he retained till Cromwell's death.

After the Restoration, Clarendon offered him church preferment, but he felt bound to decline it. For some time he suffered from the persecuting spirit of the times, though his sufferings were strangely alleviated by the respect of all parties and the personal kindness of the king, who on one occasion sent for him and gave him a thousand guineas to distribute among his coreligionists. The later years of Owen's life he spent in London, where he succeeded Caryl as minister, and where he was himself followed by Isaac Watts. A large portion of his time must have been devoted to literary work, for he wrote some thirty volumes, among which his *Exposition of the Hebrews* is one of the most elaborate. At length his pen dropped from his hand; and on Bartholomew's Day, 1683, after hearing that the printer had just put to press his *Meditation on the Glory of Christ*, he fell asleep, and all that glory was at once revealed. 'On the 4th September a vast funeral procession, including the carriages of sixty-seven noblemen and gentlemen, with long trains of mourning coaches and horsemen, took the road to Finsbury, and there in a new burying-ground within a few paces of Goodwin's grave, and near the spot where five years later John Bunyan was interred, they laid the dust of Dr. Owen.'^a

^a Hamilton's *Christian Classics*, ii. 9.

Owen's fame does not rest on his style, but partly on his position and personal manners, though chiefly on his thoughts. He possessed, Wood tells us, 'a comely personage, graceful behaviour in the pulpit, an eloquent elocution, a winning deportment,' and was equally ready for business and for speech. His sentences are often tedious and involved, his diction dry and pointless: he firmly repudiates 'eloquence and ornaments,' and yet for exhaustive thought, logical skill, and extensive learning, all pervaded with a deep and tender spirituality, there is no greater man than Owen. Robert Hall could 'never read him;' yet Cecil deemed him one of our richest writers. Dr. Welsh in his later years read nothing but the Bible, the Olney Hymns, and Owen's *Spiritual Mindedness*, while the publication and sale of two complete editions of his works in upwards of twenty volumes, and during one generation, attest the estimate in which his writings are held by general readers. It may be added that theologically Owen is more Calvinistic than Calvin, and that he was one of the first in England to teach the doctrine of a restricted Atonement.

386. Like Owen and Flavel and Matthew Henry, John Howe was the son of a minister, and was born at Loughborough in Leicestershire in 1630. He began his career at Cambridge, Howe. but soon left for Oxford, where he became a fellow of Magdalen, and joined the Congregational Church under the pastoral care of the President of Magdalen, Dr. Thomas Goodwin. In his twenty-third year he was appointed minister of Great Torrington in Devonshire. There he became acquainted with the noble family of the Russells, married the daughter of Mr. Hughes of Plymouth, a minister equally renowned and beloved in that district, and there he preached, and wrote his two treatises *On the Blessedness of the Righteous* and *On Delighting in God*.

Happening to visit London he went to worship one Sunday at Whitehall, and there the keen eye of Cromwell observed him. He was commanded to preach on the following Sunday; and in the end, though sorely against his own will, he became one of Cromwell's chaplains. His ministry was now transferred to Westminster, where all classes seem to have profited by it,—the poor and simple instructed by its piety and scripturalness, and the

more thoughtful and intelligent by its fulness and depth. His influence with the Protector was very great, and was always used for others, not for himself. On one occasion he appealed to Cromwell to make Seth Ward, who was one of the greatest mathematicians of England, Principal of Jesus College: the application was too late, but Cromwell gave Howe's friend an income equal to the salary of the office. At the Restoration, Howe gratefully resumed his charge at Torrington, and there, by a curious coincidence, Dr. Ward was his diocesan. The Act of Uniformity drove him from his living, though the bishop tried to argue him out of his scruples. For some time he preached at the houses of different members of his congregation, but despairing of any continuous labour he accepted an invitation to become chaplain to Lord Massarene at Antrim Castle in Ireland, and there he resided for five years. In 1676 he came to London to take the pastorate of a church in Silver-street, where he had an intelligent and affectionate people. After an anxious and broken ministry, he settled at Utrecht, having gone abroad with Philip, Lord Wharton, and there with Burnet and other refugees he waited for better times. On the expulsion of the Stuarts he returned to England and resumed his ministry at Silver-street. 'His blameless character, his commanding intellect, his conciliatory spirit, and his advancing years made him the centre of a very general reverence and affection.'^a Round his death-bed gathered many friends and ministers, to whom he expatiated on that blessedness which he had so often described, and which he was so soon to see. Among these were Richard Cromwell, to whom he had been chaplain five and forty years before, and who was now a quiet country gentleman, and a man of exemplary Christian character. Howe died in 1705.

His characteristic qualities are majesty and comprehensiveness, and his writings have been preferred by many eminent and competent judges to those of any other Puritan divine. Robert Hall used to 'admire exceedingly' his *Living Temple*, which, like Augustine's *City of God*, is a kind of system of divinity, his *Redeemer's Tears*, and especially his *Defence of the Sincerity of the Gospel-offer, or the Reconcilableness of God's Prescience of the Sins of Men with His Counsels and Warnings and whatever means He*

^a Hamilton's *Christian Classics*.

uses to prevent them. This treatise is, as Hall thinks, the most profound and the most philosophical of all his writings. Howe was, like many of the men of his age, too fond of divisions in his composition, and his style is wanting in grace and clearness.

387. It is curious to notice how human nature repeats itself. In our own century the study of the Fathers has been pressed upon us by some as the only means of arriving at religious truth: others have preached the doctrine of sacramental efficacy, others a simple evangelism resolving everything into faith and love, and others a latitudinarianism which lays stress upon intelligence and earnestness, studies Christian doctrine in the light of philosophy, and claims for candour and sincerity the place which is due rather to the love of the truth, and of the truth as it is in Christ.

These controversies were carried on with no less vehemence in the seventeenth century. About the year 1628 John Daillé, who had been chaplain to the Huguenot Mornay family, and was residing at Paris as Protestant minister and author, published a treatise on *The Right Use of the Fathers*. He there maintains that they cannot be the judges in modern religious controversies, partly because it is difficult or even impossible to find out what they teach, and partly because they are themselves fallible. The book was a favourite one with Lord Falkland, who translated part of it into English, while two of Falkland's friends, Chillingworth and Hales, found in it materials to help them in their revolt against church authority. Both these great men were Arminians, and were strongly opposed to the Puritans, but both deliberately declined to use the Fathers in defence of their views.

William Chillingworth (1602-1644) was born at Oxford, where he also studied. Under the influence of Fisher the Jesuit, he entered the Romish Church and removed to Douay. The argument that weighed most with him was, that the church of Rome supplied that infallible living guide in matters of faith which he thought that most men need. After adopting his new creed, however, he discovered that there is no more infallibility at Rome than at Canterbury, and that instead of having one book to study—a single Bible, he had now a hundred books, all less simple and more uncertain than the teaching of the Book of God.

He therefore returned to the Protestant faith. A Jesuit called Knott, but whose true name was Wilson, a Morpeth man (1580-1656), having written a book to prove that unrepenting Protestants could not be saved, Chillingworth replied in his famous answer, *The Religion of Protestants a Safe Way to Salvation* (1637). This work, which answers Knott's, paragraph by paragraph, and almost sentence by sentence, is a model of clear reasoning, and one of the ablest defences of the Protestant cause. It has the great excellence of adhering to the question in dispute, and of avoiding all ambiguities of language. Its main doctrine is, that everything necessary to be believed is clearly laid down in Scripture. Of tradition, which was now becoming a popular authority with some parties in the Church, he speaks very slightly; and while admitting that doctrines held universally and from the first (*ab omnibus, semper, ubique*,—to adopt the definition of Vincentius), are no doubt primitive truths, he thinks that it is impossible to ascertain what they are, and that the doctrines which come the nearest to this definition (among which he names Chiliasm and Infant Communion) are rejected by all denominations in modern times. Though written in answer to Knott, *The Religion of Protestants* has the excellence common to every great book: it is understood and appreciated without the necessity of any reference to the volume it answers.

Chillingworth's Arminian notions raised against him the charge of Latitudinarianism, and the charge was confirmed by his refusal to subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles, the necessary condition of preferment in the Church. It seems however to have been subscription to which Chillingworth objected rather than to the Articles themselves. In his treatise he protests against 'deifying our own interpretations and enforcing them upon others,' and holds that 'this restraining of the words of God from their generality of understanding, and of men from that liberty which Christ and his apostles left them, is the only fountain of all the schisms of the Church and that which makes them immortal.' After a time his scruples were overcome, and in 1638 he was promoted to be Chancellor of Salisbury. He remained till the close of life the personal friend of Laud, though his book became the favourite of the more liberal school of divines, and had among its warmest admirers Tillotson and Locke. Lord Clarendon praises Chillingworth for his subtlety of understanding, his quickness of

argument, and gentleness of temper,—qualities in which, he adds, ‘he had a great advantage over all the men I ever knew.’

388. A still bolder defender of the same general views was ‘the ever memorable’ John Hales of Eton (1584–1656). He was an eminent Greek scholar, and was appointed
Hales.

Professor of that tongue at Oxford in 1612. In 1618 he went to the Hague as chaplain to Sir D. Carleton, and attended the Synod of Dort. Up to this time he had been a Calvinist; but the reasonings and the genial spirit of Episcopius, the leader of the Arminian party, led him to change his faith, and as he himself says ‘to bid John Calvin good night.’ On his return to England he accepted a fellowship at Eton offered to him by his friend the Provost, Sir H. Savile. After the defeat of the Royalists he was deprived of his fellowship for refusing the ‘Engagement’ or oath of fidelity to the Commonwealth as then established. For his support under these circumstances he sold a part of his library at a great loss both of money and of feeling: he continued, however, to retain the good opinion of all parties, both by his scholarship and by his courteous cheerful independence. His learning is attested by Bishop Pearson, Dr. Heylin, Andrew Marvel, and Clarendon, most of whom had occasion to avail themselves of it. In religion he was remarkably charitable and tolerant. His *Sermons* are clear and simple in style, in sentiment wanting in evangelicalness, and occasionally tending, as Hallam notes, to Socinianism. His *Tract concerning Schism and Schismatics* was intended to protest against Church authority in matters of faith. The disunion of Christians he ascribes to the multiplying of tests, and to the ambition of churchmen in power: fewer tests and more simplicity and love are the remedies which he proposes for existing evils. Some passages excited the suspicion of Laud, an old friend of the author; but on conference between the two, Laud was so well pleased with his explanations that he pressed on his acceptance a prebendal stall at Windsor. Some of the harsh and strong expressions of the first edition of *Schism* he softened or omitted in the second.

389. Leighton, Taylor, and Barrow are examples of men as conscientious as the Puritans, who yet took an opposite side, and suffered for conscience’ sake. Robert
Leighton. Leighton was born in 1613 and was the son of a Puritan

who suffered much persecution. After receiving a good education at home he was sent to Edinburgh, where he gave early proof of talent and of piety. His knowledge of mathematics and the gentleness of his temper are specially mentioned by his contemporaries. When he had finished his studies at the University he resided for some years in France, and on his return to England he became Presbyterian minister of Newbattle near Edinburgh. In his parish he was a most exemplary pastor. When Charles I. was confined by the Commissioners of the Parliament in Holmby House, 'The Engagement' was formed to rescue him. Leighton, wearied of the divisions of the country, and probably dreading the downfall of the monarchy, declared for the Engagement, and gave up his connexion with Presbyterians to join the Episcopalians. For this decision the Presbyterians denounced him as an apostate, and the other party gave him the hearty welcome so often reserved for new converts. Having resigned his charge he was chosen, by the magistrates and town council of Edinburgh, Principal of the University, and there he delivered the course of *Lectures* with which his name is still associated. For pure Latinity and sublime thought they have been praised by all parties. This office Leighton held for ten years. In 1662 he was made Bishop of Dunblane, accepting the office with reluctance and misgiving. His hope seems to have been to reconcile differences and to soften animosity. Finding that harsh measures were used to force Episcopacy on the Scottish people he remonstrated with the King, and was for the time quieted with fair speeches. In 1670 he was appointed, still against his will, Archbishop of Glasgow; for twelve months he declined to act upon the appointment and resigned it in 1673: after a second and third resignation he vacated the office and retired to his Bishopric of Dunblane. Displeased with the Court, and despairing of effecting further good in public life, he removed to England, and resided at Broadhurst in Sussex. There in peace and active benevolence he spent the remainder of his days, dying in 1684. His character is sketched with great affection by Bishop Burnet: 'he had,' says he, 'a sublime strain in preaching, with so grave a gesture, and such a majesty both of thought, of language, and of pronunciation, that I never once saw a wandering eye where he preached, and have seen whole assemblies often melted in tears before him.' His *Commentary on the First Epistle of Peter* is

rich in evangelical sentiment, and contains 'much learning without parade, sound theology without stiffness, and great eloquence with natural language and appropriate imagery.' It has had many admirers, from Doddridge to Coleridge. With the latter it was a special favourite, and extracts from it form the basis and not the least interesting part of the *Aids to Reflection*.

390. The most imaginative of the divines of the seventeenth century was Jeremy Taylor (1613-1667), the Spenser of theological literature, though not, as some have called him, Taylor. the Shakespeare. He is without the insight or philosophy or unity of the great dramatist, but he strongly resembles the author of the *Faery Queen* in richness of fancy, in music of language, as well as in the tendency to be led away by some favourite image or to be lost in some absorbing reverie. He has also the faults incident to this temperament: he sometimes heaps epithet on epithet and image on image: 'all the quaint conceits of his fancy and the curious stores of his learning are dragged in, till both precision and propriety are lost.' Yet even in this exuberance there are method and purpose. His discourses are like the speeches of the orator, and seek to produce their effect by reiteration; or like the later pictures of Turner, in which it is at first difficult to look through masses of colour apparently laid on without discrimination, but in which, when we have looked through them, there is always meaning and beauty. Gorgeous, moreover, as his imagery often is, it is generally natural, taken from trees and birds and flowers, from the sun and sky, from infancy and youth; so that there is always freshness of feeling and of fancy, even when we are tempted to complain of excess. Above all, this vivid style is evidently his own. It is inseparable from the man: hence it remained with him till the last, unaffected by the sobering influence of the Civil War, in which he both shared and suffered, and even by the dry discussions of casuistry in which he was tempted to join.

Taylor was born at Cambridge, and was descended from a respectable family that had settled in the county of Gloucester, one of whose members had suffered martyrdom in Queen Mary's days. His father was a barber, and the son entered Caius College as a sizar. Here he took his degree. Having gone to London in 1631 to deliver some lectures for a college friend at St. Paul's, his

'florid and youthful beauty' and his eloquent discourses procured him the patronage of Archbishop Laud, the friend of learning, if not of freedom. Through his influence he obtained a fellowship in All Souls, Oxford, was made chaplain to the Archbishop, and rector of Uppingham in Rutland. In 1639 he married, and in three years lost his wife, who bore him three sons. The early death of all these clouded the life of their father, and probably helped to give to his writings that tinge of sadness which most readers perceive. The Civil War was now raging, and Taylor joined the Cavaliers. By royal mandate he was made D.D., and by the king's command wrote his *Defence of Episcopacy*. In 1641, while acting as chaplain to the royal army, he was taken prisoner near Cardigan. He was soon released; but finding his occupation gone, he resolved with two friends to establish a school in Carmarthenshire. After a while he was interdicted from teaching. Twice he seems to have been imprisoned, though without any peculiar severity. 'In the great storm which dashed the vessel of the church in pieces,' says he, 'I know not whether I have been more preserved by the courtesy of my friends or by the gentleness and mercies of a noble enemy.'^a Here he published in 1647 his *Liberty of Prophesying* (i.e. of preaching), *shewing the unreasonableness of prescribing to other men's faith and the iniquity of persecuting differing opinions*. This work is perhaps of 'all Taylor's writings that which shows him farthest in advance of the age in which he lived, and of the ecclesiastical system in which he had been reared. It is the first distinct and avowed defence of that toleration which had been ventured in England.' His argument is based upon the maxim of Erasmus, that the fundamental truths of the gospel are comprised in the Apostles' Creed, and that all beyond that creed is too uncertain to warrant us in condemning those who differ from us. For truths not contained in that creed he thinks that Scripture gives us no 'internal medium of interpretation, that tradition to which men appeal is dubious and insufficient, that the authority of councils is precarious from their inconsistency and their liability to factious passion, that the alleged infallibility of the Pope is unfounded, and the judgment of the Fathers often mutually contradictory, while the writings and records of all these unsatisfactory

^a Preface to the *Liberty of Prophesying*.

authorities are subject to wilful interpolation and to accidental mistakes. He suggests that churches should be formed on the plan of admitting to their communion all who profess the Apostles' Creed, and affirms, as Hales had affirmed before him, that 'he is rather the schismatic who makes unnecessary and inconvenient impositions, than he who disobeys them because he cannot do otherwise without violating his conscience.'

The reasonings of Taylor are clearly in favour of universal toleration, but he seems to have felt some difficulty in applying them. He tolerates diversities on doctrines not contained in the Apostles' Creed, but on doctrines contained in that creed he seems to insist on intolerance, in order that the authority of the magistrate may be upheld. In his seventeenth chapter he advises the magistrate before framing a law of discipline to consider whether it may be reasonably disliked by any who are to obey it: but when once it is enacted it must, he says, be enforced, and worship inconsistent with it must be put down. Whether this chapter was intended to rebuke the Puritan party, who refused to submit to ecclesiastical discipline, or whether the chapter itself is a later interpolation, as Hallam seems disposed to think, is not certain: but it is obviously not in keeping with the general argument of the book. In the same chapter he pleads earnestly for the toleration of the Baptists, whose views are 'so plausible and erroneous,' though he thinks they must be restrained from preaching their notions on the unlawfulness of war or on capital punishment. He also goes beyond Milton, and holds that Roman Catholics are to be tolerated except when they assert the Pope's power of deposing princes or of dispensing with oaths. The double principle he advocates is that toleration should be universal, only that the magistrate must see to the safety of the commonwealth: 'then whether such or such a sect be to be tolerated is a question rather political than religious.' The treatise ends with the well-known parable of Abraham, found, as Taylor says, in 'the Jews' books,' but really in an Arabian author. This story Franklin told, without stating whence he had taken it, and for many years it continued to be quoted with his name. It is not found in the first edition of Taylor's work, and indeed the book from which it is supposed to be taken was not published till 1651.

The fault of Taylor's volume, is partly the ground on which he rests his argument, and partly the tone of exaggeration in which

he defends it. Is the certainty of any truth a reason for not tolerating its opposite? Is it the grand reason for toleration that, on many questions, truth cannot be known? This is surely no self-evident principle, and yet it forms the basis of all his reasoning. In support of this argument Taylor also exaggerates the uncertainty of truth. He throws doubt upon many questions which dispassionate inquirers would not hesitate to affirm, and which he himself has affirmed in more than one of his other works. This tendency indeed to make exaggerated statements pervades his writings: he seems to have written on the principle of stating the opinion he is affirming in the strongest form, and then, finding that he has gone too far, instead of softening and modifying the expressions he has used, he inserts something of an opposite kind equally unguarded. Hence it is easy to quote from his writings contradictory statements, and even to represent him as holding opinions which he is known to condemn.

While in Wales, Taylor married Mrs. Bridges, a natural daughter of Charles I., and the owner of an estate in Carmarthen. Her property, however, must have been diminished by fines, or perhaps by the defence of the royal cause. At all events Taylor was compelled to accept of the generosity of his friend, John Evelyn, who contributed for some years to his support.

In 1648, soon after the publication of *The Liberty of Prophecy*, he published *The Life of Christ, our great Exemplar*,—a work that became deservedly popular. It was followed by treatises on *Holy Living* and *Holy Dying*—the last originating in a serious illness of the Countess of Carbery's, and by several *Sermons*. He wrote also at this time *The Golden Grove*, a manual of devotion, which took its name from the residence of the Earl of Carbery, his neighbour and patron. He next published a course of *Sermons for the Year*, and some tracts on *Original Sin*, in which he showed a tendency to adopt the Pelagian error on that doctrine. All his sermons have a high character: his piety and charity commend them to most readers, 'while his poetical imagination, the large accumulation of facts and reasonings and touching incidents, his erudition, which pours itself forth in quotation till his pieces become in some places almost a garland of flowers from all other writers,' have charms which interest those whose hearts are less influenced by the thought. His eloquence indeed is not of the highest class: his style is too much

that of a declaimer who lives in an age when taste is vitiated, and when impressiveness is supposed to depend more upon the words than upon the sentiment. Yet he is the greatest preacher of his class, and will always find readers to admire, though it is never safe to copy him.

In 1657 he became the minister of a number of Episcopalians who met for worship in London. In the following year he went to Ireland, and became preacher in the church at Lisburn under the patronage of the Earl of Conway. In 1660 he visited London to publish his *Ductor Dubitantium*, the most elaborate of his works, though not the most successful. Taylor's mind was not well qualified for discussions of casuistry; his fertility and acuteness were poor substitutes for the strong good sense and firm grasp of great principles which such questions require. The journey however exercised an important influence on his history. The Commonwealth was then on the eve of dissolution, and he opportunely signed the declaration of the Royalists. Charles soon entered the metropolis, amid such acclamations as made him express surprise that he had ever been suffered to leave it, and in three months Taylor was appointed to the bishopric of Down and Connor, to which the see of Dromore was afterwards annexed, 'on account of his virtue, wisdom, and industry.' His latest work was his *Dissuasive from Popery*, published in 1664. Here he repeats the principles he had laid down in his *Liberty of Prophecy*, rejecting all but Scripture authority, and denouncing the inconsistencies and fallacies of tradition. Here again the learning is profuse, but less exact and used with less scrupulousness than could be wished. His new honours he enjoyed for only six years, and died of fever at Lisburn in 1667. His works were first published in a collected form by Reginald Heber in 1822, and a third edition appeared in 1839.^a

391. The name of Isaac Barrow is second only to that of Newton in mathematics: in theology, it is, in its own class, second to none. Barrow was born in London, it is supposed in 1630. He entered as a scholar at the Charter House, which had then been recently opened; but he proved an idle and quarrelsome boy. From the Charter House he moved

^a The *Contemplations on Man*, sometimes included in Taylor's works, are not his.

to Cambridge, where he became a student of Trinity College, and gained the good opinion of Dr. Hill, the Presbyterian Master. He was elected Fellow of his college, but, despairing of promotion in a church avowedly anti-Episcopal, he devoted himself to the study of medicine, and had as a fellow student John Ray the naturalist. Soon after, his uncle, the future Bishop of St. Asaph, suggested that by his fellowship he was bound to study theology; Barrow thereupon relinquished natural science, and with a conscientiousness that distinguished him through life, resumed the study of divinity. Happening to note in reading Eusebius how important a knowledge of astronomy seemed to be to the accurate settlement of chronological questions, he took up that science: he then found it needful to master Euclid, and then Conic Sections, till in a few years he became one of the first mathematicians of his age. His earliest publication was an edition of *Euclid's Elements* (1655), in which he gives the fifteen books entire. In 1655, having been disappointed in his hope of obtaining a Greek professorship at Cambridge, vacated by the death of Duport, he went abroad and spent four years in visiting the principal countries of Europe. At Constantinople he studied with great delight the works of Chrysostom, 'the golden-mouthed,' most of which were composed in that city. In 1659 he returned to England, and at the Restoration was elected to the Greek Chair at Cambridge. In 1662 he obtained an office still more to his taste, being made Professor of Geometry in Gresham College. The same year Mr. Lucas founded a professorship of mathematics at Cambridge, and Barrow received the first appointment. This office he held six years, and towards the end of that time prepared for the press his *Lectiones Opticæ*, though the work was not published till 1672. The text was revised by his favourite student Isaac Newton, who supplied some important additions. In 1669 Barrow resigned his professorship, and was succeeded at his own request by his illustrious pupil. Besides the edition of Euclid he published editions of Archimedes, Apollonius, and Theodosius (1675): he wrote also *Lectures on Geometry*, which contain much that is both original and profound.

After resigning his mathematical chair he lived quietly at college, writing sermons and studying theology. In 1672 he reached the height of his ambition, and was made Master of Trinity: three years later he became Vice-Chancellor of the

University. Amid all his honours his personal habits remained unchanged. With few wants, he gave away in charity most of what he received, either to the poor, or later to the collection of the great library at Trinity which he founded and enriched. At his sermons he continued to work as if his living depended upon them. He was still in the vigour of manhood when the hand of death seized him. In 1677 he went to London to preach the Passion Sermon at Guildhall. It was the last sermon but one he ever preached, and only the second that had brought him any pecuniary remuneration, for, though he wrote many sermons, he preached very few. He must have discoursed at great length, and was probably exhausted by the service. At all events he took cold, and was laid up with fever. In a few weeks he died 'in a mean lodging at a saddler's near Charing Cross, the place he had used for several years.' He was buried in Westminster Abbey, where a marble monument, erected by his friends, records his learning and worth. A more durable memorial is to be found in his theological works, consisting of the most eloquent *Exposition of the Creed*, as the exposition by Pearson, his predecessor at Trinity, is the most learned; *Expositions of the Lord's Prayer* and of the *Decalogue*; *Sermons and Treatises on the Pope's Supremacy* and on *the Unity of the Church*. His works were published in three volumes folio a few years after his death. 'Of all the men I ever had the happiness of knowing,' says Tillotson, 'he was the freest from offending in word, coming as near as is possible for human frailty to the perfect idea of St. James's "perfect man."' 'It is the whimsical regret of his biographer, A. Hill, that he could hear of no calumny from which to vindicate him, and there can be no doubt that the happy equanimity of his spirit, his superiority to selfish considerations, his humility and large benevolence, secured for him an unusual amount of good will.'*

In judging of his sermons it must be kept in mind that they were not written for an actual audience. They are really treatises on subjects that struck or interested his own mind. He himself tells us that 'had he been a settled preacher he should have made them shorter,' and it may be added he would probably have left out scholastic phrases, and have quoted less from Aristotle and Seneca. As it is, they include with his other treatises 'the

* Hamilton's *Life*, prefixed to Barrow's works.

whole domain of theology and morals. There is scarcely a question which is not exhausted, and by his copiousness of language placed in every point of view and examined with the most conscientious accuracy.' It is largely to Barrow we owe the reunion in religious teaching of morality and religion, a reunion characteristic of much of our English theology. His eight sermons on the government of the tongue may be referred to as among the finest specimens of exhaustive moral teaching. At the same time it must be added that he too often appeals to motives of a moral or rational or temporal kind, without fully recognising the importance and power of those motives which we sum up in one word—The Cross.

As a writer his style is strong, flowing, and cumulative, not entirely free from vulgarism, sometimes weakened by parentheses, yet on the whole dignified and impressive. He closes, as Coleridge remarks, the first great period of the English language, as Dryden begins the second.^a Stewart notes with truth that he displays in his works 'a certain air of powerful and of conscious facility in the execution of whatever he undertakes. Whether the subject be mathematical, metaphysical, or theological, he seems always to bring to it a mind which feels itself superior to the occasion, and which in contending with the greatest difficulties puts forth but half its strength.'

392. Every reader who has looked into the writings of the Puritans must have been struck with the style of their sermons.

Latimer and the Gospellers of his day spoke to the people direct, and that direct style was common in England, till the middle of the reign of Elizabeth. It was thus Henry Smith preached at St. Clement Danes, as did Walter Travers, the colleague and opponent of Richard Hooker at the Temple. With the later years of Elizabeth and the reign of James another fashion was introduced. Both the Tudor queen and her successor were jealous of the pulpit, and especially jealous of appeals to the people. To this influence in part, and in part to the euphuistic tastes of the age, the alteration of the style of sermonising is to be attributed. The natural method of treating a text is to seize the leading thought, to present it entire, to ex-

Preaching in
the seven-
teenth century.

^a Hamilton's *Classics*, ii., 387.

plain and apply it. The Puritans dissected it and made each morsel the theme of a separate disquisition, 'spicing the whole with puns and quips and verbal jingles,' which tickled the fancy and probably helped the memory. In many of their sermons there was great ingenuity, often no small beauty of language and thought, and nearly always glorious truth: their method moreover called attention to God's words, and impressed them at once on the memory and on the heart. But it was not to be defended; and we now come to two preachers who introduced a sounder

South and
Tillotson.

system, South and Tillotson, though both were wanting in some of the more important qualities of their predecessors. Both were educated under Puritans and sectaries—South under Owen at Oxford, Tillotson under Clarkson at Cambridge; both joined the church of England; both were chaplains of Charles II.; both were admirable sermon-writers, though in very different styles. But here the likeness between the two men ends. South showed great contempt for science, and reserved for the Royal Society the bitterness which was not expended on fanatics: Tillotson could correspond with Halley about comets, and discuss the journey to the moon or the 'universal character' with his wife's step-father and Cromwell's brother-in-law, Dr. Wilkins. South never thought of his early associates but with rancour, or spoke of them but as knaves or hypocrites: Tillotson longed to comprehend them in the church, and made several attempts to widen the door or remove what he deemed to be their scruples. South's temper was so fiery and his tongue so rasping that his foes dreaded his onslaughts, while his humour was so uncertain that his friends who thought they had most reason to count upon his affection were often the likeliest to suffer: Tillotson shared the love of all round him, 'edited the books of his friends, acted as guardian to their orphan families or as executor to their wills.' 'South, in some respects the better theologian, and incomparably the more brilliant thinker, accomplished little or nothing for the cause of our common Christianity; whilst in his living day, Tillotson's arguments and affectionate appeals were profoundly felt by listening thousands, and long after he was gone, his name continued in the kingdom a tower of strength to the Church of England.'^a

^a Hamilton, iii., 24.

393. Robert South (1633-1716) was born at Hackney, and was educated under Dr. Busby at Westminster. At Oxford he entered as a student at Christ Church, and had as his fellow-student John Locke, while John Owen was Dean. There he showed the same qualities which we note with dissatisfaction in his later years—a keen wit, an ill humour, an overbearing temper, and no small shrewdness in taking care of himself. In 1660 he was chosen University Orator, and his abilities attracting the notice of Clarendon, who was then Chancellor of Oxford and Lord High Chancellor of England, South was appointed his chaplain. In the first sermon he preached before the court he broke down, but soon became a favourite, and was promised a bishopric. In 1663 he was made Prebend of Westminster, and in 1670 Canon of Christ Church and Rector of Islip; but he never received higher promotion. His income as rector he spent generously on the parish. As the Revolution drew on he was sadly puzzled. Declining to take part with either side, he announced that he should ‘go into retirement, and give himself unto prayer.’ There he remained till the Revolution was completed. As soon as William was king *de facto* he took the oath of allegiance and retained his preferment. He lived to witness the accession of George I. and died in 1716: he was buried in Westminster Abbey, and his grave is still marked by an elaborate monument.

South’s fame as a preacher is owing to very obvious qualities. First of all he has strong practical sense, and shows it in addressing his hearers in plain forcible English, in rejecting the technical phraseology and the endless divisions of his predecessors, and especially in selecting arguments and illustrations likeliest to produce conviction. Then, like Thomas Fuller, he has a ready wit. His sermons sparkle with coruscations that must have lighted up many a smile, and sometimes—for there is much honest feeling about them—have warmed many a heart. Add to these his liveliness, natural eloquence, vigour, and freshness, and it is not difficult to understand his popularity. Of tender and evangelical feeling there is but little trace in his writings. Yet his sermons are still well worth reading, and are rich in sagacious thought, brilliant imagery, and vigorous racy utterances. His discourse on *Man created in God’s image*, is one of the best known, and certainly nothing had then appeared more poetical in conception, or more exquisite in language. In 1693 he pub-

lished *Animadversions on Sherlock's Vindication of the Doctrine of the Trinity*, which are written with great virulence and unbecoming personality.

394. John Tillotson (1630-1694) was a native of Yorkshire, where his father was known as a man of strong sense and of eminent piety. In his seventeenth year he was sent to Tillotson. Clare Hall, Cambridge, and had David Clarkson as his tutor. With such an ancestry and such training it can excite no surprise that the first sermon he published was one delivered at the morning exercise in Cripplegate—a nonconformist service. Meanwhile, however, the study of Chillingworth's *Religion of Protestants*, had modified his earlier opinions, and on the passing of the Act of Uniformity, in 1662, he accepted the curacy of Cheshunt near London. In the following year he was elected Preacher at Lincoln's Inn, and soon after obtained a lectureship at St. Lawrence, Jewry, where crowds went to hear him, and where he was regarded as a model of pulpit eloquence.

Three influences were now at work in the state. Libertinism was running to excess at the Court, in literature, and on the stage. As a consequence men were learning to doubt what they thought they had an interest in doubting; while on the other hand there was a reaction in favour of the Romish church. Profligacy, infidelity, and Popery, were beginning to take possession of the nation, as they had for some time had a strong hold upon the Court. These threefold evils Tillotson sought to meet. Among his ablest writings are some sermons against Transubstantiation and others in favour of Natural Religion and on the first principles of the Christian faith, 'temperance, righteousness, and judgment to come.' Whether discourses on such themes were the likeliest to gain the end of the preacher may be questioned. It must even be conceded that Tillotson's example introduced a style of preaching which in a few years confounded law and gospel, 'and while teaching many useful lessons, at last forgot to tell sinners the only way to heaven.' Yet it is certain that there was no preacher at the close of the seventeenth century whose sermons better pleased the sober-minded members of the church of England, that drew larger congregations of serious hearers, or that left a deeper impression on the public mind.

In 1672 Tillotson was made Dean of Canterbury, and when the Prince of Orange came to the throne he became Archbishop, and Primate of all England. He survived his promotion scarcely more than three years, and his sermons formed the only property he had to bequeath to his widow. Owing to his celebrity as a divine they were sold for what was then the large sum of 2500 guineas, and though now little read they long continued to be popular. Indeed they are still models of clearness and of practical teaching, though wanting in unction and in evangelical fulness.

395. Time fails to tell of Matthew Hale (1609-1676), one of the most unimpeachable of judges, counsel of Archbishop
 Hale, Stillingfleet, etc. Laud: of Christopher Love, the personal friend of Richard Baxter and John Tillotson, and the author of *Contemplations*, which the devout Christian man may still read with profit: of Edward Stillingfleet (1635-1699), Bishop of Worcester, whose principal work, the *Origines Sacre; or, A Rational Account of the Grounds of Natural and Revealed Religion*, is still a classic in that department, and whose sermons, published after his death, are marked by strong sense and a forcible style: of William Sherlock (1641-1707), Dean of St. Paul's, whose *Vindication of the Trinity* (1691) led to a controversy with South, and whose *Practical Discourse concerning Death* was for a long time one of the most popular theological books in the language; his *Treatise on the Immortality of the Soul* shows at once the probability of a future life, and our need of a revelation to prove it certain: of Matthew Henry (1662-1704), the son of Philip Henry, for five-and-twenty years pastor at Chester, and for the last three years of his life at Hackney, and whose *Commentary* formed the 'daily reading,' of Robert Hall and Thomas Chalmers, and is remarkable alike for the copiousness and pious ingenuity of its thoughts, and for the strength and simplicity of its language. Nor is it possible to do more than name George Fox (1624-1690), the founder of Quakerism, whose *Journals* and *Epistles and Doctrinal Pieces* fill three folio volumes: Robert Barclay (1648-1690), the author of the *Apology for the True Christian Divinity* (1676), a learned and popular defence of Quaker doctrine, dedicated to Charles II., in a preface characterised by manly simplicity and by true pathos: and

William Penn (1642-1718), the son of the admiral, and the founder of the State of Pennsylvania, the author of *No Cross no Crown* (1668), written appropriately enough in prison, and of several other works polemical or defensive.

396. The biblical scholarship of the century has been already noticed. In general theological scholarship there are some names that deserve mention besides those already given. In 1651 was published the *Fur Predestinatus*, which was ascribed to Sancroft, though really a translation of a Dutch tract. The *Harmonia Apostolica* of Bishop Bull appeared in 1669: it seeks to reconcile the apostles Paul and James by making James as the later writer the standard by which to interpret the language of Paul. The *Paraphrase and Annotations* of Hammond on the New Testament (1659, best ed. 1702) belongs to the same class; these are all in favour of the Arminian theology, and advocate views opposed to those set forth in the writings of Owen and other leading Puritans.

397. The Scotch writers on divinity are not numerous, and the more popular belong to the later part of the century. One of the ablest was Samuel Rutherford (1610-1661), author of *The Trial and Triumph of Faith*. He was silenced in 1636 for preaching against the Articles of Perth, and was for a time imprisoned. His letters, many of which were written in jail, are fine specimens of a Christian spirit and of rich Christian experience; they have also literary value as specimens of the English then in use among literary men. In 1639 he was appointed Professor of Divinity at the New College, St. Andrew's, and afterwards became rector. He was a strong Presbyterian, and was one of the Commissioners to the Westminster Assembly. His *Lex Rex, a Treatise of Civil Polity*, written in reply to the Bishop of Ross, was, after the Restoration, burned, by order of the Committee of Estates. Robert Trail (1642-1716) was educated at Edinburgh and Utrecht, and was ordained in 1670, in London, where he laboured till his death, with the exception of an interval of seven years, during which he visited Scotland, and was imprisoned for preaching. His works consist of four volumes of sermons, which have been frequently republished. Towards the close of the century appeared *The*

Marrow of Modern Divinity (1645), a book written by Edward Fisher, Gentleman Commoner at Oxford, schoolmaster in Wales and afterwards in Ireland. The work, which is decidedly Calvinistic and spiritual in tone, plain and pithy in style, excited a warm controversy. It was denounced by the ruling party in the Scottish Assembly, and defended by some of the most devout ministers in the church. It was edited with notes by Philalethes Irenæus (*i.e.*, Thomas Boston, of Ettrick), and was long popular; the 'Marrow Controversy' being an era in the history of the Kirk of Scotland.

Two other ministers claim notice here, though coming a little later. Thomas Halyburton (1674-1712) was for some time a parish minister, and then Professor of Divinity at St. Andrew's: his *Natural Religion Insufficient* is an elaborate work, and was written in confutation of the Deism of Lord Herbert's *De Veritate* and Charles Blount's (1654-1693) *Anima Mundi*. The *Great Concern of Salvation* is still popular, as are his *Communion Sermons*.

Thomas Boston (1676-1732) was one of the most laborious ministers of this century, or rather of the early part of the following. He was minister of Ettrick, and a leading member of the party in the church of Scotland that was opposed to patronage and tests. His *Four-Fold State*, first printed in 1720, has had a large circulation, and continues to be popular; his sermons on *The Crook in the Lot*, have also been largely read. He was an active writer in the 'Marrow Controversy.' The first collected edition of his works was published in 1852, and consists of twelve octavo volumes.

398. Richard Baxter (1615-1691) and John Bunyan (1628-1683) are among the most remarkable writers of their own or of any age. Baxter was born in Shropshire, and was educated in the free school of Wroxeter, and afterwards under the care of Mr. Wickstead, of Ludlow. There, a large library was accessible to him—the only advantage he seems to have gained from Mr. Wickstead's tuition. After receiving ordination from the Bishop of Worcester, he obtained employment as schoolmaster at Dudley, and there he preached his first sermon. He was never at college: like Erasmus and Scaliger, and Andrew Fuller and Carey, he was his own teacher: 'my faults,' said

he to Anthony Wood, who had written to ask whether he was an Oxonian, 'are no disgrace to any university, for I was of none : weakness and pain helped me to study how to die : that set me on studying how to live, and that on studying the doctrine from which I must fetch my motives and comforts : beginning with necessities, I proceeded by degrees, and am now going to see that for which I have lived and studied.' To feeble health and protracted suffering he was indebted for much of his earnestness and wisdom.

In 1640 he removed to Kidderminster, where he laboured, with a slight interruption caused by the Civil War, for sixteen years. In that town he illustrated by his life his own book, *The Reformed Pastor*, 'teaching men from house to house,' and warning them day and night with tears : his memory is still fragrant there.

At the outset of the Civil War he sided on the whole with the parliament : more accurately he may be said to have been the friend of the Constitution, against both the great parties, and, as might have been expected, he was blamed by both. After the battle of Edgehill, during which he was preaching for his friend Samuel Clarke, of Alcester, he accepted the chaplaincy of Colonel Whalley's regiment, and continued to discharge the duties of his office with earnestness and popularity. He soon found it, however, no congenial post : he distrusted Cromwell, and was grieved with the narrow views of some of the leaders. At length his health failed : 'it pleased God to take him from all public employments.' The leisure which his illness secured him he used in collecting and writing down his thoughts of that country upon the borders of which he seemed to stand. How touching is the whole scene ! The worn enfeebled man gathers up his feet expecting to die ; the din of battle is still in his ears, around him is a suffering country and a distracted church : he turns his thoughts to the better land. The whole picture is a repetition of the Pilgrim's visit to the Delectable Mountains, where the eye could trace the outlines of the New Jerusalem, and the ear already caught the music of the harping of the many harpers. The sights he saw and the sounds he heard he has recorded in the *Saint's Everlasting Rest*, one of the most useful and popular of his works.

Soon after this illness he visited London for medical advice,

and preached before the Parliament on the day preceding the vote that was to bring back King Charles. At the Restoration he was offered a bishopric, but felt compelled, on conscientious grounds, to decline it. He preached for some time under the protection of a licence granted by Sheldon, and at length a chapel was built for him in Oxendon Street: there he ministered but once, when the arm of the law closed the place. Under the various Acts of Parliament passed in the reign of Charles II. he was several times imprisoned, his library was sold, and he was driven, a feeble aged man, from place to place, without a home. In 1685 he was, on frivolous grounds, condemned by the infamous Jeffreys for sedition, but by the king's favour the fine inflicted by the sentence was remitted. The last years of his life were spent more peacefully: he died in Charter-house Yard, in 1691, reckoning among his personal friends Barrow, Wilkins, and Hale. A few years after his death there was published *A Narrative of the most Memorable Passages of his Life and Times*, a highly instructive volume, and a great favourite with Dr. Johnson and with Coleridge, both of whom praise its sincerity and substantial truthfulness.

Besides the works already mentioned, Baxter is the author of *A Call to the Unconverted to Turn and Live*, one of the most impressive volumes ever written: twenty thousand copies are said to have been sold in the first year after it was published.

Baxter's example is one of the most instructive in our literature. With him activity was a passion. Sometimes the devoted friend, oftener the victim, of the ruling powers, he was at the same time a voluminous writer and a laborious pastor. Three-and-twenty octavo volumes of practical writings, such, Barrow says, as were never mended, forty more of controversy and personal history, attest his diligence in one department: hundreds of visits paid to his parishioners, and prolonged conversations with each of them, attest it in another. He did the work of a city missionary at Kidderminster, and wrote more pages than many students now read.

And all this was done amid great bodily weakness. He entered the ministry with what would now be called the symptoms of a confirmed consumption: he seemed ever living upon the brink of the grave. Great energy or noble achievement was hardly to be looked for from such a sufferer: had he spent his time in telling

his ailments, had he even retired from the field to the hospital, it would be easy to find circumstances to excuse, if not to justify, such a course. But instead of yielding to selfish complaint or valetudinarian indolence, he manfully held on his way, a cheerful traveller to the very close. 'In deaths oft' he was also 'in labours more abundant.' There is a shorter road to repose amid bodily afflictions than talking of them, and that road Baxter found.

His books have been warmly praised by Flavel and Usher, by Manton and Doddridge, by Addison and Johnson. Wilberforce deemed them 'a treasury of Christian wisdom,' and the man himself among 'the highest ornaments of the Church of England.' The style is one of the finest specimens of direct masculine English, and is a model for all who wish to talk to people instead of talking at them or before them: every sentence strikes home. His life, written by Orme, has been prefixed to the last collected edition of his practical works, and a genial review of his character and labours may be seen in the *Essays* of Sir James Stephen.

399. Two hundred years ago there stood on the bridge which spans the Ouse at Bedford, an old gaol: it has long since disappeared, but it is immortalized as the place where Bunyan.

John Bunyan wrote some of his most memorable books. *Grace Abounding*, his own history, and the *Pilgrim's Progress*, every Christian's history, are to be added to De Saci's *Version of the New Testament* and *Rutherford's Letters* as part of the prison literature of the Christian Church. The *Pilgrim's Progress* was suggested, as the author tells us, when he was writing upon another theme. It was quickly written, dashed off, as it seems, in vacant hours, though not published till some years after his release. The author had many engagements: his popularity as a preacher brought pressing calls, so that he had little time to revise his manuscript or to superintend the printing. It must be added that his friends were divided on the desirableness of publishing the book: 'Some said Print it, John, others said Not so.' The *Pilgrim* therefore has a history not unlike that of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, or Prideaux's *Connection*, or De Foe's *Robinson Crusoe*. All these books, now world-famous, were regarded when in manuscript with distrust. At length Bunyan, though loth to offend his friends, ended their feuds and published his volume. Its success was immediate, and in that age almost

unparalleled: the book was soon translated into French, Dutch, and Welsh, and during the author's lifetime a hundred thousand copies were circulated in England, besides many editions in America.

Since Bunyan's death, which took place in the year 1688 'of glorious memory,' the *Pilgrim* has visited nearly all lands: it has been parodied, illustrated, and translated, almost without end: the ablest artists and the humblest have tried their skill upon it: seven times at least it has been 'done into verse: ' a hundred and fifty years ago it was adapted, by a change of names and the omission of Giant Pope and others, to the creed of the Romish Church: it has been rendered, as Southey remarks, into every language of Europe, and into more other languages than any book except the Bible: the Religious Tract Society alone, has printed it in thirty different tongues.

The secret of the success of Bunyan's volume is threefold. The work is one of the finest specimens of the richness and power of our Saxon tongue: 'there is no book in our literature,' says Lord Macaulay, 'on which we would so readily stake the fame of the old unpolled English language, no book which shows so well how rich that language is in its own proper wealth, and how little it has been improved by all that it has borrowed.' This is one secret of its influence.

As a piece of imaginative dramatic literature it is unequalled: Lord Kames thinks it in this respect like Homer. Dr. Johnson, who never read books through, made an exception in favour of Bunyan, and when he had done wished it longer. Noting that it begins very much like Dante, Disraeli calls its author the 'Spenser of the people.' Franklin thinks that De Foe and Richardson have imitated him. Swift thought him 'more entertaining and more informing than any of the metaphysicians of his time.' Thousands have been delighted with the style, as was Dr. Adam Clarke when a mere boy, who have never seen down into the depth of its meaning.

Its chief charm however is its spiritual significance. The Pundit who engaged to translate it into Singalese was often so affected as not to be able to proceed. 'The *Pilgrim's Progress*,' says Toplady, 'is the finest allegory extant, describing every stage of a Christian's experience from conversion to glory in the most artless simplicity of language, yet peculiarly rich with spiritual

unction: it is in short a masterpiece of piety and genius.' On the same ground Dr. Arnold deemed it the wisest and one of the best books ever written: 'I cannot trust myself,' he used to say, 'to read the account of Christian going up to the celestial gate after his passage through the river of death: the *Pilgrim's Progress* seems to me a complete reflection of Scripture:' and this is its highest praise.

The honours thus given to Bunyan have not always been accorded to him. Charles II. spoke only the sentiment of his age when he called him 'the illiterate tinker,' though Dr. Owen nobly defended his humble friend, and expressed his readiness to give up all his learning if he might write and preach as the tinker wrote and preached. If Whitbread, the friend of Chatham, bequeathed 500*l.* to the church at Bedford in honour of Bunyan's memory, the coarse paper and poor printing of his books show that their readers were then chiefly amongst the lowest class. Only fifty years ago Cowper said that he did not dare to name him in his verse for fear of moving a sneer. Now however he occupies his proper place. Macaulay reckons him one of the two minds of the seventeenth century that possessed the imaginative faculty in the highest degree—John Milton being the other; and within the last few years a statue has been awarded him in the New Houses of Parliament. The tinker of Elstow is now honoured as one of the great teachers of his country for all time.

In addition to the *Pilgrim's Progress*, Bunyan wrote another allegorical piece—*The Holy War*, which has excited much attention, and is a more ingenious and elaborate allegory than the *Pilgrim*. His other works fill two folio volumes and have the same qualities in style as his more popular books. His biography has been written by many authors, and the *Memoirs* by Southey and Offor deserve special mention: his character and life have also been sketched with great beauty and genial appreciation by Lord Macaulay.

400. The two questions which the theological writings of the seventeenth century most freely discussed or illustrated are 'The Bible the only rule of faith,' and 'Salvation by God's free mercy through Christ alone.' The first is in substance the thesis of the treatises of Chillingworth

'The Bible alone.'

and Hales, and Taylor, and Locke, and their arguments may be safely regarded as conclusive. Persecution for conscience' sake and Articles of Faith on points not defined in Scripture are not easily reconciled with this principle: but even those writers who have defended these, generally assert that nothing is to be made a matter of faith that is not a matter of revelation, nor must men be pressed to believe anything which is not taught in Scripture or cannot be proved from thence. They acknowledged the principle even when they failed in applying it. Besides this formal concession it must be kept in mind that all the expositions of Scripture, popular and exegetical, the systematic treatises on theology, the critical apparatus formed for ascertaining and fixing the text, and the whole tone of preaching, appealing as it does to the Bible, are practical recognitions of the principle even more important than the simple announcement of it. All parties sought to defend their views by appeals to God's Word, and in this way acknowledged its supreme authority.

The second thesis is even more important. Men are sinners by their acts and in their nature: their best doings are sinful, their very penitence and faith imperfect, and for any meritorious saving efficacy utterly worthless, much more their acts of merely ritual observance. God who hates sin is infinitely willing to forgive: He has no pleasure in the death of him that dieth: He will welcome all who come to Him hating sin and seeking forgiveness. Yet is this mercy exercised only through His Son who dies for sinners, and so reveals at once the love and the righteousness of the Father. To come to God therefore men must know Jesus Christ, and trust in Him. This knowledge and trust are themselves holy impulses, the germs of a holy life, for they imply penitence and submission, a sense of the evil of sin, and a struggle to be free. Yet is it not because of any merit in them that God forgives: though they form the beginning of holiness, they are also imperfect and sinful: they can cancel no sin, can never vindicate the broken law or prove how God abhors iniquity. Reasonable as this evangelical faith is, essentially becoming, it is produced in man's heart only by the truth of the Gospel, 'the power of God;' nor is it produced there, such is man's love of sin and pride, but by long discipline; nor by discipline, such is still man's pride and love of sin, unless there be added the special help of the Holy Ghost. Out of this

' Justified by
faith.'

changed mental state, the acceptance of free undeserved forgiveness, secured for us by the death of our Lord, and realised in us by the teaching of the truth and of the Spirit, there springs, according to the Puritan theology, a life of holy service. When men believe, they become partakers of a Divine nature, with tastes and convictions which bind them to holiness, and they thus judge that they are to live to Him who died for them, and who has made them doubly His own by creating and recreating power, and further by redeeming love. Religion with them begins within and works outwardly. Its first duty is penitence and faith, and its first blessing free and complete forgiveness; its latest duty faith and obedience, and its latest blessing completed holiness and everlasting life. It is with such truths, and with such truths *in this order*, that the theology of the seventeenth century abounds; nor is it too much to affirm that they are the secret of its strength.

SECTION IV.—THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES.

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PHILOSOPHY.—*Mental and Moral Science*: 436. Influence of Bacon and Locke. 437. Schools and Systems: Sensationalism and Idealism: Philosophy of consequences, Philosophy of principles. 438. Classified list of authors. 439. Dodwell. 440. Mandeville, Gay, Tucker, 441. Hartley, Priestley, Darwin. 442. Berkeley, Collier. 443. Hume. 444. Paley. 445. Later writers of the Sensationalist and Utilitarian schools, Mill, etc. 446. Shaftesbury, Wollaston. 447. Clarke. 448. Butler. 449. Hutcheson. 450. Warburton. 451. Price, Harris, Gisborne. 452.

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HISTORY.—*The Eighteenth Century*. 489. Rapin. 490. Carte. 491. Hume. 492. Smollett. 493. Goldsmith. 494. Henry. 495. Robertson. 496. Gibbon. 497. Minor Historians, English and Scotch. 498. Roman and Grecian History, etc. 499. Universal History. 500. Memoirs. 501. Biographies, classified. 502. True biography defined. 503. Antiquarians. 504. Travels, classified. 505. Cyclopædias: their number and character. 506. *The Nineteenth Century*. 507. Lingard. 508. Turner. 509. Mackintosh. 510 Hallam. 511. Macaulay. 512. Other writers. 513. True significance of history.

401. On the literary merits of the eighteenth century opinions are widely divided. By the men who lived in it, it was deemed, especially the early part of it, the Augustan age. By the men of the nineteenth century it has been unduly depreciated. It is too near to our times to have the charm of antiquity, and it is too remote in some of its modes of thought and even in its tastes to secure our hearty admiration. It may be admitted, on the one hand, that the century was cold, dissatisfied and critical. It rather quarrelled with old principles in poetry and in religion than created new. It preferred forms to substance. Rhythm, elegance of phrase, symmetry of proportion were held in higher esteem than warm feeling, grand thoughts, creative genius. Among all classes, moreover, the opinions that

Literary merit
of eighteenth
century.

were most popular had little in them that was noble or heroic: they naturally found their expression in a philosophy that had no higher motive than utility, in a religion that discussed evidences and practical morality, and in poetry largely didactic and mechanical. On the other hand the century is richer than any preceding one in works that blend pleasure with instruction. It increased prodigiously the stores of knowledge, creating whole departments of science. It is the age of metaphysical disquisition, of political economy, of public eloquence. It produced many books of great excellence both in matter and in expression; while the study of its writers is essential, if we are to form a just estimate of the language or of the literature of our own time.

402. The century naturally divides itself into three periods, each occupying about a generation. The first includes the reigns of Queen Anne and George I., and extends from 1702

Century divided.	to 1727.
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The writers of this earlier age were deemed, during the eighteenth century, the first or nearly the first the country had ever known. But this judgment is not confirmed by posterity, except in the case of Addison and Pope. The rest of the prose writers have the place that is due to a polished and natural style, and the poets are admitted to display great skill in descriptions of artificial life, and in terse, epigrammatic reasoning. 'Speaking generally of that generation of authors, it may be said that as poets they have no force or greatness of fancy, no pathos and no enthusiasm, and as philosophers no comprehensive depth or originality. They are sagacious, no doubt—neat, clear, and reasonable, but for the most part, cold, timid, and superficial.' 'Writing with infinite good sense and great grace and vivacity, and above all writing, for the first time, in a tone that was peculiar to the upper ranks of society, and upon subjects which were almost exclusively interesting to them, they naturally figured as the most accomplished, fashionable, and perfect writers that the world had ever seen, and made the wild luxuriance and humble sweetness of our earlier authors appear rude and untutored in the comparison.'^a Such is Lord Jeffrey's judgment, substantially just though somewhat severe. There are some men in that age who take a first place in our literature, and there

^a Jeffrey.

are compositions of theirs which even now we cannot surpass. The satire of Dryden and Pope, the taste and fancy of Addison, perhaps the wit of Arbuthnot, are all remarkable, and certainly they deserve warmer praise than Jeffrey gives them.

The second period includes the reign of George II., and extends from 1727 to 1760. Pope was still a leader in letters, and vindicated his claim by his moral essays and his imitations of Horace. Hume and Robertson were beginning their career. Richardson, Fielding, and Smollett were giving amusement and instruction by their fictions, as was Hogarth with his pencil; while in moral philosophy Jonathan Edwards and Joseph Butler were laying the foundation of sounder systems than had yet been recognised in England. Poets were becoming more natural; and Johnson was beginning to exercise that influence on style as well as on general literature, which makes him the autocrat of the last half of the century.

The third period extends from 1760 to 1800. Books had now the general public for their readers, and authors were counted by hundreds: 'almost every man,' as Johnson notes, 'had come to write, and to express himself correctly.' The American War called forth the eloquence of Chatham, as later the French Revolution called forth the eloquence of Burke. The publication of Warton's *History of Poetry* and of Percy's *Reliques* revived a taste for the bold and freer style of our earlier writers. Johnson's ponderous Latinised composition was counteracted in part by the simplicity of Goldsmith and of Mackenzie. Authoresses increased, especially among the novelists. Gibbon succeeded Hume and Robertson. Reid laid the foundation of the school of common-sense philosophers, and Adam Smith of political science. In one department of theology, Paley, Blair, and Campbell attracted attention by a style that was eminently popular if not profound; in another, evangelical life had been quickened by the labours and writings of Whitefield and Wesley, of Doddridge and Romaine.

403. The nineteenth century manifests great advance in nearly every department of literature. In Poetry it may challenge comparison with the seventeenth century in earnestness, The nineteenth century. and with the eighteenth in polish: nor is it inferior in power of thought, if we except from the comparison works like those of Shakespeare and Milton, which belong to all time, and are characteristic not so much of the age as of

the race. In the Drama it is inferior to the seventeenth century, and to the eighteenth, except in skilful adaptation of plays taken from foreign sources. The Criticism of the nineteenth century is unequalled by anything in earlier times. If we have no Hume or Gibbon, we can correct both, and point to historians with much more learning than the first and with all the brilliance and power of the second. In Ethical Science we have no Butler; but Logic and Metaphysics have certainly made progress. In Theology we miss the fulness and earnestness of the Puritan age, but we are greatly in advance of the Apologists and other Divines of the eighteenth century, and excel any previous age in Biblical scholarship. In Miscellaneous Literature, where we waste strength, this century displays unrivalled humour, vigour, and terseness. There are published every month in magazines and newspapers many articles equal in merit to the ordinary papers of Addison and Steele.

404. The connecting link between the prose writers of the days of James I. and those of Queen Anne, is John Dryden. He had little knowledge of our old authors: Chaucer he Dryden. found often unintelligible: expressions in Jonson and Shakespeare, which we now know to have been the current language of their age, he deemed incorrect. But he understood the genius of the English tongue, and as a prose writer had a strong preference for English idioms as compared with the inversions and Latinisms in which many of the writers of the seventeenth century indulged. He seems moreover after the Restoration to have emulated the politest and most popular writers of the French nation, copying the ease of Montaigne and the dignity of Balzac. Strength, variety, animation, and grace are among the qualities of his style. He has also a freedom from mannerism, which forms an important excellence in the founder of a school of composition. 'Dryden,' says Johnson, 'is always another and the same: he never exhibits a second time the same elegance in the same form, nor appears to have any art other than that of expressing with clearness what he thinks with vigour. His style could not be easily imitated, either seriously or ridiculously, for it is always equal and always varied: it has no prominent or discriminative characters.' It must be admitted, however, that after the Revolution he took less pains with his

writing: vulgarisms become more frequent, and his periods are careless and even slovenly.

Dryden has written no extensive pieces in prose, his works consisting chiefly of prefaces, dedications, and critical essays prefixed to his poems and plays. Among these the chief are his *Essay on Dramatic Poesy* and its subsequent defence, the *Parallel of Poetry and Painting*, the *Origin and Progress of Satire*, and the *Discourse on Epic Poetry*. His dedications offend by flattery which is often untrue and nearly always fulsome. They contain passages, however, of gracefulness unsurpassed, perhaps, in our language, and the flattery in which they indulge is partly the fault of the age. His critical essays are written in a more negligent style. 'Every word,' says Johnson, 'seems to drop by chance, though it falls into its proper place: nothing is cold or languid: the whole is airy, animated, and vigorous: what is little is good, what is great is splendid.' According to the same critic, the *Essay on Dramatic Poesy*, first published in 1668 and reprinted in 1684, was the first regular and valuable treatise on the art of writing. The criticism is nearly confined to the drama, and the man who has studied modern criticism 'will not find much increase of knowledge, or much novelty of instruction,' or much profoundness of thought: yet through the predominating good sense the piece is very pleasant reading. His criticisms moreover are often relieved by exquisite descriptions. 'The prose of these prefaces,' says Scott, 'may rank with the best in the English language: it is no less of his own formation than his versification, is equally spirited and equally harmonious: without the long pedantic sentences of Clarendon it is dignified when dignity is becoming, and is lively without the strained and absurd allusions and metaphors which were often mistaken for wit by many of the author's contemporaries.' Malone tells us that Dryden's prose writings were carefully studied by Burke, and Congreve notes that Dryden himself used to say that if he had 'a talent for English prose it was owing to his having often read the writings of Tillotson.'^a Such is the genealogy of two of the finest styles in English composition.

405. The eighteenth century begins with a new style of com-

^a Congreve's dedication of Dryden's *Plays*.

position in our language—the periodical miscellany, consisting largely of essays on the manners of the age. In the essays and characters of the preceding century we have compositions not unlike those we have now to examine, as the French had already the *Essays* of Montaigne and the *Characters* of La Bruyère, the last hitting off with satirical humour the artificial life of the Court of Louis XIV. But it was reserved for the wits of the reign of Queen Anne to use this kind of composition for the exposure of fashionable follies, and to keep up the interest by publishing the papers periodically. The pioneer in this department was De Foe, who in 1704 began a periodical and literary journal called *The Review*. It was published thrice a week on post nights, Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, and continued for nine years. The editor acted as censor of manners, wrote light papers on current events, and discoursed on trade and commerce. The *Review* was something between the old essay and the modern newspaper, and had considerable popularity. It was not however till Steele and Addison threw their strength into this kind of miscellany, that it became a power in literature: they have the chief credit of this achievement, though they were aided by Pope and Arbuthnot and by others of inferior name.

406. To Richard Steele, a man of English parentage but born in Dublin (1671-1729), who was employed by the government to write *The Gazette* during the war of the Spanish

Steele.

Succession, we are indebted for the *Tatler*, the first of the periodical miscellanies. Young Steele was sent by the Duke of Ormond's influence to the Charter House, and there he found Addison, a youth three years older than himself. Between these two an intimacy was formed which is one of the most memorable in literature. Steele always regarded Addison with affectionate veneration: 'through the school and through the world, wheresoever his strange fortune led this erring, wayward, affectionate creature, Joseph Addison was always his head boy.'^a After studying at Oxford, Steele enlisted in the Guards as a private, and was in consequence disinherited. Here he became a favourite, and was soon promoted to the rank of captain. He then indulged in the vices and the follies of the age, and to check his irregularities

^a Thackeray's *English Humourists*.

wrote a treatise called *The Christian Hero*, which he published in 1701. The book contains some fine passages, but seems to have exercised little influence on the author. He next turned to play-writing, and in this, in 1722, achieved a great success by the production of *The Conscious Lovers*.

He was now a popular man about town, and to secure his influence Harley, the Whig minister, made him Gazetteer and Gentleman Usher to Prince George. In this office he had ample means; but his reckless behaviour produced a long succession of troubles, from which Addison tried more than once to relieve him. In 1709 a happy thought seems to have occurred to him. Through his office of Gazetteer he obtained early foreign intelligence. The success of Defoe's *Review* suggested to him that, if he could use this intelligence in papers devoted in part to passing events, and in part to the manners of the age, a large band of readers might be found, and large profits. Hence sprang the *Tatler*, the first number of which appeared on the 12th April, 1709. Steele's *nom de plume* was Isaac Bickerstaffe, Esq., astrologer, a name which Swift had already made familiar in his ridicule of Partridge, the maker of almanacs. Addison had no previous knowledge of this scheme, but he resolved to assist it. After the eightieth number he became a regular contributor, and wrote some of the best papers; but Steele gave the work its character as a capital censor of manners, a teacher of public taste, and an exponent of English feeling. That 'Dick Steele' should have undertaken some part of this task is another proof of the versatility and inconsistency of his genius. The *Tatler* continued to appear thrice a week till the 2nd of January, 1710-11. By this time Steele's party were out of office, and he lost his appointment as Gazetteer. His success, however, as essayist induced him to continue the character, and on the 1st of March, 1710-11, appeared the first number of the *Spectator*. The plan, which was conceived and drawn by Addison, was carried out with immense popularity, through five hundred and fifty five numbers, eighty numbers more being afterwards added by Addison chiefly, the finest of them all, in 1714; and the whole forming eight volumes, of which as volumes ten thousand copies were sold. The *Spectator* first ceased in December, 1712, and in the March following appeared the *Guardian*, which was also issued daily and extended to a hundred and seventy-five numbers. Of the two hundred

and seventy-one papers of the *Tatler*, Steele wrote one hundred and eighty-eight, Addison forty-two, some of which are equal to anything Addison ever wrote, and the two conjointly thirty-six. Of six hundred and thirty-five *Spectators*, Addison wrote two hundred and seventy-six, Steele two hundred and forty; and of one hundred and seventy-five *Guardians*, Steele wrote eighty-two and Addison fifty-three. The other papers in this long series were written by Pope, Swift, Arbuthnot, Berkeley, Budgell, and Hughes. Later Steele attempted other periodicals, the *Englishman*, the *Reader*, etc., but they added little to his fame.

Steele now entered more actively into political life. He obtained a seat in Parliament, defended the Protestant succession, which he thought in danger, published a pamphlet entitled the *Crisis*, and was in consequence expelled from the House of Commons. The death of Queen Anne placed the Whig party again in the ascendancy. In the new reign Steele was knighted by George I., and received a place in the royal household. In Parliament he opposed the Peerage Bill, which was intended to limit the number of Peers, and the South Sea scheme. His pecuniary difficulties increasing, he retired to a seat in Wales left him by his second wife, and there died in 1729.

Steele himself was 'one of those people whom it is impossible to hate or to respect. His temper was sweet, his affections warm, his spirits lively, his passions strong, and his principles weak. His life was spent in sinning and repenting, in inculcating what was right and doing what was wrong.'^a But as a man of genius his qualities are undoubted, though not of the highest order. He tried all kinds of light literature: he was satirist, humorist, critic, and story-teller, who must, like the poet, be born not made, and he excels in all these characters. His pictures of London society are remarkable for their reality and for the inimitable touches of nature to be found in them. His conceptions of female character are generally elevated and noble, presenting in that respect a contrast to those of many of the writers of his age. There is also in most of his papers proof of considerable dramatic skill: his Sir Roger de Coverley and his Will Honeycomb are as familiar to many modern readers as their personal friends. It is to Addison indeed we owe the finishing

touches that make these characters immortal, but it was Steele who first sketched them.

The moral influence of these miscellanies is admitted to have been good; contemporary authors agree in bearing witness to this fact, and it is further confirmed by the marked improvement which was soon apparent in literature, and in general society. The truth is there still lingered in the public mind the notion that genius was closely allied to profligacy, private virtue to dulness or moroseness. This error the *Tatler*, and, still more, the *Spectator*, dispelled: they showed it was possible to combine the morality of Tillotson with the wit of Congreve: 'so effectually indeed did they retort on vice the mockery which had recently been directed against virtue, that since their time the open violation of decency has always been considered among us the mark of a fool, and this revolution—the greatest and most salutary ever affected by any satirist—they accomplished without writing one personal lampoon.'^a

407. But this praise is mainly due to the influence of Addison, the greatest of the miscellaneous writers of this century. When the *Tatler* was first planned Steele meant it to contain the foreign news, theatrical criticisms, and the literary gossip of Will's and the Grecian, with occasional notices of reigning beauties, notorious sharpers, and popular preachers. Addison.

Soon after Addison joined it, its character was changed, and it was 'raised to a greater thing' than was ever intended. At first Addison's excellence hardly at all appeared, but in the end it became evident that a new era had arisen both in our language and in our literature. 'The mere choice and arrangement of his words would have sufficed to make his Essays classical; for never, not even by Dryden, not even by Temple, had the English language been written with such sweetness, grace, and facility.'^a Johnson's eulogium has now passed into an axiom: 'whoever wishes to attain an English style, familiar but not coarse, and elegant but not ostentatious, must give his days and nights to the volumes of Addison.' 'In wit he is not inferior to Cowley or Butler. No single ode of Cowley's contains so many happy analogies as are crowded into the lines to Sir Godfrey Kneller, and we would undertake to collect from the *Spectator*

^a Macaulay.

as great a number of ingenious illustrations as can be found in *Hudibras*.' His humour, his power of drawing mirth from the common incidents of life, not unsoftened by gentle feeling, is unsurpassed; and what adds greatly to his credit is, that with boundless power of making men ridiculous, he has never abused it. Living in times of strong party excitement, and amid many provocations, he has not left behind him 'a single taunt that can be called ungenerous or unkind.'

To these qualities must be added the faculty of invention in a very high degree. As an observer of manners and of human nature he is in the first class; and what he observed he describes not, like Clarendon, by an elaborate enumeration of habits and tastes, but by making the men exhibit themselves. When as yet there was no novel, Addison created characters and interwove the story of each into an interesting narrative. 'If we wish anything more vivid than Addison's best portraits we must go either to Shakespeare or to Cervantes.'

His papers on *Milton* are the best of his literary criticisms; the Saturday papers are generally grave moral essays, supposed to be specially fit for the next day's reading.

The other writings of Addison deserve notice on other grounds. His *Essays on the Pleasures of the Imagination*, published in the *Spectator*, Dugald Stewart reckons as the earliest specimens of æsthetic criticism in our language. The subject became a favourite one with both English and continental essayists. Among the best-known English treatises are Akenside's *Poem* on imagination, Burke on *The Sublime and the Beautiful*, and the works by Alison and Knight. Addison seems to have been the first to classify the pleasures of imagination under such heads as novelty, beauty, and sublimity. In his remarks on several parts of Italy in 1701-3 he writes with great simplicity and purity of style, and shows an intimate knowledge of Latin poets; of prose writers and Greek writers he seems to have known but little. In his *Dialogues on the Usefulness of Ancient Medals* there is the same one-sided knowledge of his subject: 'no one would suspect from this treatise that the Greek coins were in historical interest and in beauty of execution far superior to those of Rome.'

408. A contemporary of Addison's, of more power but of a

very different spirit, was Jonathan Swift. Swift had been brought up in connexion with the same political party as Addison.

He was bred a Whig under Sir William Temple, and during the reign of William III. was a strenuous advocate of the principles of the Revolution. His first patrons were Somers, Halifax, and Portland, and his first work of any importance was a defence of his patrons, who had been impeached by the House of Commons. It was published in 1701 under the title of *A Discourse of the Contrast between the Nobles and Commons of Athens and Rome*. It is plainly written, without any of the irony that later distinguished his style. His next work was the *Battle of the Books*, the earliest piece in which his peculiar genius is discernible. It was prepared in support of the views of his patron Sir William Temple. It betrays a good deal of bitter feeling against Bentley,—a feeling which he communicated apparently to Pope and Arbuthnot: personal satire and racy humour characterise the volume. The same qualities abound in his next work, *The Tale of a Tub* (1704), which is generally regarded as the masterpiece of the writer in his peculiar style. Such is Hallam's opinion, while Jeffrey, the representative of a somewhat different taste, deems it dull and tedious. It was intended to throw ridicule upon the Catholics and Presbyterians, and to gain influence for the High Church party. It was published anonymously, and contains much to which any clergyman might well scruple to put his name.

Deeming himself unvalued by his old friends, who were now likely to be driven from office, Swift joined the Tories and became at once their most formidable champion. This change he indicated in his *Sentiments of a Church of England Man*, published in 1708, and in various political tracts on the *Conduct of the Allies* (1712), and on *The Public Spirit of the Old Whigs* (1714). The bitter accusations against his former friends which these pamphlets contain gained him small advantage. He was regarded by the Queen and the heads of the Church, whose party he thus espoused, with the greatest dislike, nor could he do more than extort from them the deanery of St. Patrick, an ecclesiastical dignity of no great value, and requiring residence in a country which he detested. On the accession of George I. all hope of preferment was at an end, and he remained till the close of his life in a state of disappointed bitterness, relieved a little by

intercourse with Addison, and by friendly correspondence with Bolingbroke, Pope, and Gray, and ending in the failure of all mental power. During these later years he wrote some of his most effective works. His *Proposal for the use of Irish Manufactures*, and his *Letters by Mr. B. Drapier* against Wood's patent for supplying Ireland with a copper coinage were especially popular. In 1726 appeared *Gulliver's Travels*, the most original of his productions. It is really a political pamphlet, and contains many satirical allusions to the great parties of the State, the Prince of Wales, Walpole, and Bolingbroke, though most readers feel only the fascination of the story. The charms of his style, its purity and naturalness, appear in this narrative to greater advantage than in any other of his works. Among the more characteristic of his later pieces may be mentioned *Polite Conversation*, a satire on the frivolities of fashionable life, and excessively entertaining; his *Directions for Servants*, which, though of a lower pitch, contains much of his racy humour; and the *Arguments to prove that the Abolition of Christianity may, as things now stand, be attended with some inconveniences*: of this last the humour is used for a noble end. His *Journal to Stella*, a posthumous publication, is not to be judged as a literary work, but reveals the author, and gives a minute and able account of an extraordinary period of English history. Swift's libels on the characters of public men, his selfishness, and his treatment of Stella and Vanessa are blots on his character which it is impossible to efface.

His excellences as a writer have been generally admitted. His style is confessedly a model of masculine vigour and perspicuity: it is essentially homely and low, but, unlike most styles of that kind, is remarkably rich in the variety of its words and phrases. He illustrates admirably an important principle of composition, that when a man has mastered his subject and is confident of his cause, nothing more is needed to make him a vigorous writer but to resist the temptation to write finely, and to keep himself to a clear and strong exposition of his theme. Half of the bad writing of the age is owing to the fact that men have not possessed themselves of what they wish to say, and the other half to their desire to say it finely and eloquently. Both these evils Swift avoids.

In humour, in irony, in the talent of debasing and defiling

what he hates, he is without a rival. The way in which he produces his effect is not easily explained; but one peculiarity must strike every reader: he expresses sentiments the most absurd, the most atrocious, sometimes the most original, as if they were commonplace truths, and maintains them always in the most grave and familiar language, with a consistency and ingenuity that palliates their extravagance and seems often to give a pledge of his own sincerity.*

The best edition of Swift's works is that edited by Sir Walter Scott in nineteen volumes.

409. Henry St. John, Lord Bolingbroke, was one of the most influential of the wits and of the patrons of wits in the reign of

Bolingbroke. Queen Anne, though his influence has long passed

away. He was born at Battersea in 1678, and died there in 1751. He was educated at Eton and Oxford. After a wild life he entered Parliament, and became successively Secretary at War and Secretary of State, being raised to the peerage in 1712. His share in the treaty of Utrecht, and his connexion with the Stuarts, exposed him, on the accession of George I., to the threat of impeachment. Thereupon he retired to France where he became Secretary to the Pretender. Dismissed from this office for incapacity or neglect, he betook himself to literature, and wrote *Reflections on Exile*, and a letter to Sir William Wyndham defending his conduct. In 1723 he received the pardon of the Crown and returned to England. His family property was restored to him, but he was excluded from the House of Lords. For some years he took an active part in politics, attacking Walpole and the Whigs, who were now in the ascendant. In 1735 he retired again to France, and there, during a residence of seven years he wrote his letter *On the Study of History*, and *On the True Use of Retirement*. Both these and his previous *Reflections on Exile* are full of 'resounding nothings,' by which he sought to comfort his own mind in a banishment that was evidently irksome. On his return to England he settled at Battersea, and there spent the last ten years of his life. In 1749 he published his *Letters on the Spirit of Patriotism* and his *Idea of a Patriot King*, to which was prefixed a preface written in a strain of bitter invective. After his death in 1751, Mallet, to whom he had left all his

* J. ffrey.

manuscripts, published a complete edition of his works in five volumes. In these he appears as an avowed disbeliever in Christianity, his arguments being based entirely on an exaggerated statement of its abuses.

Bolingbroke's mental character is a strange mixture. He was vain, vindictive, and ambitious; he was also eloquent and imaginative: for Pope and Swift he shows an amount of sympathy which wins our respect, though it is too cold and selfish to excite our love. His works exhibit a mixture of another kind. They are remarkable for their union of feeble thought and beautiful diction: they have been considered as 'an example of the *abstract perfection* of style, and by them we may judge what are the powers of language as separated from sentiment, and in what proportions elegance, and harmony, and rhythm contribute to the production of real eloquence.'^a Burke had heard this style pronounced inimitable. At once to prove the inaccuracy of this description, and to answer the sophisms in his argument against religion, Burke wrote his *Vindication of Natural Society* as his first work. As Bolingbroke had argued against religion from the abuses that were connected with it, Burke argued from the miseries connected with society that men ought to return to a state of savage nature. The imitation was so perfect, that Mallet went to Dodsley's, the publisher, and disclaimed the piece; while even now many read the essay without the slightest suspicion that it is concealed irony.

410. Among the later essayists of this age is John Amory (1692-1759), whose *Life of John Buncl*e is still occasionally quoted.

Amory was probably an Irishman. He was bred a physician, and is found residing at Westminster in 1757. In 1755 he published *Memoirs of the Lives of several Ladies of Great Britain*, and in 1756-1760, his *Life of John Buncl*e, Esq. The first work contains the biography of a number of fictitious characters, as the last is supposed to be an equally fictitious biography of himself. In the first, he visits the hill country of Northumberland, and meets there a young lady, the daughter of a college friend who had been disinherited for refusing to sign the Thirty-nine Articles. The young lady introduces her father's friend to other ladies, and they together visit the western

^a Rogers' Introduction to Burke's Works.

islands. The *Memoir* gives an account of this visit, and of the various philosophical disquisitions in which they indulge upon the way. In the *Life of John Bunce* and his seven wives, Amory discusses the subject of earthquakes, phlogiston, then a popular theme, fluxions, the Athanasian Creed, and muscular motion. The whole is such a farrago as Burton or Rabelais might have collected, with something of the odd thoughts and quaint humour that distinguish those writers. One object of both books is to illustrate the truth and the influence of Unitarian principles of religion. The ladies he visits and the ladies he won are all represented as models of beauty and intelligence, who largely owe their high qualities to their religious faith.

411. Pope and Cowper have already been mentioned as letter writers; we must reserve a place for Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and Horace Walpole, both of whom excelled in epistolary correspondence. Pope's letters are literary and artificial, Walpole's witty and sarcastic, Cowper's inimitably natural and humorous, and Lady Mary's full of anecdote, smart sayings, and just reflections—all expressed in language remarkably clear and graceful.

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. Lady Mary, daughter of the Duke of Kingston, was born in 1690, and was educated under the care of Bishop Burnet. In 1712 she married Edward Wortley Montagu, and was introduced into the company of Addison, Pope, and other wits of the reign of Queen Anne. In 1716, her husband was appointed ambassador to the Porte, and Lady Mary accompanied him to Constantinople. During her journey and her residence in the East, she corresponded with her friends in England, and sketched to the life the scenery and manners of countries she visited. Observing how the Turks practised inoculation for small-pox, she inoculated her infant son and introduced the practice into England. In 1718 her husband was recalled from his embassy. On their return they settled, by the advice of Pope, at Twickenham, where, however, the two wits did not long remain friends. In 1739 failing health compelled Lady Mary to travel abroad. After visiting Rome, Naples, etc., she settled at Lovere in the Venetian territory, and thence continued her correspondence with the members of her family and other friends. On the death of her husband, whom she had left in England she returned home in

1761, and died in the following year. Her letters were published surreptitiously in 1763, and have recently been edited by her great-grandson, Lord Wharncliffe. Even in his edition, however, there are several spurious letters, not of the most creditable kind, written by John Cleland towards the close of the century. In all her letters the authoress is a lady of rank and fashion: she writes with great talent and wit, but is wanting in delicacy: sometimes from mere outspokenness she seems hard and unfeeling. Her works are admirable specimens, however, of easy and familiar writing.

412. Horace Walpole, the youngest son of Sir Robert and, by the death of his nephew, Earl of Orford, was born in 1717 and died eighty years after in 1797. He was educated at Eton and Cambridge, and had the poet Gray as his fellow-student, and for a time as his travelling companion. Through his father's influence he obtained offices under government of the value of nearly five thousand a year, and with this sum gratified his taste for architecture and antiquities. When about thirty years of age, he purchased some ground at Twickenham, and there commenced improving a small house which stood upon it, till he had changed it into a feudal castle. This 'Strawberry Hill' he filled with works of art, rare books, and curiosities of all descriptions: hence also issued those privately printed volumes which were so eagerly sought for by book collectors. The collection was dispersed in 1843 by public sale.

In 1742 he became member of parliament, and took part in the 'great Walpolean battle,' which terminated in the retirement of his father, Sir Robert. After this event, he devoted himself chiefly to his literary pursuits. In 1758 he wrote his *Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors*; in 1761, his *Anecdotes of Painting in England*; in 1765, his *Castle of Otranto*; in 1767, his *Historic Doubts* of the character and person of Richard the Third; and soon after, his *Memoirs of the Court of George the Second*. The foundation of his fame, however, is his correspondence, which extends over more than sixty years, and in which we have a most pleasant mixture of wit and shrewdness, and a less pleasant mixture of scoffing sarcasm and sparkling language. Everything he has written is readable, the author having the capital gift of seizing on those parts of a subject which are likeliest to be

popular; but his *Letters* are most readable of all: 'faults are far less offensive to us in his correspondence than in his books; his wild, absurd, and ever-changing opinions about men and things are more easily pardoned here than elsewhere, while his bitter depreciating disposition is more under control.'^a In his style of writing he is a strong mannerist, coining new words and altering the meaning of old words, twisting sentences, noting analogies as subtle and abstruse as those that delighted Cowley and Donne; but all is done with such naturalness and ease that we accept the mannerism as part of the man, and are rather the more interested in him on that ground. His letters were printed in 1841 in six volumes, and more recently in 1857-1859, under the editorial care of Peter Cunningham in nine.

413. The political essay which had been commenced in Queen Anne's reign became again popular towards the close of the reign of George II. Both in politics and in the description of manners, much, indeed, had been written in the interval. Between 1726 and 1731 appeared the *Craftsman*, a political paper in which Bolingbroke was one of the chief contributors. It fills seven volumes, and was continued after Bolingbroke had ceased to write for it. In 1718 Ambrose Phillips began the *Freethinker*, intended 'to restore the deluded part of mankind to reason and common sense,' and it was kept up till three volumes were published. In 1746 appeared the *Museum*, which also filled three volumes, and reckoned among its contributors the two Wartons, Horace Walpole, and Aken-side. But the *Rambler* (1750) was the first of these publications which was destined to occupy a permanent place in our literature. The *Rambler* was succeeded by the *Adventurer*, which was published twice a week under the editorship of Dr. Hawkesworth. The first number appeared in November, 1752; the hundred and thirty-ninth, and last, in 1754. Meanwhile there had been started two weekly periodicals the *World* and the *Connoisseur*. The *World* was edited by Edward Moore, the author of the tragedy of the *Gamester*.^b He also received assistance from Lord Lyttelton, Walpole, Soame Jenyns, and others. The first number appeared in January, 1753; the two hundred and ninth, and last, in December, 1756. It is

Later
essayists.

^a Macaulay.

^b See paragraph 279.

one of the most readable of this series, and reached a sale of two thousand five hundred a week. The *Connoisseur* was established by George Colman. The first number appeared in January, 1754, and the last in September, 1756. Among its contributors was Cowper the poet, who sent a few essays in that easy style which distinguishes his letters. This list closes with Johnson's *Idler*, which was published weekly, from April, 1758, to April, 1760. Twelve of the numbers were contributed by Thomas Warton, Langton, and Reynolds. The *Idler* is, as a whole, more spirited and gay than the *Rambler*. Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World* is sometimes regarded as a periodical, but it was not published at regular intervals nor in a separate form; it is therefore rather a novel than a periodical miscellany.

Twenty years later this kind of publication was revived in Scotland. The first work was the *Mirror*, which appeared in Edinburgh under the editorship of Henry Mackenzie, the author of the *Man of Feeling*. The paper continued at the rate of a number a week from January, 1779, to May, 1780. A little later came the *Lounger*, also a weekly paper having Mackenzie as its chief contributor. The first number was published in February, 1785; the hundred and first, and last, in January, 1787. After an interval, during which politics attracted great attention, they almost monopolised the weekly press.

For many years before this date, authorship had become a distinct profession. It was now cultivated by all classes and by both sexes, not only as a means of support, but as the recreation of the leisure of men of wealth, and as an embellishment of domestic life. Accordingly, we have a number of female authors whose works once exercised no small influence on the tastes of the age. Besides the names of Mrs. Hannah Cowley, the author of *Poems* and *Miscellaneous Pieces*; Mrs. Frances Sheridan, the mother of Richard B. Sheridan; Mrs. C. Lennox, the friend of Johnson, the author of *Shakespeare Illustrated*, and the translator of Sully's *Memoirs*; and a little later, Mrs. Charlotte Brooke and Miss Sophia Lee; there are Anna Williams, whose volume of *Miscellanies* appeared in 1766; Mrs. Elizabeth Carter, the translator of Epictetus and the author of *Poems, Essays, and Letters*; her correspondent and friend, Miss Catherine Talbot, whose works, now forgotten, had reached

an eighth edition in 1812; Mrs. Elizabeth Montague (1720-1800), the pupil of Conyers Middleton, the founder of the Blue Stocking Club, whose *Essay on the Writings and Genius of Shakespeare* (1769), in answer to M. Voltaire, was once famous, though now of value chiefly as showing from its apologetic tone how low critical taste had sunk in that age; Mrs. Chapone (1727-1801), the author of *Letters on the Improvement of the Mind* (1773), and the favourite correspondent of Samuel Richardson; Mrs. Macaulay, the republican historian and pamphleteer, whom Johnson so disliked, whose *History of England from the Accession of James the First to the Restoration* (published 1763-1771) once attracted much attention; and Miss Helen Maria Williams, whose political writings did not appear till after the French Revolution, but who was known some years before as a writer of verse. Many of these authors are distinguished by good sense, elegance, and vigour of style, and allusions to them may be found in great numbers in the literary histories of the times, especially in the memoirs of Johnson, Beattie, and Mrs. More. Mrs. More herself, Mrs. Barbauld, Mrs. Inchbald, and Mrs. Charlotte Smith reached their celebrity at a somewhat later date.

414. The early half of the eighteenth century is remarkable as the era of the commencement of magazines and reviews. Towards the close of the reign of George II. there were, Magazines and reviews. Nichols tells us,* as many as fifty-five weekly publications of this class. A *monthly* periodical was first started by Edward Cave, Johnson's early friend and patron, who published the first number of the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1731: it still holds on its way as a treasury of literary and archæological information. Cave mentions in his preface that every month a hundred sheets were published by the London press, and as many elsewhere. Many of the papers which these ephemeral publications contained were of value, and Cave proposed at first simply to reprint and preserve them. Afterwards original communications were introduced. His work had such success that there sprang up a host of imitators. In 1756 the *Literary Magazine, or Universal Review*, appeared, and lasted three years, supported during that time chiefly by Johnson's contributions.

* *Literary anecdotes.*

The Lady's Magazine and *The Public Ledger* contained many of Goldsmith's Essays, while the *British Magazine* rejoiced in the patronage of a royal licence and in the editorship of Smollett. As early as 1739 the *Scots' Magazine* was published in Edinburgh, and continued a repository of Scottish song and of Scottish prose tales down to 1826.

The earliest periodical devoted to criticism was the *Monthly Review*, established in 1749 by Griffiths, the bookseller. Among its contributors were Goldsmith, who boarded with Griffiths, Langham, and Kippis. As the *Monthly* was Whiggish and Low church, the *Critical Review* was started in 1756 on the other side, and was placed under the editorship of Smollett. Both reviews held their ground into our own century, and the former is still prized for its critical judgments and information. They were the chief works of the kind previous to the publication of the *British Critic* in 1793.

In the middle of the century (1758), the *Annual Register* was commenced by Dodsley on the suggestion of Burke, who himself contributed to the work, and wrote the historical notices for some years. The *Edinburgh Review* (1802), the *Ecclectic* (1805), the *Quarterly*, (1809), and the *Westminster* (1824), belong to the nineteenth century, and several more to our own day.

These magazines are evidence of two facts which have exercised great influence on the development of modern literature. They prove a large increase of readers, and they show by their contents that authors had begun to 'intermeddle with all knowledge.' Some of the ablest literary men of the century are miscellaneous writers. Nothing seems to come amiss to them—criticism, politics, philosophy, poetry, fiction. Some of these departments of thought they may be said to have created, and all of them, under their culture, have made such progress as the previous century had not known.

415. In the general literature of the latter half of the century, a first place is undoubtedly due to Samuel Johnson. He must have known personally or by report, Sherlock, Butler, Warburton, Horsley, Lowth, Doddridge, Watts, Wesley, Whitefield, Campbell, the Wartons, Goldsmith, Monboddo, Robertson, Hume, Blair, Hartley, Adam Smith, Reid,

Blackstone, Burke, Chatham, Reynolds; yet for sagacity, independence, force, and influence he was surpassed by few of them, and in the department of literature by none.

Soon after he came to London, Johnson contributed various papers to the *Gentleman's Magazine*. In 1738 appeared his *London, a satire*; in 1749 the *Vanity of Human Wishes*, imitations of the third and tenth satires of Juvenal, and among the best imitations of a classic author we possess. In 1750 he commenced the *Rambler*, and continued it twice a week without interruption for two years. Of the entire number of papers only four were furnished by other contributors, so that the volumes are really the production of one mind, and that mind as remarkable for its idiosyncrasies of thought and style as for its power. The papers therefore are at once striking and monotonous. In 1755 appeared his *Dictionary of the English Language*, a work that had occupied a great part of his time during the previous seven years. When on the eve of publication, Lord Chesterfield attempted to conciliate the author by two papers printed in *The World*, and recommending the book. Johnson deemed this attempt to be 'false and hollow,' and addressed to his lordship an indignant letter. Johnson, it seems, did Chesterfield injustice; but the letter remains a fine specimen of wounded pride and somewhat surly independence. The dictionary is still one of our standard works, not eminent for its philological research, but very happy in its definitions and its illustrative quotations.

In 1765 Johnson published his edition of Shakespeare, with little that is noteworthy in his elucidations of the text, but with an admirable preface. In 1770 and 1771 appeared two political pamphlets, *The False Alarm* and *Thoughts on the Falkland Islands*. The sentiment in both is always vigorous and earnest, though apt to become intolerant and contemptuous. In 1775 his *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* excited great interest and some ill-feeling. The journey itself greatly gratified the author, appealing to his fondness for feudalism and to his taste for grand scenery. He was a keen observer, and his descriptions please the fancy while they inform the judgment. Scotland owes to his complaints of the absence of trees some of her finest forests.

Johnson's best prose work is also one of his latest, *The Lives of the Poets*. It did not appear till 1781, but it shows all the

vigour of thought, that distinguishes his earlier writings, with much more freedom of style and richness of illustration than any of them. The work begins with Cowley's life; it therefore omits some of the greatest names in our literature: mere rhymesters, moreover, have found a place in his gallery. It must be conceded that to some of the acknowledged masters of poetic composition he has done injustice. Milton he is readier to blame than to praise, though his criticisms on *Paradise Lost* are striking and often profound. Gray is treated with coarse insensibility, which does more dishonour to the critic than to the object of his censure. But on the other hand some of the biographies and critiques are masterpieces, and have done more for criticism as a science than all preceding compositions of the kind.

The great influence which Johnson exercised was due partly to his character and partly to his mental power and style. His manly appearance, his stern integrity, his love of argument and of society, his repartee and brow-beating, all helped to make him a man of mark in his time. His style contrasts strongly with Swift's, which is simple and direct, and with Addison's, which is idiomatic and graceful. 'Long-tailed words in *osity* and *ation*,' and the balanced pomp of antithetic clauses had with him, and soon had with others, an irresistible charm. Though these peculiarities are apt to become somewhat ridiculous in feebler hands, and even in his own, yet they have great force, especially when the feeling of the writer has glow enough to give to the massive paragraph heat to kindle the whole. Even when this warmth is wanting his sentences often roll on the ear 'like the sound of the distant sea,' and we are so delighted with the melody of the utterance that we care not to scrutinize too closely the thought. That the style has been too highly praised and too often copied, cannot be questioned; but it has now fallen into undeserved neglect. Our modern literature would be the more likely to live if it had learned to combine the vigorous, high-toned thinking of Johnson with the sustained diction in which he was somewhat too prone to indulge.

Johnson's merit as a thinker is seen chiefly in two departments, morals and criticism; and his excellence depends, curiously enough, on opposite qualities. When writing of morals there is little that is new or striking in the general principles he advocates; but in

the elucidation of particular questions he shows great sagacity, clearness, and elevation. When writing criticism, on the other hand, he often fails in details, manifesting defective susceptibility and taste; but in the mastery of great principles he is often far in advance of his age. In both departments he is a critic of strong sense and solid judgment rather than of subtlety and refinement, and in both it will ever be to his praise that he has assailed all sentimentalism and licentiousness. He did more in fact than any of his contemporaries to create a pure and invigorating atmosphere in the fields of literature which were now beginning to be cultivated on all sides. His views, it must be added, are often inconsistent, partly through uncertainty of temper, partly through strong personal and political prejudices, but chiefly from the fact that he does not seem to have matured his opinions into a coherent system, even upon those questions which oftenest occupied his thoughts. The very quickness of his insight and the fulness of his style may have contributed to the conviction that he had seen through truth when he had only seen into it, and have led him to believe that he thoroughly comprehended what he only apprehended and could so clearly express.

416. Sir William Blackstone (1723-1780) claims the first place when we pass from the department of pure literature to that of public life. His work entitled *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (1765), is the result of the first attempt to popularise legal knowledge. It exhibits a logical and comprehensive mind, and is written in a style of great clearness and purity. He has sometimes been charged with defending the interests of the crown against the rights of the people, and with preferring legal forms and precedents to common sense and equity. But this charge has not much foundation. When, in the House of Commons, he seemed to advocate a course of servile obedience to the court, he was answered out of his own book; and attention to precedents is, after all, a commendable weakness when it is the business of a writer to expound our constitution. The *Commentaries* have never been superseded by any later work, though additions and corrections have been made by various writers to bring their teaching into harmony with the altered state of our law. Sir William's history, it may be added, is sometimes uncritical and erroneous.

417. Adam Ferguson (1724-1816), was successively minister of the Kirk of Scotland, associate and friend of Robertson and Blair, tutor in Lord Bute's family, and Professor of Ferguson.

Natural and of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh. He was also entrusted with the office of secretary to the Commissioners who went to America to negotiate with the revolted colonists. On his return he resumed his professorship, and died at St. Andrews in his ninety-fourth year. In 1766 he published the *History of Civil Society*, in 1776 a *Reply to Dr. Price on Civil and Religious Liberty*, in 1769 *Institutes of Moral Philosophy*, and in 1792 *Institutes of Moral and Political Philosophy*. In all his books there is the same kind of excellence—an earnest spirit and somewhat striking philosophical reflections. Gray speaks of his *History of Civil Society* as 'containing strains of uncommon eloquence . . . though written in a style too short-winded and sententious.'

418. A book that was once warmly praised is De Lolme's *Constitution of England*. Junius recommends it as 'deep, solid, and ingenious.' The author was a native of Geneva: he De Lolme.

first wrote his work in French and published it in Holland. In 1773 he published an English edition, dedicating it to George III. He wrote also a number of political treatises, and expected help from the English government. Disappointed in this respect, he retired to Geneva, and died in 1807 at the age of sixty-two. De Lolme's work, though it skilfully indicates the excellences of the British constitution, is too indiscriminate in its praise, and our age has not confirmed the favourable decision of Junius and his contemporaries. The style is a good specimen of idiomatic English, and shows how completely the author had mastered our tongue.

419. One of the most extraordinary and eminent writers on the science of jurisprudence was Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832). He lived in intercourse with the leading men of three Bentham.

generations, among whom he was most active and influential in propagating his opinions. He was the son of a London solicitor, and was educated at Westminster and at Queen's College, Oxford. He entered college in his fourteenth year, and was known even then as 'the philosopher.' His degree he took in

1763, and was afterwards called to the Bar; but he had a strong dislike to the legal profession and never practised. His first literary work was an examination of a passage in Blackstone's *Commentaries*, entitled *A Fragment on Government* (1776). It was published anonymously, and was ascribed to Lord Mansfield, Lord Camden, and others, a sufficiently flattering compliment to its merits. This work was prompted, Bentham tells us, by 'a passion for improvement,' and this passion was at once stimulated and guided by a phrase which he seems to have taken from Priestley, 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number.' 'Therein,' says he, 'I saw delineated for the first time a plain as well as a true standard for whatever is right or wrong . . . whether in the field of morals or of politics.' In all his writings this phrase represents the leading and pervading principle. During the fifty years that followed the publication of this treatise he wrote and printed a large number of works; on *Usury* (1787); on *The Principles of Morals and Politics* (1789), to which a most amusing autobiographical preface is prefixed; on *Civil and Penal Legislation* (1802); on *Fallacies*, originally published by Dumont in French, etc. These works display an extensive and profound acquaintance with the principles of jurisprudence, a department in which his 'greatest happiness principle' is of the utmost value. *Ethically* regarded his writings are much less satisfactory, and he exhibits throughout an amount of self-complacency, hardening now and then into arrogance, which is amusing to the common reader, but a little exasperating to an opponent.

On the death of his father in 1792 Bentham came into property which enabled him to live with simple elegance. Occupying one of his London houses, he employed a number of young men as secretaries, maintained a large correspondence, and added daily to his works. By great temperance and care, his life, which was spent amid the society of a few devoted friends, was prolonged till he reached his eighty-fourth year. His works were collected and published by Dr. (now Sir John) Bowring and J. Hill Burton. In his later writings Bentham adopted a nomenclature and a style which made them almost unintelligible even to the initiated. Part of them however were translated into French by M. Dumont, and re-translations from his text form now the most popular English form of Bentham's treatises. Another of his disciples, James Mill, has diffused the principles of his master in inde-

pendent works. Sir S. Romilly has explained and criticised them in the *Edinburgh Review*; and Sir James Mackintosh has done his ethical system and his personal character ample justice in the dissertation he prefixed to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. One of the best proofs, indeed, of the genius and power of Bentham, is the hold which he gained over some of the ablest and most earnest thinkers of the last and the present generation, and it is undoubtedly to his writings and spirit that we owe many of our modern improvements in legislation.

420. The founder of the science of political economy is Adam Smith (1723-1790). He was born at Kircaldy in Fifeshire, and was educated at Glasgow and at Balliol College, Oxford. His friends intended him for a clergyman, but his own preference was for philosophy and literature, and to these subjects he devoted his life. After giving a course of lectures in Edinburgh on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres, he was elected in 1751 Professor of Logic at Glasgow. In the following year he succeeded Hutcheson as Professor of Moral Philosophy in the same University. Some of the views of his predecessors he adopted, blending them with his own. The result appeared in *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, which was published in 1759. In 1764 he accompanied the young Duke of Buccleuch to the Continent as travelling tutor, and after spending two years abroad he returned to his native town. Ten years he gave to hard study, and in 1776 published his great work *An Enquiry into the Nature and the Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. In 1778 he was appointed one of the Commissioners of the Customs, and his later days were spent in literary ease and comfort.

Dr. Smith's ethical work is not satisfactory. The notion that morality is purely a matter of feeling, and is based on sympathy, is a very imperfect representation of the facts. Yet this theory is enforced with such beauty of language and such richness of illustration, that the book is still read with great interest by many who, with Gray, fail to understand or decline to accept its metaphysics. The writer, indeed, has been called the most eloquent of modern moralists, an honour, however, which he may be said, with more justice, to share with Dr. Thomas Brown.

Political science Smith may be said to have founded and perfected. Some of its leading principles had been indicated by

Hobbes and by Locke. Facts had been collected and noted by Hume and by some of the merchant essayists to whom we have already referred ; but it is to Smith we owe the science. His book is alike remarkable for knowledge of trade and commerce, for sound reasoning on general principles, for practical sagacity, and for the richness and flow of its style. Its conclusions may be most conveniently summed up in the words of one of its latest commentators, Mr. McCulloch : ‘ He showed that the only source of the opulence of nations is *labour*, that the natural wish to augment our fortunes and rise in the world is the cause of riches being accumulated : he demonstrated that labour is productive of wealth when employed in manufacture and commerce, as well as when it is employed in the cultivation of land : he traced the various means by which labour may be rendered most effective, and gave a most admirable analysis and exposition of the prodigious addition made to its efficacy by its division among different individuals and countries, and by the employment of accumulated wealth or capital, in industrious undertaking. He also showed, in opposition to the commonly received opinions of the merchants, politicians, and statesmen of his time, that wealth does not consist in the abundance of gold and silver, but in the abundance of the various necessities, conveniences, and enjoyments of life ; that it is in every case sound policy to leave individuals to pursue their own interest in their own way ; that in prosecuting branches of industry advantageous to themselves they necessarily prosecute such as are advantageous to the public ; and that every regulation intended to force industry into particular channels, or to determine the species of commercial intercourse to be carried on between different parts of the same country, or between distant and independent countries is impolitic and pernicious.’^a Some few of Smith’s conclusions are now questioned or disowned ; but the merits of his work remain untouched. ‘ It produced,’ says Mackintosh—somewhat prematurely, it must be confessed—‘ an immediate, general, and irrevocable change in some of the most important parts of the legislation of all civilized states.’ It has altered laws and treaties, and has proved as conducive to the interests of peace and good will as to the increase of national wealth.^b

^a *Principles of Political Economy*, p. 57.

^b See a striking estimate of Adam Smith’s two works in Buckle’s *History of Civilisation*, li. 442.

421. Towards the close of the last century appeared a work that excited great controversy: *An Essay on the Principle of Population as it affects the Future Improvement of Society* (1798). Its author was the Rev. T. R. Malthus (1766-1836), a Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford. A second edition, greatly improved, was published in 1802, containing the results of personal observation during a visit to Northern Europe. His theory is, in brief, that population has a tendency to increase faster than the means of subsistence. The natural conclusion is that marriage should be discouraged by moral, or, if need be, by legal restraints. He also wrote *An Inquiry into the Nature and Progress of Rent* (1815), and a work on the *Principles of Political Economy* (1820). For the last thirty years of his life, Mr. Malthus was Professor of History and Political Economy at Haileybury College.

One of the ablest books on political science, after the treatise of Adam Smith, was written by David Ricardo (1772-1823), under the title of *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation* (1817). Mr. Ricardo accumulated a large fortune as a stockbroker, and was, during the last years of his life, Member of Parliament for Portarlington. On his favourite subject he was a great authority, and his papers are all marked by originality and power.

In 1821, James Mill, the historian of British India, published *The Elements of Political Economy*, an elementary treatise on the science as modified by Ricardo. In 1831, Dr. Whately delivered *Lectures* at Oxford as Professor of Political Economy,—lectures distinguished by all the clearness and vigour for which that author was remarkable. In 1827, a good elementary treatise was published by Mrs. Marcet under the title of *Conversations on Political Economy*. In 1832, Dr. Chalmers wrote on *Political Economy in connection with the Moral Prospects of Society*. In this work he insisted that no amount of skill or of labour would suffice to meet the necessities of the rapidly increasing population, and that men must either cease to multiply or starve. To J. R. McCulloch we owe *Principles of Political Economy* (*Encyclo. Brit.* and in 1825), various contributions on this science to the *Edinburgh Review*, and some admirable *Dictionaries* of commerce and geography.

Meanwhile, the Malthusians were not suffered to advocate their doctrines unrebuked. Cobbett denounced them with great

vigour, and Coleridge ridiculed their fears. In 1831, M. T. Sadleir, a plain man of business (1788-1835), published *The Law of Population*, in which he seeks to disprove the assertions of Malthus. The same year, Nassau W. Senior, their ablest opponent, and Professor of Political Economy at Oxford, published *Two Lectures on Population*, in which he denies the soundness of the doctrines in question, and suggests that there are influences at work which will ultimately check the evils which political economy dreads, or meet the necessities which the increase of the people is likely to create. Mr. Senior is also author of a *Treatise on Political Economy*, published originally in the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*.

422. The eighteenth century marks the commencement of parliamentary oratory, and of the public discussion of political questions in a form adapted to exercise a direct influence upon the government. This new power in the state owes its origin chiefly to the increased facility of circulating the speeches delivered in Parliament, and of appealing, by means of newspapers, to the intelligence or the passions of the people. The great men of the seventeenth century, with all their warm debates and skilful word fencing, reached only those who heard them. The 'winged words' of the great men of the eighteenth century flew to the ends of the earth, and if they themselves preferred to speak through the press, their utterances found a ready and effective channel in the newspapers or magazines of that day. Henceforth, it has been said, the pen or the tongue, not the sword, is the arbiter of the destinies of nations. If opinion now rules the world, it is humbling to think how much it owes its dignity to increased mechanical facility for fixing and diffusing it. Even mind is indebted for its power, though not for its authority, to paper and print.

Among the earliest who used this wonderful faculty was the first William Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham (1708-1778).

He was educated at Eton, whence he went as student to Trinity College, Oxford. After a brief cornetcy in the Blues, and before he was twenty-one years of age, he entered Parliament, where he soon became conspicuous. In 1740 he made a speech on the Bill for registering seamen, and in reply, Walpole taunted him with his youth. Pitt answered in a

rejoinder which has become memorable. This speech is given by Dr. Johnson, who then reported for the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and though Johnson's report is clothed in his peculiar style, it must represent the substance of the speech itself. It is a masterpiece of dignity and sarcasm. For many years Pitt continued one of the most influential men of his time, and though his acceptance of a peerage (1766) lowered 'the great Commoner' in public esteem, he still 'shook the Senate' with his appeals. When upwards of sixty, and enfeebled by disease, he delivered his speech against the employment of the Indians in the American War, and announced principles which have never ceased to guide, in like emergencies, the decisions of our public men. In 1778 he went to the House of Lords to rouse the country against what he deemed the ignominious surrender of part of America—for, though he had always protested against the injustice with which the colonies were treated, he protested as strenuously against their independence—and, when rising to reply he was struck down with mortal sickness, dying, after a few weeks, at Hayes, in his seventieth year. This scene forms the subject of a well-known picture by Copley; and the character of Chatham has been sketched by some of our ablest writers, Grattan, Brougham, and Macaulay. Grattan's sketch, especially, is drawn with great richness and vigour.

Chatham was buried in Westminster Abbey near the northern door in a spot ever since appropriated to statesmen. Here were laid in succession the shattered frames of the younger Pitt, Fox, Grattan, Canning, and Wilberforce.

Other names suggested by that of Chatham are those of C. J. Fox (1749-1806) and William Pitt (1759-1806). Both were great parliamentary leaders, the representatives of parties and of principles, who carried parliamentary eloquence to a degree of excellence which it had not previously attained.

423. Two names that require further notice are Junius and Burke. When Junius commenced his career as a public writer, discontent had spread throughout the nation. The contest with the American colonies, the pressure of taxation, the low state of the country, were among the causes of the prevailing discontent, which was deepened by the feebleness of the government under Lord North, the power of the opposition led

Junius.

on by Chatham and Burke, and the 'poisonous influence,' as Lord North called it, of the *North Briton*, a publication edited by John Wilkes. In 1769 appeared the first of a series of political letters bearing the name of Junius—letters which have now taken their place among the best specimens of vigorous English. The most popular newspaper of that day was the *Public Advertiser*, published by Woodfall, a man of character and education. To this paper the first letter was sent. It was followed by various letters under different signatures, and extending over about two years. In 1772 the whole were collected by Woodfall, revised by their author, and reprinted in two volumes. The best edition is that published in 1812.

The *principles* advocated in these celebrated letters form the least effective part of them; though they are often moderate and sound, and occasionally constitutional maxims are set forth in striking language. The *personality* is the element that contributed most to their success in that age. They attacked the government, the court, and even the king, with unrivalled boldness. The sarcasm retailed much private scandal, and blasted more than one eminent public character. Now it is their *style* that gives them their chief interest. The point, the energy, the brilliancy of the language, the fearlessness and vigour of the invective, the occasional beauty and aptness of the metaphors are all impressive, though it must be confessed that the force of the whole is to us greatly weakened by the fact that the writer often mistakes private enmities for public virtues, and that he has often formed uncharitable estimates of the men of his time. The secret of the authorship of these letters may be said to have died with the writer of them. Not even Woodfall had any knowledge of the identity of his correspondent. They have been ascribed to ten or twelve different writers, and the whole question has charms for some minds not unlike those of the inquiry into the history of *the Man with the iron mask*. It is now generally believed that the real author was Sir Philip Francis. Brougham and Macaulay have shown that evidence, both external and internal, points almost decisively to him. If the case is not proved, they think that there is an end of all reasoning on circumstantial evidence.

424. The most eloquent, perhaps, and certainly the most philoso-

phic, of the statesmen of the eighteenth century was Edmund Burke. Burke (1730-1797). He was born in Dublin, and was

the son of an attorney. After receiving a good education at Trinity College he entered as a student at the Middle Temple. He seems, however, early to have given up the intention of following the law, and in 1753 he was an unsuccessful candidate for the chair of Logic in Glasgow. The first year of his life in London he gave to literature. In 1756 he published his parody of Lord Bolingbroke, *A Vindication of Natural Society*, to show that his style could be imitated and that his principles were unsound. In 1757 appeared *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas on the Sublime and Beautiful*. For several years he aided Dodsley in the *Annual Register*, a work which he himself suggested. In 1765 he entered Parliament as Member for Wendover, having acted for some time as secretary to the Marquis of Rockingham. He now took to the writing of political pamphlets. His publications on *The State of the Nation* and *The Present Discontents* are models of argumentative discussion. In the debates on the American war and on the Regency Bill of Mr. Pitt, and in the prosecution of Warren Hastings, he was one of the most active members of the House of Commons, and gained boundless applause by his speeches. In 1790, while the storm that was then rising in France was 'blackening the horizon,' he wrote his memorable *Reflections on the French Revolution*. He now separated from his old friends and especially from Mr. Fox. But his ardour and vigour were unabated. He appealed *From the New to the Old Whigs*, wrote *Letters to a Noble Lord*, other *Letters on the Proposals for Peace*, and later *Letters to a Noble Lord on his Pension* (1796), and *Letters on a Regicide Peace* (1796-1797). Meanwhile he had retired from Parliament. The friendship of the Marquis of Rockingham had enabled him to purchase an estate near Beaconsfield, and there the remainder of his life was spent. In 1795 he received a handsome pension from the Civil List. It was intended to raise him to the peerage, but the death of his only son 'rendered him indifferent if not averse to such a distinction.'^a He died in 1797, and was buried in the church at Beaconsfield.

This brief summary of his labours gives only the faintest idea of their value. Burke possessed in the highest degree the faculty

^a Chambers.

of 'tracing all things, actions, and events to the laws which determine their existence.'^a He was the most scientific of statesmen, and referred habitually to principles. This is his first excellence; and as all his speeches were written under the control of this faculty, and were carefully prepared for the press, they are still valuable though the circumstances and events to which they relate have passed away: at the same time the imagery and illustration in which they abound make them interesting to the literary student. In his political writings he is apt to exaggerate in tone and in statement, and occasionally he transgresses the bounds of correct taste. But in various knowledge, in splendid language, in profound philosophical reflection, they are unsurpassed; nor would it be possible to find writings more suggestive of lessons of political sagacity applicable to all time. Genius and splendour characterise his later speeches: the earlier ones have more practical value. His intellectual character and style have been sketched by Mackintosh and Robert Hall. Both wrote amid the excitement of the beginning of our century, and while Burke's denunciations of French liberty seemed harsh and illiberal; perhaps, therefore, they have failed to do full justice to his merits. Modern criticism is disposed to compare him with Cicero—a model that Burke copied in eloquence and in philosophy—and to affirm that, if the comparison is to extend over both departments, he has at least equalled his original.

425. The mention of Burke's *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757), naturally

Æsthetics:
Reynolds, etc. suggests other books of the same class. The subject of which he treats had already occupied the attention of Addison and Akenside, and it now became a favourite one with English writers. Burke's aim was to ascertain what the quality is to which we give the name of 'beauty,' and what emotions it excites in the heart, and he hoped rules might be deduced from such an inquiry applicable to the imitative arts. His theory is not regarded as satisfactory, nor does his treatise display much of his genius or power.

One of the first to apply Burke's suggestions was Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723-1792), whose *Discourses on Painting* were delivered between 1769 and 1790. Sir Joshua himself was a

^a Coleridge.

portrait painter of exquisite taste; his lectures contain a good deal of suggestive thought and literary illustration, but their critical rules are said to be wanting in accuracy and in definiteness. The next application of Burke's suggestion was to scenery, and the writers to whom we are indebted for works in this department are the Rev. William Gilpin (1724-1804) and Sir Uvedale Price (1747-1829). The former is author of *Remarks on Forest Scenery* and *Observations on Picturesque Beauty*; the latter of *Essays on the Picturesque*. Gilpin's descriptions of the beauties of trees singly and in groups are often very striking, and his works are enriched with thoughts that may be regarded as even profound. Price's criticisms on gardening and on painting, though not always just, are always remarkable for beauty of description and general accuracy of taste. The picturesque he deemed a quality entirely distinct from the beautiful and the sublime. Some of his philosophical distinctions were questioned by Dugald Stewart.

In 1790 Archibald Alison published *Essays on the Natural Principles of Taste*. In this work he maintains that material objects appear beautiful or sublime in consequence of the emotion of pity, love, or sorrow, which they have power to excite, and that this power they acquire by association. In 1805, R. Payne Knight published an elaborate treatise entitled *An Analytic Enquiry into the Principles of Taste*. It contains much clear and learned criticism, with a good deal that is paradoxical. He also is a disciple of the theory of association. The ablest defender of that theory however is Francis Jeffrey, who, in an article on beauty published in the *Edinburgh Review*, explains the principle with great clearness of reasoning and richness of illustration. Other advocates are Dugald Stewart and Dr. Thomas Brown. It must be conceded that, as in the case of conscience so in respect to taste, association does explain many of the most common and some of the most curious of the facts; but as an exhaustive theory it seems as unsatisfactory as the theory that resolves all sound into echo. The beautiful is surely an objective quality and excites a correspondent emotion. The recent writings of Mr. Ruskin contain admirable discussions on the principles of taste as applied to all art, and in Cousin's *Philosophy of the Beautiful* (London, 1848), we have an eclectic theory of beauty very different from the doctrine of our Scottish metaphysicians.

426. The principles which Burke endeavoured to ascertain in beauty and sublimity, and which other writers on taste sought in art and in natural scenery, soon came to be discussed *Kames, etc.* in relation to style. The first writer on this subject in the eighteenth century was Henry Home (1696-1782), a Scottish lawyer and judge who, under the title of Lord Kames, wrote several metaphysical dissertations. Of these the best is the *Elements of Criticism* (1762). It is a peculiarity of the book that he rejects all rules based on mere authority and seeks such only as are demonstrably based on human nature. Stewart thinks his treatise the earliest systematic attempt to investigate the metaphysical principles of Art. His *Sketches of the History of Man* (1773), contains many curious facts and discussions, and his *Loose Hints on Education* (1781), affirms with clearness and vigour some of those doctrines on that subject which have since become popular.

The next work we owe to Hugh Blair (1718-1799), one of the ministers of Edinburgh. His *Lectures on Rhetoric* were first delivered in 1759 and were published in 1783. The style is somewhat hard and dry, but the work is enriched with a good collection of examples in every department of composition, and with detailed criticisms on authors, both ancient and modern. The best book, however, of this class, is *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* by Dr. George Campbell (1719-96), principal of Marischal College, Aberdeen. It was published in 1776, and, unlike many works on this subject, it is an original treatise, not a compilation, displaying great research, independent judgment, and much philosophical acuteness. Other books by the same author are *A Dissertation on Miracles*, in answer to Hume, *A Translation of the Four Gospels*, and *A Series of Lectures on Ecclesiastical History*; all distinguished by the same qualities. While strenuously defending religious truth Campbell as strenuously opposed the prosecution of those who attacked it. He avowed his grief that any friends of religion should betray so great diffidence in the goodness of their cause as to use any more forcible methods of silencing opponents than a candid Christian spirit and solid argument. 'These attacks,' he adds, 'may shake Christianity for a time and threaten to overthrow it, whilst in effect they only serve to make it strike its roots the deeper and stand the firmer ever after.'

The admirable practical treatise of Whately on *Rhetoric* may fairly conclude the list.

427. Meanwhile, Language, as the utterance of thought, was receiving attention in other quarters. In 1752, James Harris of Salisbury, a Member of Parliament, and one of the *Harris, Tooke.* Lords of the Treasury, published a celebrated work entitled *Hermes; or, a Philosophical Inquiry concerning Universal Grammar*, in which he has thrown much light on the history and philosophy of language. Harris had a profound knowledge of Greek, but unhappily, when he published his volume, the Gothic and Norse dialects of Europe had attracted little attention among our scholars. To this circumstance some of his errors are to be attributed. The work is, nevertheless, a curious and valuable production.

Harris's deficiencies were somewhat supplied, so far as knowledge of the northern languages is concerned, by John Horne Tooke, philologist and politician (1736-1812). He was the son of Mr. Horne, a London poulterer, or *Turkey* merchant, as young Horne used to call him, and was educated at Westminster and Cambridge. At his father's suggestion he took orders as a clergyman, but never liked his profession and soon relinquished it for the law. Politically, he became a Wilkite, but soon quarrelled with his leader. As a lawyer, he gained the favour of a client, Mr. Tooke of Purley, who bequeathed to him a fortune of about 8000*l.* To this connexion we owe the title, and probably the publication of his best work, *Epea Pteroenta; or, the Diversions of Purley* (vol. i. 1786, ii. 1805). The work is a farrago of politics, wit, bad metaphysics, and etymology. Tooke's theory is, that particles are really fragments of nouns and verbs. This theory applied to English is largely true; but when he proceeds to take the etymology of words as a guide to their meaning, and above all, when he treats things as only generalized names whose meanings are to be determined by etymology, we feel instinctively that he is building upon analogies which are often whimsical, or at best accidental, a fabric which is not the temple of truth. Nevertheless, his knowledge of the northern languages, his liveliness and acuteness combine to make his book an interesting and valuable accession to our stores.

In 1794, he was tried for high treason, eloquently defended by

Erskine, and acquitted. The unspoken speech which Lord Mayor Beckford was to have delivered in reply to George III., and which is engraved on Beckford's statue in Guildhall, was written by Tooke. The speech is not remarkable, but the circumstances in which it was supposed to have been spoken, gave it great celebrity in a time of political ferment. Tooke twice tried to gain a seat in parliament as member for Westminster; but was unsuccessful. Lord Camelford nominated him for Old Sarum, and a motion was made to expel him on the ground that he was still in orders. This motion, however, was dropped; but an act was passed to prevent the admission of clergymen in future.

Between 1773 and 1792, Lord Monboddo published some essays on the origin and progress of language, which excited both ridicule and admiration. They contain the results of much learning and shrewdness, with a good deal that is whimsical.

428. Besides the writers on taste and style in general, there were many in this century who made valuable additions to our stores by their criticisms or by their contributions to particular departments of prose literature; Edmund Malone (1743-1812), J. Nichols (1745-1829), I. Disraeli (1766-1848), Sir Egerton Brydges (1762-1837), Francis Jeffrey (1773-1850), William Hazlitt (1778-1830), Thomas de Quincey, and Sydney Smith (1771-1845). These are really representative men, and must be taken as samples of a class, many of whom we cannot notice for want of space, and some because they are still amongst us.

Edmund Malone, the son of an Irish judge, was born in Dublin. He was called to the English bar, but devoted his life to literature. He was eminent as critic and as antiquary. To him we owe the detection of the Shakespeare forgeries of Ireland. His life of Dryden and of Reynolds, and his edition of Shakespeare contain much useful information, curious comment, and skilful criticism. He was the friend of Johnson, Goldsmith, Burke, and still more of Johnson's biographer—Boswell.

Of John Nichols mention has been made already in connection with the *Gentleman's Magazine*. He was an apprentice of William Bowyer, an eminent London printer, and the author of several philological tracts, as well as of a respectable edition of the Greek Testament with notes. On Bowyer's death, Nichols

succeeded to the business in which he had been for some time a partner, and then became associated with a brother-in-law of Cave, the original proprietor of the *Gentleman's Magazine*. The more important of Nichols' works are *The Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, in eight volumes (1812-1814), and a supplement of illustrations in three volumes. John Nichols represents a class of men not uncommon in modern Europe, who, from William Caxton to Charles Knight, have combined a love of literature with a business knowledge of its mechanical details, and who have cultivated it with the best results to literature itself, though sometimes with great cost to themselves. They have often proved martyrs to principle and to the cause of education, and are well entitled to our respect and admiration.

Isaac Disraeli, the father of the present author and statesman, was descended from a Jewish family that had been compelled to leave Spain by the Inquisition in the fifteenth century. The family came to England in 1748. Disraeli, himself, could never make a man of business, and the family at length allowed him to become a man of letters.

Few men have done more to diffuse a literary taste than Isaac Disraeli, author of *The Curiosities of Literature*, and other works. The first volume of the *Curiosities* was published in 1791, a second appeared in 1793, and the third in 1817. Three other volumes were afterwards published as a second series. He is also the author of *Literary Miscellanies of Literary Characters*—pieces which have been published in a large volume. Still later, and after he had been smitten with partial blindness, he published the *Amenities of Literature*. These works consist of detached papers and dissertations on literary men and on literary subjects, and, though written in a gossiping, pleasant style, they present the fruits of much antiquarian research without the dryness which too often distinguishes the writings of the antiquary. His ablest essay is the *Literary Character; or, the History of Men of Genius*, drawn from their own feelings and confessions. It was a favourite with Byron. All his works, it may be added, are suggestive and helpful to literary students.

To Sir Egerton Brydges we owe the *Censura Literaria* (second and best edition 1815), in ten volumes, and the *British Bibliographer*, in three volumes. As the editor of the *Retrospective Review*, he drew attention to many of the finest of our old English

authors, aiding Coleridge, Hazlitt, and Lamb in this laudable work. In 1835 he published an edition of Milton in six volumes. In Sir Egerton's own writings there is a querulous spirit which often displeases the reader. But it is impossible not to admit that his taste and exertions have done much to extend among modern students a juster appreciation of our older literature.

429. Francis Jeffrey was born at Edinburgh in 1773, and when only twenty-one, was called to the bar. For many years he worked hard and lived economically, leading Jeffrey. a life of self-denial and literary culture till he became a power in the State. In 1802, the *Edinburgh Review* was started by Sydney Smith, Francis Horner, Dr. Thomas Brown, Henry Brougham, and Francis Jeffrey. Jeffrey was soon appointed editor—an office he filled till 1829. Besides editing the work and infusing his own spirit into the contributors, he himself wrote largely for it—the finest articles on poetry and on elegant literature being from his pen. His criticisms on Cowper, Crabbe, Byron, Scott, and Campbell, as well as on the earlier lights of our literature, Shakespeare and Milton, are written with great acuteness and freshness. Occasionally, he is wanting in respect for living genius. Southey, Wordsworth, Lamb, and Montgomery, all suffered in this way. Such instances, however, are rare, and the critical judge has often cancelled his previous decision. After he had been raised to the Bench in Scotland, he collected his more important contributions and published them (1844) in three volumes. He himself tells us that his principle had been to combine ethical precepts with literary criticism, and to assert the close connexion between sound intellectual attainments and the higher elements of duty, and of the just and ultimate subordination of the former to the latter. To this principle he generally adheres, and some most vigorous rebukes of licentiousness and of infidelity are to be found in his pages. If he now and then gave up to party what was meant for mankind, it may be affirmed that he has never sacrificed to party the interests of morality or of religion.

430. William Hazlitt was an art critic and a bold vigorous writer, though somewhat prejudiced and paradoxical. Hazlitt. He was born at Maidstone, Kent, and began life as painter. As he displayed more appreciation of excellence than

creative genius, he soon relinquished the pencil and devoted his life to literature. Among other works he wrote *Characters of Shakespeare's Plays* (1817), in which he shows great acuteness and discrimination, *Lectures on the English Poets* delivered at the Surrey Institution (1818), *Table Talk; or, Original Essays* (1821-1822), *Lectures on the Dramatic Literature of the Age of Elizabeth* (1821), and his most elaborate and characteristic book, the life of *Napoleon Buonaparte* (1818) in four volumes. To him we owe also *An Essay on the Fine Arts*, published in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and various articles on English novelists and other authors in the *Edinburgh Review*. His *Conversations with James Northcote* is one of his latest books, and contains many good remarks on art and artists. The uncertainties and disappointments of a literary life and the struggles of political parties, seem to have soured his mind, but it is impossible to read his criticisms on some old poems or picture, for example, without feeling the brilliance of his language, the heartiness of his appreciation of ideal excellence, and the frankness and strength of his character. If he had thought more and felt less, or rather if his feelings had been tutored by greater ripeness of judgment and depth of thought, he would have been one of the most impressive critics of our age.

One of the most voluminous of our writers on literature is Thomas de Quincey. His *Confessions of an Opium Eater*, published originally in the *London Magazine*, have given De Quincey. him great celebrity. Though his purely literary papers are less known, they are all remarkable for clear and masculine style and for the general soundness of their critical principles. He introduced German literature to English readers some years before Carlyle had made it so popular, and some of the best translations of Richter and Lessing are from his pen. His contributions to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and his articles in *Tait's Magazine* and other periodicals have been collected, forming a series of sixteen volumes. De Quincey seems to have been fitful, and occasionally ungenial. It is at least certain that in his *Literary Recollections*, published some years ago in Tait, he treated some of his illustrious contemporaries with less delicacy and generosity than might have been expected from him. His papers are, as a whole, admirable specimens of clear thinking, good taste, and idiomatic English.

431. This *literary* summary may be fitly closed with a brief notice of Sydney Smith and Charles Lamb. Known in our age chiefly as a joker, and in the last age as an opponent of evangelical effort—Methodism as he called it—

whether in his own Church or in other churches, Smith's literary merits are apt to be forgotten: yet there is no man of this century whose works are richer in masculine sense, in earnest advocacy of what he deemed great principles, or in general fairness of judgment, while for wit, shrewdness, and good Saxon English they are unsurpassed, or, taking those qualities together, unrivalled. Apart from his religious tendencies, and making allowance for a certain worldliness of tone which sometimes grates upon the feeling, it may be said that there are few writers in our language that can be read with more amusement and profit.

- Sydney Smith was born at Woodford in Essex. He was the son of an improvident English gentleman, who, however, gave his children a good education and placed them in positions to help themselves. Of Smith's two brothers the older, Robert, better known by his school name of Bobus, became a distinguished classical scholar, and adopted the profession of the law. The younger, Courtenay, went to India, where he accumulated great wealth which he bequeathed to Sydney. Sydney was educated at Oxford, where he gained a small fellowship. After holding a curacy in a village in the midst of Salisbury Plain, he removed with a pupil to Edinburgh, and there remained five years, preaching at the Episcopal chapel, and meditating politics with the young Whigs of that city. It is to him we owe the suggestion of the *Edinburgh Review*, and the first numbers were edited by him. When he left Edinburgh, 'my Review fell,' he tells us, 'into the stronger hands of Jeffrey and Brougham, and reached the highest point of popularity and success.' In 1804 he came to London, where he preached for some years. Between 1804 and 1806 he delivered a course of lectures on *Moral Philosophy* at the Royal Institution, London, which were published after his death, and which have certainly contributed to his reputation. Meanwhile his conversational powers gained him great celebrity, and he became 'a diner out of the first water.' His papers in the *Edinburgh* also extended his popularity, though they robbed him of all hope of promotion from the party then in power. During the brief Whig administration of 1806-1807 he was presented to a living in

Yorkshire, Foston le Clay, and there he wrote a highly amusing political tract entitled *Letters on the Subject of the Catholics to my brother Abraham, who lives in the Country: by Peter Plymley*. The success of these letters was immediate and immense. Never, indeed, since Swift's day, had papers appeared so masterly in irony and humour and so strong in argument. After obtaining various pieces of preferment, Mr. Smith was appointed one of the Prebends of St. Paul's (1831), and in 1839 he became, 'by the death of his brother, unexpectedly a rich man.' He died in 1845, and in 1855 a memoir of his life, with a selection from his letters, was published by his daughter, Lady Holland. This work gives a very favourable impression of the beneficence of his life, though without at all softening what we have indicated as the less favourable parts of his character. His collected works form three volumes.

The themes that Sydney Smith discusses are always practical, and his great object seems to be to correct abuses, to enforce timely reformation, and to defend liberty on principles of common sense. Most of his papers are political, but his Moral Philosophy, while manifesting the same breadth of humour and drollery of illustration that distinguish his other writings, displays more power of analysis and more taste for abstract speculation than many of his admirers would have supposed. He is a good specimen of the shrewd, fearless Englishman, and employs those qualities, together with the peculiar talents to which we have already referred, in the great cause of human improvement.

432. One of the most quaint and humorous writers of this century is Charles Lamb (1775-1835). He was born in London, and was educated at Christ's Hospital. In 1792 he
 C. Lamb. obtained an appointment in the East India Company's office, and there remained till 1825, when he was allowed to retire on a handsome pension; became his own master, 'and went home,' as he expressed it, 'for ever.' Lamb and his sister Mary had inherited a taint of insanity, and both suffered from it. In 1796, the sister, in a paroxysm of madness, seized a table knife and stabbed her mother. This sad tragedy coloured the life of both, and called forth a spirit of noble self-denial on Lamb's part. He resolved to remain single and to sacrifice his own feelings in order to provide her a home. She

regained her health, and from the age of twenty-two he devoted his life to her happiness, 'endeared as she was by her strange calamity and by the constant apprehension of the recurrence of the malady which had caused it.'^a

Lamb's earliest literary works were in verse, prompted probably by the productions of his friends Coleridge and Wordsworth. Twice he essayed the drama, writing *John Woodvil*, a tragedy, and *Mr. H.*, a farce. The *Edinburgh* blasted his hopes of the success of the first, and the public rejected the second. 'He consoled his friends, however, by a century of puns,' and gave himself to other work. After writing a series of tales, founded on Shakespeare's plays, in conjunction with his sister, and publishing *Specimens of English Dramatic Poets who lived about the Time of Shakespeare*, he prepared a series of essays, and published them under the title of *Elia*, in the *London Magazine*. 'They are all,' says Talfourd, 'carefully elaborated; yet never were works written in a higher defiance of the conventional pomp of style. A sly hit, a happy pun, a humorous combination, lets the light into the intricacies of the subject, and supplies the place of ponderous sentences. Seeking his materials for the most part from the common paths of life—often in the humblest—he gives an importance to everything, and sheds a grace over all.' Lamb died in 1835 of erysipelas following a slight fall, and 'was buried at Edmonton, amid the tears of a circle of warmly attached friends, and his memory was consecrated by a tribute from the muse Wordsworth.'

Lamb's fame he owes principally to his *Essays* and *Letters*. His favourite authors were the dramatists of Shakespeare's age, Jeremy Taylor, Sir Thomas Browne, Thomas Fuller, and Margaret Countess of Newcastle: and never did the adage *noscitur a sociis* receive a completer fulfilment. His genial humour, his whims, his punning propensities, the quaintness of his fancies, give strong individuality to all he has written, while his critical taste, pure style, and choice expressions, combine to make him a master of the English essay.

433. Among less eminent writers may be named:—

William Hone (1779-1842), the author of the *Every-Day Book* and the *Table Book*, which give a picturesque account

• T. N. Talfourd, *Life and Letters*.

of old customs; the volumes were great favourites with Southey and Lamb:

John W. Croker (1780-1857), one of the most diligent contributors to the *Quarterly*, of which he was for a time the editor, and the 'Rigby' of *Coningsby*, is the author of a number of critical papers showing skill in detecting minute errors—skill which Lord Macaulay repaid with evident satisfaction on Croker's edition of Boswell:

Sir James Stephen (1789-1859) was for many years Under-secretary of the Colonies, afterwards Professor of Modern History at Cambridge; he is the author of two volumes of *Essays* and *Lectures on the History of France*, written with considerable brilliancy and vigour.

Mrs. Jameson, whose *Characteristics of Women* (1832), and various volumes on art, are written with great feeling and taste; Arthur Helps, author of *Friends in Council* (1847-1850), *The Companions of my Solitude* (1851), and other works written with great discrimination and purity of style; Thomas Carlyle (b. 1795), author of the *Life of Schiller* (1825), a translation of *Wilhelm Meister* (1824), *Heroes and Hero Worship* (1840), delivered originally as a course of lectures, *The French Revolution* (1837), five volumes of *Miscellanies* (1848), *Oliver Cromwell—his Letters and Speeches* (1845), and of the *Life of Frederick the Great* (1858-1865), we can only name, as they are yet living.

434. The representative of the classical scholarship of the eighteenth century, perhaps, the only name of first-rate ability since the time of Bentley, was Richard Porson (1759-1808). He was the son of a parish clerk in Norfolk, and raised himself by his prodigious memory and great talent to the Greek professorship in the University of Cambridge. He has left no independent work, but his editions of the first four plays of Euripides and his corrections of the text of *Æschylus* and of part of Herodotus, show unsurpassed shrewdness and taste in Greek literature. His *Adversaria; or, Notes and Emendations of Greek Poets*, were published by Monk and Bloomfield. Unhappily, his personal habits were not creditable to him; his intemperance amounted to a disease: though he strangely blended with these qualities a love of truth and simplicity of character

that at once attracted and offended his friends. Some of his sayings were very shrewd and pointed.

Two other scholars of less eminence are Dr. Samuel Parr (1747-1825) and his pupil, Dr. Edward Maltby (b. 1770). The former was long head master of the Norwich School, and died at Hatton, where he was perpetual curate for more than forty years. His *Spital Sermon* (1800) of fifty pages, has two hundred and twelve pages of notes. Dr. Maltby was successively Bishop of Chichester and of Durham (1836). He is well known as the editor of Morell's *Thesaurus* (1802), and as author of *Illustrations of the Truth of the Christian Religion*.

One of the ablest scholars of our own century was the late J. W. Donaldson (1810-1861). His chief works are *The Theatre of the Greeks*, the *New Cratylus* and the *Varro-nianus*, the two latter on the philology of the Greek and Latin languages.

435. Nor ought we to omit from this section the names of the historians of literature, or of the societies which have been formed for reprinting the scarce works of our earlier writers. Bishop Percy was one of the first to give a full account of early English romances and ballads. His Essay prefixed to the *Reliques of Ancient Poetry*, first appeared in 1765, and in an enlarged form in 1794. Warton's *History of English Poetry* (1774) examines most of our early English literature, and gives many specimens. Tyrwhitt's edition of the *Canterbury Tales* contains a valuable preliminary Essay on Chaucer's peculiarities, and on the general history of the language itself up to the fourteenth century. In 1792, Pinkerton printed a collection of Scottish poems, and in 1802 Ritson published *Ancient English Romances*; both volumes with considerable criticism and history. Ellis's *Specimens of Early Romances* was published in 1805, and his *Specimens of Early English Poets* in 1803. This last suggested George Burnett's *Specimens of English Prose Writers* (1807); and these were followed by *Specimens of Later Poets* edited by Southey, and by *Specimens of all our Poets*, edited by Campbell. The Collections by Scott, the *History of the Drama* by Dunlop and Collier, and the *General History of Literature* by Hallam, are noticed elsewhere. Modern compilations by Chambers, Craik, Spalding, Arnold, and Shaw, we can only name.

Historians of
Literature.

Publication Societies belong chiefly to the nineteenth century : the following are the most important :—

TITLE.	PLACE.	WORKS PUBLISHED.	CHIEF CHARACTER.
RECORD COMMISSION, MASTER OF ROLLS, ETC.	London		Hist. and Lit.
Roxburgh Club	London, 1812	76 works	Hist. and Lit.
Royal Society of Literature	London, 1823	5 "	Lit.
Bannatyne Club	Edin., 1823	131 "	Hist. and Lit.
Maitland Club	Glasg., 1828	75 "	Hist. and Lit.
Surtees Society	Durham, 1834	44 "	Lit. North of Eng.
Abbotsford Club	Edin., 1835	31 "	Hist. and Lit.
Camden Society	London, 1838	90 "	Hist.
Spalding Club	Aberd., 1839	32 "	Hist.
Irish Archæol. and Celtic Soc.	Dublin, 1840	27 "	Hist.
Parker Society	Camb., 1840	53 "	Theol.
Percy Society	London, 1840	94 "	Lit.
Wodrow Society	Edin., 1841	12 "	Eccel.
Shakespeare Society	London, 1841	47 "	Lit. Shak.
Library of Anglo-Cath. Theol.	Oxford, 1841	32 "	Theol.
Philological Society	London, 1842	10 "	Philol.
Ælfric Society	London, 1843	3 "	Lit.
Chetham Society	Manch., 1843	60 "	Hist. Lit.
Spotiswoode Society	Edin., 1843	6 "	Eccel.
Calvin Society	Edin., 1843	52 "	Theol. Calv.
Hansard Knollys Society	London, 1845	10 "	Theol. Bapt.
Caxton Society	London, 1845	16 "	Hist. Lit.
Hakluyt Society	London, 1846	31 "	Travels.
Early English Text Society	London. 1863	10 "	Phil. Lit.

Add to this list the numerous reprints of old and rare books by J. P. Collier, J. O. Halliwell, by Bohn, Maidment, and J. R. Smith, and by local and private presses. Of these last the following are among the most important :

Strawberry Hill	H. Walpole, 1757	123 works.
Lee Priory	Sir E. Brydges, 1813	110 "
Auchinlech Press	Sir J. Boswell, 1815	15 "
Newcastle-on-Tyne	Typographical Society, 1818	88 "
Middle Hill Press	Sir T. Phillips, 1819	" "
Darlington Press	G. Allan	179 "
Beldornie Press	E. V. Utterson, 1840	16 "

436. The *Organum* of Bacon and the *Essay* of Locke have been charged with producing the religious scepticism of the eighteenth century. The charge is really unjust. There were other influences, as we have seen, that go far to explain it. The spirit which their writings are supposed to have fostered had other advocates, both in

ETHICS, etc.
Influence of
Bacon.

England and on the Continent. Galileo in Italy, Kepler in Northern Europe, Descartes in France, all taught men to adopt new methods of investigation, directed attention to facts rather than to established opinions, and produced such a state of feeling that even in morals authority had small weight. Bacon and Locke moreover firmly guarded against the application of their doctrines to religion and to morality. Bacon maintained that religion belongs to revelation, and that its facts are texts of Scripture. Locke maintained that the just consideration of ourselves and of God would afford 'such foundations of our duty and such rules of action as might place morality among the sciences capable of demonstration.'^a

The unsettling of received opinions which the *Organum* excited in physical science, and which may be said to have ended in that department in the establishment of Newton's philosophy, has continued in mental and ethical science down to our own day, nor is it yet determined upon what foundation those sciences are to rest.

437. Admitting that the principles of both sciences are to be settled by appeals to experience in its widest sense, there are still questions that need discussion. What is the essence of the quality of acts which we call virtuous? and what is the nature and the origin of the feeling with which we regard them? Is the tendency of an act to promote our own good or the good of others its virtuous quality? Do we ascertain the quality by ascertaining the tendency? and is our perception of the virtuousness of the act simply the perception of its useful tendency? These questions are answered in the affirmative by the advocates of the *philosophy of consequences*—Gay, Law, Tucker, Paley, Bentham. Or is the quality of virtue an ultimate idea, involved in the relations between different beings, incapable, like equality for example, of further analysis, and perceived in the same way by the reason, or, if not by the reason, by a faculty that is partly intellectual and partly emotional, and which for convenience we call the moral sense? Or, while affirming this view, may we say that morality is what is adapted to our nature—as in the highest sense it is what is adapted to God's nature—that it is the acting in accordance with all our powers, with due regard to the subordination which God has

Different
Schools.

^a *Essay*, bk. iv., cp. iii., § 12.

instituted between them,—particular affections being subjected to self love, and both to conscience? Such is the view of the advocates of the *philosophy of principle*,—Cudworth, Clarke, Butler.

Or is virtue a quality of which we know *nothing* except by the feeling it excites? Or is it a quality which in our fallen state we cannot test or ascertain, a quality which we can learn therefore only from Divine teaching? Such is the view of those who advocate the *philosophy of mere feeling*; and of those who deny the existence for man of any ethical system except what is taken from the Bible. The former is the view of Adam Smith, and the latter of Dr. Wardlaw.

Or, amidst these conflicting views, are we to grow sceptical, and deny that there is any such thing as virtue? Such is the philosophy of Hobbes, and practically of Hume.

Looking at mental processes, and trying to classify and explain them, we find theories of a similar kind. Some hold that all knowledge is gained only through the senses, and that our ideas are simply generalised sensations, never properly wider than the facts upon which they are founded. This is sensationalism, the philosophy of Condillac, of James Mill, of John Stuart Mill, and of G. H. Lewes.

Others hold that, besides these generalised facts, we have ideas which are representatives of eternal truth, axioms, necessary laws of thought. We cannot but think, for example, of every effect as having a cause, and we believe that everything which exists had a cause, God only excepted; while on all subjects we instinctively form sweeping general propositions which are not based *in all their extent* on experience. Those who hold the existence of such thoughts and the truth of them are idealists, the greater number of them holding also the reality and truth of the ideas that are obtained from sensation. This is the philosophy of Norris, Reid, Beattie, Kant, and Hamilton. Some sensationalists admit the reality of these necessary truths, but hold that the connexion between the different parts of the propositions containing them is simply verbal. This is the view of Horne Tooke, Whately, and others.

Both pure sensationalism and pure idealism tend to scepticism. Their reasoning ends in the denial of an external world, and of the existence of mind itself. We are conscious of sensations

only, it is said, and know nothing but sensations. Whether there is anything without, corresponding to the sensations we feel, or, if there is, whether there is any *substance* other than the sensible property we feel, it is impossible to decide. It was in this way that Berkeley, reasoning upon what he deemed the sensationalism of Locke, denied that we have any proof of the existence of matter. Similarly, Hume admitted that we have ideas, but held that of anything besides ideas we know nothing—neither of the mind nor of God. If, it is said, I am not to generalise on causation, I know nothing in relation to the outer world but my sensations, and in relation to the inner world I know nothing but my ideas: matter and spirit are therefore both unknown. This is the *philosophy of scepticism*, a phrase that means in this connection, uncertainty on the principles of knowledge and on the methods of enquiry. It does not affirm that the thing spoken of does not exist, but simply that we can know nothing of it. It has been answered in different ways. Kant appealed to what he called practical reason; Reid to common sense, either of which, they respectively affirm, assures us of the existence of the external world and of our own spirit. Coleridge distinguishes between the understanding, the faculty which generalises according to sense, and the reason, which sees truth by intuition, adopting herein a distinction upon which Clarke and Milton had long before insisted. Sir W. Hamilton maintains that consciousness is itself as decisive a proof of our own existence, and of the existence of something which is not ourselves, as sensation is of sensation, or thought of thought.

The philosophy that traces mental science to God, or to some mysterious Divine faculty, or to mere feeling, is rare and can hardly be said to exist among English writers.

Perhaps an enquirer of our own day may not unwisely affirm that there is truth in all these systems, and that they are erroneous only so far as they are mutually contradictory. In *mental science* it may be affirmed that there are many ideas which are simply generalised sensations, but that there are besides some necessary truths, fundamental laws of human belief, axioms; which, however, we must be careful not to multiply needlessly. It may even be admitted that there are ideas which are largely based on feeling or instinct, which we cannot otherwise define or defend than by affirming that they appeal to our nature. This is

the *psychological eclecticism* of the French school of Cousin, a school that excites sympathy among several eminent English writers.

In *ethical science* it may be held that virtue is always useful, and that the virtuous element of *some* acts depends on their utility; that there is an inherent fitness of virtue which is perceived by the reason and which excites emotion; that nevertheless the science of ethics is best studied by reference to man's make or constitution; that conscience is a mysterious power the analysis of which is obscure and difficult, and that while man remains sinful most of his convictions need to be tested and perfected by Revelation. This is the *ethical eclecticism* of Warburton, Butler, and Chalmers.

It may, at first, seem that these questions are rather speculative than practical, are metaphysical rather than ethical; and yet they involve important consequences. If it is true, for example, 'that there is nothing in the intellect which was not first in the sense;' if 'our belief in necessary truth is simply a generalization of experience;'^a it follows that all reasoning from the facts of nature to the existence of a supreme first cause is unfounded: we have no experience of 'world-making,' and can pronounce nothing in relation to it. Similarly, if we are to adopt the mystic view (as it has been called) of ethics, and maintain that there is no independent moral science, no moral science for fallen man, but what is taken from Scripture,^b ethical science becomes a department of theology, and of course the moral evidence of the truth of Revelation is largely lost. We seem to honour the Bible, but we practically represent God as leaving Himself 'without witness.'

Besides these questions there are others on the nature of the soul, on perception, on freedom and necessity, on the connexion between our physical organism and the various processes of thought, emotion and volition, which have given rise to protracted discussion, nor can we do more than hint at them as we proceed.

438. Perhaps the more active members of these various schools may be most conveniently set forth in a tabular form.

^a James Mill.

^b Wardlaw.

It must be carefully noted that with many other points of resemblance and difference, the writers of each class are here spoken of as agreeing or differing only on the *origin of ideas*, mental or ethical.

MENTAL SCIENCE, Sensationalism.	ETHICS, The Philosophy of Consequences.	MENTAL SCIENCE, Idealism.	ETHICS, The Philosophy of Principle.
T. Hobbes, 1588-1679. Locke, 1632-1704. H. Dodwell 1641-1711.	T. Hobbes, 1588-1679.	Locke, 1632-1704.	Lord Herbert, 1581-1648.
A. Collins, 1676-1729. Bp. Berkeley, 1684-1753.	Mandeville, 1670-1733.	J. Norris, 1657-1711.	R. Cumberland, 1632-1718. R. Cudworth, 1617-1688. W. Wollaston, 1659-1724.
	Gay, 1688-1732.	A. Collier, 1680-1732. Bp. Berkeley, 1684-1753. J. Jackson, 1686-1763.	Lord Shaftesbury, 1671-1713. S. Clarke, 1675-1729.
Hartley, 1705-1757	E. Law, 1703-1787.		Balguy, 1686-1748. Bp. Butler, 1692-1752. Hutcheson, 1694-1747.
Hume, 1711-1776.	A. Tucker, 1705-1774. Hume, 1711-1776. T. Rutherford, 1712-1771.	J. Harris, 1709-1780. T. Reid, 1710-1796.	W. Warburton, 1698-1779. J. Edwards, 1703-1758.
A. Ferguson, 1724-1816. J. H. Tooke, 1736-1812.	Dr. Priestley, 1733-1804. W. Paley, 1743-1805. J. Bentham, 1748-1832. W. Belsham, 1750-1829.	Beattie, 1735-1803.	R. Price, 1723-1791. A. Smith, 1723-1790.
James Mill, 1773-1836.	Mackintosh, 1765-1832.	D. Stewart, 1753-1828.	T. Gisborne, b. 1758. Mackintosh, 1765-1832.
Dr. T. Brown, 1778-1820		Sir W. Hamilton.	Dr. T. Brown, 1778-1820.

439. Among the contemporaries of Locke was Henry Dodwell, a nonjuror, educated at Trinity College, Dublin, who in 1706 wrote an *Epistolary Discourse* to prove that *The Soul is naturally Mortal, but Immortalised by God*

for punishment or for reward. Dodwell was answered by Samuel Clarke, and later by Andrew Baxter (1686-1750), a Scotchman educated at Aberdeen, and a successful teacher there. Warburton praises his book, *An Enquiry into the Nature of the Human Soul*,^a as 'one of the ablest and justest in its notions that the age had produced.' A. Collins defended Dodwell, attacking Clarke; and the subject was further discussed by John Jackson in *A Dissertation on Matter and Spirit* (1735); by Dr. Porteus in his *Sermons*; by Watts in his *Ontology*; and by Doddridge in his *Lectures*. An able modern book in which the subject is further discussed with freshness and vigour, is Samuel Drew's *Immateriality and Immortality of the Soul* (1802).

440. In 1714 Mandeville, a physician, published his *Fable of the Bees*. In this poem he attempts to show that the vices of selfishness, luxury, and lust are, within certain limits, public benefits, and that all the 'moral virtues are no better than the political offspring which flattery begat on pride.' The work possesses no literary merit, and is remarkable chiefly for the philosophy upon which it is based. It estimates all moral qualities by their tendencies, and suggests that virtue has no real excellence: vice on the contrary is often beneficial, and is then robbed of all its evil.

Further progress was made in the same direction by John Gay of Sidney College, Cambridge, who prefixed to King's *Origin of Evil* a dissertation concerning *The Fundamental Principle of Virtue*. He there anticipates Paley's teaching that God's will is our law, and that this will is known by the tendency of acts to produce happiness. He even holds that the pursuit of happiness is in every case the pursuit of virtue. Mackintosh notes that Gay has also anticipated the doctrine of Hartley on the association of ideas. On both accounts he has received a larger place in the history of philosophy than his general merits deserve.

Passing by the lesser names of Edmund Law and T. Rutherford, the former of whom showed his tendency in notes appended to King's *Origin of Evil*, and the latter in his *Essay on the Nature and Obligation of Virtue* (1721), we come to the work of Abraham Tucker. Tucker was a private gentleman residing at Betchworth Castle near Dorking, who under the title of Edward

^a Third and best edition, 1745.

Search wrote a treatise entitled *The Light of Nature pursued*, a treatise which Paley praised as 'containing more original thinking than any work of the kind.' It was published in 1768-1774, and is distinguished by great independence and by plain good sense. The author, like Adam Smith and Dr. T. Brown, excelled in illustration, and he has used this faculty with a liberality that makes his book a mine of thought for less inventive writers. In metaphysics his doctrine is allied to Hartley's, and in ethics he makes the motive and the measure of virtue our 'ultimate good,' 'pleasure or satisfaction in the highest sense:' things being never 'right in themselves,' but simply from their tendency to some end.

441. David Hartley was educated at Cambridge, where under Dr. Law's influence he adopted some of the extreme principles of sensationalism. From a hint of Newton's, to the effect Hartley.

that there were probably vibrations in the substance of the brain, which might throw light upon mental phenomena, he formed a system which he described at length in his *Observations on Man, his Frame, his Duty, and his Expectations* (1749). This treatise is remarkable as the first attempt to connect the study of the mind with physiology. From an anatomical examination of the nerves, Hartley—who had been bred as a physician—concluded that it was possible to account for all the facts of sensation by vibrations excited through the medium of external objects, and communicated to the brain. This suggestion was a mere guess, and rather detracted from the influence of his philosophy than aided it, but it may have had the effect of calling attention in our own time to the whole question of the connexion between our mental processes and our physical nature. Sir Charles Bell was the first in the present century to direct attention to this subject, and by his discovery of the fact that nerves exist in pairs or sets—nerves of sensation and nerves of volition—he has made a valuable contribution to this department of mental science. His labours have been followed by the investigations of Dr. Sharpey, Dr. Carpenter, and Alexander Bain. It has indeed been objected to the enquiry that it tends to materialism, and it may no doubt be prosecuted in a materialistic spirit, but there is no necessary connexion between the two. It is a curious, and may prove a very important question—What is precisely

the link between thought and outward things, between impressions and ideas, and generally between volition and acts? The painter and the sculptor have perfected their art by such studies, and may not the metaphysician use them for his? We may go farther. It is at this very point of connexion between matter and thought, between force and matter, between subject and object, that the solution of some of the most important questions of mental science may perhaps be found.

To Hartley we owe also the doctrine of association. Hobbes had already described the process under the phrase of 'trains of thought or of imagination,' and Locke had used the term to express the connexion of thoughts. Hartley uses it to describe 'any combinations of thought or feeling which are capable of becoming habits by means of repetition.'^a The laws of this process he has examined and classified, till at length he thinks he has traced to it all the phenomena of man's consciousness.

One of Hartley's warmest admirers was Joseph Priestley, whose eminence as a natural philosopher is undoubted, but who has

Priestley. small claim to notice as a metaphysician. Priestley

was originally a Calvinist and became a Unitarian. He was a man of intense energy of character and of restless vanity. His mind, moreover, was 'objective in the extreme:' nothing pleased him but the sensational in science, politics, ethics, and religion. His works in all departments excited great opposition, so that he found it necessary, he tells us, to write a pamphlet every year in their defence. In 1791, at the period of the French Revolution, a brutal mob set fire to his house in Birmingham, and destroyed his valuable library and apparatus. Three years after he removed to America, where he pursued his studies till his death in 1804. It is of him that Robert Hall has written one of his most eloquent passages: 'The religious tenets of Dr. Priestley appear to me erroneous in the extreme, but I should be sorry to suffer any difference of sentiment to diminish my sensibility to virtue or my admiration of genius. . . . Distinguished merit will ever rise superior to oppression, and will draw lustre from reproach. The vapours which gather round the rising sun and follow in its course, seldom fail at the close of it to form a magnificent theatre for its

^a Morell, i.

reception, and to invest, with variegated tints, and with a softened effulgence, the luminary which they cannot hide.'

In philosophy, Priestley is a disciple of Hartley, and thinks that he has thrown as much light upon the theory of the mind as Newton did upon the theory of the natural world. Consistently with his general temperament, Priestley has pushed all Hartley's views to excess. The doctrine of philosophical necessity, which Hartley's reasonings only favoured, Priestley strenuously defends. Morality he bases on utility alone; and thought, which Hartley had tried to connect with sensation by means of his theory of vibration, Priestley resolves into sensation alone, and the mind itself into nerves and material substance. He admitted, however, the distinct existence of God, and believed in the reality of a future state as well as in the fundamental principles of natural religion.

This tendency to resolve all mental processes into the action of material particles, culminated in Dr. Darwin (1731-1802), who maintained that the great infinite Spirit is simply impressional nature; God himself being to the universe what, on Priestley's system, the mind is to the human frame.

442. Forty years before the publication of Hartley's treatise, Bishop Berkeley had called attention to what he deemed the error of Lockeism. Locke taught what had been held Berkeley, etc. by all philosophers, by Aristotle as well as by Plato, that *ideas* are the only immediate subjects of consciousness and of knowledge: it is not things we know, but the ideas of things. This doctrine Berkeley firmly believed. He had noticed, however, that this doctrine, as held by the Lockeists, seemed to tend to scepticism. The Lockeists traced these ideas to external nature, and some made the sensible phenomena the exact measure of the ideas taken from it; ideas not taken from sensible nature, they, therefore, questioned or disowned. Why may not we, said Berkeley, regard these ideas as themselves the things, and the only things, that are *real*? We should thus get rid of all sensationalist restriction, and have a solid foundation for our belief in the existence of God and of moral truth. When it was answered that men do believe in the external world, the originator in fact of the idea itself, Berkeley replied by affirming that men believe in the idea, but not in that invisible *substance* of which we have no

evidence, and which we call matter. This reply he defended by ingenious arguments.

Berkeley's first work was his *Theory of Vision* (1709). This treatise made an important discovery, showing that many of the properties of bodies are known to us, not by sight, but by other faculties, and thence by association and reasoning. In 1710 appeared his *Principles of Human Knowledge*, and in 1713 the *Three Dialogues* between Hylas (the defender of *matter*) and Philonous (the advocate of *mind*). In this book his ideal system is explained in language singularly clear and animated. He tries to prove that it is the essence of an object that it be perceived, and that the perception is all we know of the reality. This doctrine has been called scepticism: Berkeley meant it as a defence of truth. It is really mysticism; teaching, as it does, that everything we *feel* or perceive is *real*, only the reality is not in an external object but in the feeling or perception, *i. e.*, in the mind itself. It follows, of course, as Berkeley holds, that God, and spirit, and eternity, and morality, are all as real as what we call external nature.

In 1732 he published *The Minute Philosopher*, a series of moral and philosophical dialogues; and in 1744 the second edition of *Siris; or, a Chain of Philosophical Reflections and Inquiries*, beginning with a discussion on the virtues of tar water, and ending with the doctrine of the Holy Trinity; the intervening pages being devoted, it may almost be said, to all the subjects that lie between.

Berkeley's personal character was remarkably beautiful and benevolent, and his style is a model of philosophical disquisition.

The main doctrine of Berkeley was, curiously enough, advocated about the same time by Arthur Collier (1680-1731), who (in 1713) published his *Clavis Universalis: being a Demonstration of the Non-existence or Impossibility of an External World*. Collier was a studious and retiring man, rector of Langford, in Wilts. His life was published by Robert Benson in 1837, and his tract was republished by Dr. Parr.

443. The transition from Berkeley to Hume is easy and natural. All philosophers had hitherto seemed to admit that we perceive *ideas*, not things, and that all our knowledge may be traced to sensation and reflection.

Hume.

Hume adopted this view, and changed only the current phraseology. All mental phenomena, he held, consist of impressions (sensations) or ideas—these latter being what remain through memory or association after the impression has ceased. Combining in his theory what has been called the representationist theory of knowledge, and the sensational origin of the ideas that come between the mind and external objects, and feeling dissatisfied with all the arguments which had been used to meet Berkeley's paradox of the non-existence of a material world, Hume concluded that we are sure of nothing but ideas themselves,—neither of matter nor of mind. Impressions and ideas express the sum of all our consciousness, and therefore of all our knowledge. This view he first published in a youthful and anonymous *Treatise on Human Nature* (1738), a work which he afterwards re-cast and published under the title of *Philosophical Essays concerning the Human Understanding* (1749). Neither work, however, attracted much attention at the time. In 1742 he published his *Essays; Moral, Political, and Literary*—a collection of thoughts at once original and popular. His other metaphysical works—*An Inquiry concerning the Principles of Morals*, *The Natural History of Religion*, and *Dialogues on Natural Religion*—appeared between 1751 and 1757. The whole were collected and published in two volumes under the title of *Essays*. (1758, 1764, 1800, etc.)

Among other applications of Hume's theory, he reckoned one of the most important to be the correction of the popular idea of power. Every notion, according to his principles, which cannot appeal to some impression or sensation as its source, is delusive, and must be rejected by the philosopher. Of such notions, power is one. Causation, it is evident, is nothing more than the invariable connexion of two events, nor is there any faculty in man by which the link that connects the two can be distinguished. It was this reasoning that suggested to Kant the necessity of a doctrine of practical reason, and to Reid the philosophy of common sense.

Hume's ethical system makes the virtue of actions depend entirely upon utility. He was answered on this point by Adam Smith and by Dr. Thomas Brown, who, however, accepted his theory of causation. 'It seems impossible,' says Smith, 'that the approbation of virtue should be a sentiment of the same kind as that by which we approve of a convenient, well-contrived

building, or that we should have no other reason for praising a man than that for which we praise a chest of drawers.'

Hume's philosophy, it will be noticed, is as destructive of science and of the daily business of life as it is of morality and religion. Happily some comfort remains, even on Hume's principles. Impressions and ideas are things we know. Causes, the external world, an infinite intelligent spirit, we cannot know. Nothing is real to us but thought: *that* is real and true. Virtue, moreover, is doing what we find produces satisfaction and pleasure. Does it not follow that to the man who believes in a God the idea is as real and as true as the idea that there is no God is true to Hume himself? We ought, moreover, to believe, if faith prove conducive, as believers find it does, to their highest good.

Apart from these sceptical puzzles, and on the common subjects of philosophy, Hume's thoughts are often profound and suggestive, while his style is remarkably clear and flowing.

444. The most influential of the advocates of the theory of utility was William Paley, a man of great force of intellect and of as great simplicity of character. He was born at Paley.

Peterborough in 1743, and was educated at Christ's College, Cambridge. After a brief period of clerical service at Greenwich, he was elected a Fellow of his College, and became tutor and lecturer on Moral Philosophy and on the Greek Testament. Through the influence of Dr. Law, who had been his college friend and was now Bishop of Carlisle, he obtained a small living in Westmoreland, and soon rose to be a Prebend of Carlisle, and Archdeacon. In 1785 he published his *Elements of Moral and Political Philosophy*, in 1790 his *Horæ Paulinæ*, and in 1794 his *View of the Evidences of Christianity*. These works gave him at once great popularity. Within six months he was made Prebend of St. Paul's, Sub-Dean of Lincoln, and Rector of Bishop Wearmouth. The homeliness of his manners, a certain freedom in his conversation, combined with the feeling which had been excited by portions of his writings, created prejudice against him in some quarters. When his name was suggested for a bishopric to George III., his majesty is reported to have exclaimed, 'What, *pigeon* Paley!' alluding to a well-known passage in his *Moral Philosophy* on the origin of property—and there was an end of his hopes.

In 1802 Paley published his *Natural Theology*, his last and, in the opinion of many, his most impressive book. Three years later he rested from his labours, after an active life which forms a model of industry, sociality, and neighbourliness, his whole 'habits admirably set,' to use his own phrase, for enjoyment. Sir James Mackintosh's criticism of the merits of his respective volumes is substantially just, nor are there any volumes of a philosophical nature that have been more read, or that have proved more popular among the educated classes of England :

'The most original and ingenious of his writings is the *Horæ Paulinæ*. The *Evidences of Christianity* are formed out of a most skilful abridgment of Lardner's *Credibility of the Gospel History*. . . His *Natural Theology* is the wonderful work of a man who, after sixty, had studied anatomy in order to write it; and it could only have been surpassed by a man who, like Sir Charles Bell, to great originality of conception and clearness of exposition added the advantage of a high place in the first class of physiologists.'

Had Paley been content to treat ethics practically, and to explain the application of utility to the duties of daily life, his work would have been received with universal praise. But, unhappily, he lays down principles and defends them. The principles are generally regarded as unsound, and the defence is a little exasperating to an earnest intelligent student. Virtue he defines as 'doing good to mankind in obedience to the will of God, and for the sake of everlasting happiness'—a definition that excludes all duty to God and all duties to ourselves, while it makes a regard to everlasting happiness essential to the virtuousness of all acts. Even if these objections be regarded as technical, it is still true that our happiness is made the motive and the measure of all virtue. The advocates of other views he treats with something closely approaching to contempt. The existence of a higher spiritual nature, even of a moral sense, he regards as a theme for easy declamation. The Scriptures he wisely excludes from the province of ethics as a *human* science, and the law of honour (the only other theory of morals he deigns to consider) he describes in the language of quiet satire rather than of serious discussion. Equally unsatisfactory is his definition of obligation. Obligation, he tells us, depends entirely upon the command of another who has power to enforce what he enjoins—

a notion borrowed from Warburton. The common remark that men are sometimes *obliged* to do what they feel they ought not, would have destroyed all this reasoning. Yet, when Paley leaves metaphysics and treats of practical morality, he shows shrewdness, strong sense, clearness, and humour in a very high degree, and these qualities have a great charm for all readers. His ethical theory is degrading and unworthy of him; but, happily, he never recurs to it after he leaves the short chapter in which it is propounded.

Paley was answered by Gisborne, Prebendary of Durham, in his *Examination of Moral Philosophy*, published in 1789. Gisborne's *Enquiry into the Duties of Man* (1794), and his *Enquiry into the Duties of the Female Sex* (1797), are well-known popular writings on those themes.

445. The ablest writer on the side of sensationalism within the last fifty years is James Mill. His *Analysis of the Human Mind* (1829) is written with clearness and skill. He maintains that we know only sensations and ideas; and that the one law of our nature which accounts for every faculty and every emotion is association. Logic has been discussed with still greater clearness by John Stuart Mill, the son of the preceding. It is, of course, no part of his business to discuss sensationalism; but he strongly affirms the theory, and makes it the basis of many of his remarks on *Principles of Evidence* and the *Methods of Scientific Investigation*. The historian of the same school is G. H. Lewes (born 1817), whose *Biographical History of Philosophy* (1845) investigates the most prominent systems which appear in the pages of history 'with some vigour and success.'^a Positive philosophy, *i. e.*, a philosophy as wide as observed facts, is all that is possible for man. Causes, being, principles, universal truths either scientific or ethical are entirely beyond us.

446. One of the first to point out the evil influence which Locke's supposed rejection of all innate practical principles was likely to exert on morality, was his friend Lord Shaftesbury (1671-1713). His *Moralists* was published in 1709, and a complete collection of his

James Mill,
John Stuart
Mill, etc.

Ethics.

Shaftesbury.

^a Morell, 1.

works was published, under the title of *Characteristics*, in 1714, with plates by Gribelin.

Shaftesbury was strictly an idealist though not holding innate ideas. He maintained that our nature is such as necessarily to originate many conceptions wider and nobler than could ever have been derived from the senses alone. In the fourth treatise of his *Characteristics* he showed that whenever honesty or virtue is presented to men, they recognise and approve it, just as they recognise the beauty of colour and proportion when a beautiful object is presented to the eye. He holds, at the same time, that virtue is conducive to happiness; only the happiness upon which he most insists is not the material thing that some commend, but the pleasureableness of benevolent affection. Mackintosh praises his works as 'containing more information of an original and important kind on the theory of ethics than any preceding work of modern times.' The *Characteristics* was a favourite with Pope. The style is elegant and melodious, though wanting in simplicity and precision.

William Wollaston, the author of *The Religion of Nature Delineated* (1722) is also an opponent of Locke. He makes virtue consist in acting according to the truth of things, 'and as originating therefore in man's rational nature.' On the edition of 1724, Benjamin Franklin was employed as compositor.

447. The ablest reasoner, however, of the century on this side was Dr. S. Clarke. He was born at Norwich (1675), a city his father represented in Parliament, and was educated at Cambridge, where he became one of the earliest supporters of the Newtonian philosophy. Having entered the Church, he was appointed chaplain to Dr. Moore, Bishop of Norwich, and devoted some years to theological study. Between 1699 and 1702 he published several theological tracts, and completed *Paraphrases of the Evangelists* which are still occasionally studied. He then received an appointment to one of the churches of Norwich, and in 1704 was invited to preach the Boyle lectures. Whiston, his biographer, relates, that when a mere boy Clarke had been puzzled by the question, whether God could do all things. It was elicited that God could not lie. But, besides this, the little metaphysician settled in his own mind that there was another thing God could not do—annihilate the space which

was in the room where the question was discussed. This notion seems never to have been forgotten, and he now used it for what has been deemed a profound argument. His first course of lectures was entitled *A Demonstration of the Being and Attributes of God*, and the second, *A Discourse on the Obligations of Natural Religion and the Truth and Certainty of the Christian Revelation* (1705). These volumes, which were afterwards printed as one, attracted much notice, and contain what was then known as the celebrated *a priori* argument for the being of a God. Sir Isaac Newton had already given the germ of this argument in a Scholium appended to his *Principia*, as had Cudworth in his *Intellectual System*,^a and Dr. Henry More in his *Handbook of Metaphysics*.^b Immensity (infinite space) and eternity (endless time) are not substances, says Newton, they are attributes: an infinite and eternal Being, therefore, to whom they belong, must Himself exist. Whether this kind of argument is conclusive, may be questioned. Whiston shrewdly hinted to Clarke that the simplest flower of his garden was a stronger proof of God's existence than all his metaphysics. But without going that length, Stewart's mode of putting the case, though virtually an abandonment of the *a priori* argument, seems more conclusive. 'When once,' he says, 'we have established from the evidence of design round us the existence of an intelligent and powerful cause, we are insensibly led to ascribe to this cause our conceptions of immensity and eternity, and to conceive of him as filling the infinite extent of both with His presence and His power. . . . It is, moreover, from the immensity of space that the idea of infinity is originally derived, and it is hence we transfer the expression by a sort of metaphor to other objects. . . . So that the conceptions of immensity and eternity, if they do not themselves demonstrate the existence of a God, yet necessarily enter into the ideas we form of His being and attributes.' However we prefer to put the argument, it is clear that the idea of the infinite had found a prominent place in Clarke's system.

In the second of these treatises, Clarke sets forth his theory respecting the grounds of morality. He holds that there are certain fixed relations in the universe recognised by the reason,

Chap. v.

^b Chap. viii., sec. 5.

and that virtue consists in acting according to these relations, or according to the fitness of things. As far as this system goes, it seems sound. His vindication of the disinterestedness of virtuous action and of right as resting upon the very nature of God, is worthy of admiration. Had he done more justice to moral feeling and to the supremacy of conscience, he would have given us a complete ethical system.

Besides these works he wrote, in the form of letters, *A Defence of the Immateriality and Immortality of the Soul* in reply to Dodwell and Collier. These letters were afterwards published, and it may be said that they form as satisfactory a metaphysical argument for immortality as the case admits.

In 1709, Dr. Clarke became rector of St. James's, Westminster, and was made chaplain to the Queen. He soon after edited a splendid edition of Cæsar's *Commentaries*, and in 1729 published the first twelve books of the *Iliad* with a Latin translation and notes. Meanwhile he wrote also a treatise on the *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, an *Exposition of the Church Catechism*, and, finally, many volumes of sermons, which were not published, however, till after his death. Nor ought we to omit his *Letters to Leibnitz*. That eminent person had intimated to the Princess of Wales that the Newtonian philosophy was physically false and religiously mischievous. The former charge Newton answered, and Clarke the latter. In 1717 these *Letters* were collected and published. It is to his honour that on the death of Newton he declined the Mastership of the Mint, under the conviction that to a Christian minister no other office can be promotion.

448. A more satisfactory system than any that had yet been propounded was set forth by Bishop Butler in his *Sermons* on human nature and in his *Analogy*. While yet a very young man, residing at Tewkesbury, he had entered into correspondence with Dr. Clarke on his *a priori* argument, and had proved his aptness for abstract study. His sermons fulfilled the hopes that were thus raised: indeed, they better deserve the name of a complete system of ethics than anything that had yet appeared or has appeared since his day.

Admitting all that had been said on the fitness of things and on the tendency of virtue to promote happiness, he suggested that the first was an abstruse subject, and that on the second men

would have different opinions, and feel free to gratify themselves as they pleased. He suggested further that an easier method of forming an ethical system was to examine human nature, and see whether we could not find embedded there the principles of virtue. Within, he tells us that there are three classes of phenomena: first, various passions, each with its own object; secondly, there is a principle that seeks the happiness of others and a principle that seeks our own—benevolence and self-love; lastly, there is in our nature, and superior to all particular propensities, a conscience—the principle of moral approbation—a power that governs and restrains the affections and passions of the soul, and whose office it is to be supreme. Subjective virtue is the exercise of all these powers on their proper objects, and each within its proper limits—passion subordinate to self-love, and all to conscience. Objective virtue he has less clearly defined; but it does not consist in the tendency of acts to produce happiness, though such tendency does exist in all virtuous acts, and in some acts this tendency constitutes all the virtue. It is rather the harmony of each act with the relations in which we stand, or its suitability to our nature, or its intrinsic veracity or justness, its rightness or its agreeableness to the will and character of God. Perhaps the quality is not further definable, and is really an ultimate idea of the mind.

Butler's style is said to be wanting in clearness; and he has defended it from this charge. But if allowance is made for his theme, and for the conciseness of expression he studies, a careful reader will find no cause of complaint on this ground.

449. To Francis Hutcheson, Scotland is indebted for the revival of a taste for metaphysics, after it had slumbered for two centuries, unless we are to accord that honour to a less known name, that of Carmichael,* his predecessor in the chair of Moral Philosophy in Glasgow. Hutcheson was a native of Ireland. He studied, however, in Glasgow, and afterwards returned to Dublin, where he kept an academy. In the year 1726 he published *An Enquiry into the Original of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue*. In this treatise he teaches that, besides our five senses we have certain internal senses which

* Hamilton gives this honour to Carmichael.

give rise to the emotions of beauty and sublimity, while another gives rise to our moral feelings. This work introduced the author to Archbishop King, and probably decided his future course. In 1728 he published a second treatise *On the Nature and Conduct of the Passions*. His reputation was now so high that he was called to the professorship of Moral Philosophy in Glasgow, and entered upon his work in 1729. His most elaborate publication, *A System of Moral Philosophy*, did not appear till after his death, and is the chief ground on which his fame rests. His views on the nature of virtue seem borrowed from Shaftesbury, while moral perceptions he ascribed to what he called 'the moral sense.' In some class books which he published he had previously affirmed the existence of certain metaphysical axioms, derived, not from experience, but from the 'connate force of the understanding.' His style is remarkably clear and elegant.

450. Bishop Warburton deserves special mention in connection with this theme, if only from the fact that he is one of the earliest advocates of eclectic ethics. 'Clarke and Wollaston,' Warburton. says he, 'considered moral obligation as arising from the essential differences and relations of things; Shaftesbury and Hutcheson, as arising from the moral sense; and the generality of divines, as arising from the will of God.'^a Elsewhere he notes that it is to be regretted that this three-fold cord was ever untwisted, and that each advocate had affixed 'the part he deemed strongest to the throne of God, as the golden link which is to unite and draw all to Him.'^b This tendency he rebukes, and suggests that if all three systems were combined, we should do more justice to truth and secure greater influence for virtue. This is practically the idea of Mackintosh and of Wayland. Mackintosh adds utility and association, and Wayland adds Scripture, and they recommend the erection of a system of ethics on the basis of them all.

451. Though all these writers maintain an ethical system that implies idealism, or some other origin of ideas besides mere sensation, they are not idealists in the sense in which Dr. R. Price. Cudworth and Norris used that term. The view of these idealists was now to find an able defender in the person of a

^a Notes to *Pope*.

^b *Divine Legation*, book i.

Welshman and Presbyterian minister, Dr. Richard Price. In 1757 he published a volume of essays, which was republished with additions in 1787, under the title of *A Review of some of the Principal Questions in Morals*. In this work he maintains that there are many ideas besides those of right and wrong, which cannot be referred to either sensation or reflection as their origin. Apart from the moral sense a rational agent *can see* a difference of fitness and unfitness in actions; and whether we call the faculty reason or not, we must ascribe the idea to a faculty by which we understand, and not to one by which we do not understand but only feel. The understanding, he holds, is a *new spring* of ideas, both on fitness and on other themes. Price is one of the most clear and vigorous writers of his age. Sympathising with Priestley in some of his religious, and still more in his political, views, he strenuously opposes his ethical system, and has answered him on another subject in his *Letters on Materialism and Physical Necessity* (1778).

James Harris taught in his *Hermes* (1751, 1765), substantially the same theory as Price. His doctrines may be found in the third book and in the notes.

452. The influence of Hume's scepticism in Germany is seen in the writings of Kant, whose doctrine of practical reason was intended as an answer to the sophistry of the Englishman. Other works of a similar kind that are to be traced to the same origin, are the writings of Thomas Reid and of the school he formed. Reid was a native of Strachan in Kincardineshire, and was educated for the ministry of the kirk of Scotland. After labouring as a parish minister for some time, he was chosen in 1752, and when forty-two years of age, Professor of Moral Philosophy in King's College, Aberdeen. In 1763 he quitted this post for a like office in the University of Glasgow, and there continued till his death.

The old creed on the subject of perception had been, that the only things about which the understanding is conversant are ideas, and that those ideas are representatives of objective realities. Reid himself started his enquiries as a believer in this theory, and for forty years, he tells us, he tried in vain to find evidence to support it. His enquiries ended in his denying the possibility of proof that such ideas had any existence. We are

conscious, he holds, of the mind, the subject which perceives, and we are conscious of the external object which is perceived; but of the intermediate link between these two, which philosophers have called an idea, we have no evidence either from consciousness or from any other source. From this double consciousness involved in all sensations Reid proceeds to enumerate certain judgments which we instinctively form in relation to the objects themselves. When we see a tree, for example, we are prepared at once from our very sensations to affirm that it exists, that it has a certain shape, that it produces in us, or is the cause of, certain perceptions. These judgments, he adds, are as sure as the simple notion itself: taken together they make up 'the common sense of mankind.' These views were first taught in Reid's *Inquiry into the Human Mind on the Principles of Common Sense* (1764), his earliest work. His *Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man* appeared in 1785, and contain the same theory of perception and instinctive beliefs more fully explained, together with an analysis of our other intellectual powers. In 1788 appeared the *Essays on the Active Powers*, in which his moral philosophy is explained.

Whatever be thought of his philosophic system, and of some of its details, it must be conceded, as Stewart maintains, that by his logical rigour of investigation Reid is justly entitled to a first place among the writers on mental science.

One of Reid's most intelligent scholars was Dr. James Beattie, who in 1760 was elected Professor of Moral Philosophy in Marischal College, Aberdeen. In 1770 he published his *Essay on the Nature and Immutability of Truth in Opposition to Sophistry and Scepticism*. It was written in reply to Hume, and had great popularity. The chief addition he makes in this volume to our metaphysical knowledge is to be found in the distinction he has drawn between the axioms of common sense and the deductions of reason. The whole subject of evidence is also treated by him with great skill. The *Elements of Moral Science* was published in 1790-1793, and is a digest of his college lectures. The best of his prose works are the *Dissertations, Moral and Critical*, and his *Essays on Poetry and Music*. On nearly all questions of æsthetics and morality his suggestions have interest and value.

453. Reid's ablest disciples were men who have made Scottish

metaphysics world-famous, Dugald Stewart and Sir William Hamilton. Dugald Stewart, the son of Dr. M. Stewart.

Stewart, Professor of Mathematics in the University of Edinburgh, was born in that city in 1753. When only nineteen he undertook his father's classes, and two years after was appointed his assistant and successor. More welcome employment was found for him in 1780, when Dr. A. Ferguson retired from the Professorship of Moral Philosophy. Stewart was appointed to succeed him, and fulfilled the duties of his office till 1810, when Dr. T. Brown was associated with him as colleague. By his dignity of manner, his eloquence of style, his taste and learning, Stewart became one of the most fascinating lecturers of any age. He wrote many admirable volumes, but his best works it used to be said, were his pupils. His influence over them seems to have been unbounded. 'All the years I remained about Edinburgh,' says Mr. James Mill, 'I used as often as I could to steal into Mr. Stewart's class to hear a lecture, which was always a high treat. I have heard Pitt and Fox deliver some of their most admired speeches, but I never heard anything nearly so eloquent as some of the lectures of Stewart. The taste for the studies which have formed my favourite pursuits I owe to him.'

His work entitled *The Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind*, was published in three volumes. The first appeared in 1792, the second in 1813, and the third in 1827. The first contains an eloquent exposition of the philosophy of Reid, and was translated into French by M. Prevost of Geneva. The second includes an analysis of the intellectual powers, and an exposition of 'the fundamental laws of human belief,' a phrase which Stewart wisely substituted for Reid's 'principles of common sense.' This volume was translated into French, by M. Farcy. In 1793 he published *The Outlines of Moral Philosophy*, a treatise on the moral phenomena of the mind; translated into French by M. Jouffroy, with a valuable preface as an introduction. In 1810 appeared the *Philosophical Essays*, in which many of the subjects of difference between Locke and Reid are clearly examined, with an added disquisition on *the philosophy of taste*. His most characteristic work, however, is *A Dissertation on the Progress of Metaphysical and Ethical Philosophy*, written in 1815 for the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Stewart's mind was peculiarly fitted for philosophising, even more than for philosophy, and many of

his admirers ground his claim to lasting reputation rather on this history than upon his systematic writings. It is certain that his clear and candid judgment, his extensive acquaintance with his subject in nearly all departments, his easy and often eloquent style, have succeeded in this volume in throwing a charm round themes most forbidding and abstruse.

454. Stewart's colleague and successor, Dr. Thomas Brown, was brought up to the medical profession, and practised as physician for some years. His attention was turned to metaphysics by the perusal of Professor Stewart's first volume. On the establishment of the *Edinburgh Review* he became one of the contributors on philosophy. When a controversy arose respecting Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Leslie, who in his *Essay on Heat*, had expressed his approval of Hume's theory of causation, Brown warmly defended him. His views on this question he vindicated in *An Enquiry into the Relation of Cause and Effect* (1804), maintaining therein that all we know of cause is invariable antecedence. Brown's theory is not satisfactory, but the publication of his book prepared the way for his election as colleague of Stewart. His philosophic tastes were further shewn by a review of Darwin's *Zoonomia*. The paper displayed great analytic skill, and, being published anonymously, was attributed to some philosophers of high standing. At the time it was written Brown was only in his twentieth year.

Brown's *Lectures on the Philosophy of the Human Mind*, were, as delivered, highly popular, and are still highly esteemed by many students of mental science. They were not published till after his death, which took place in 1820 while he was in the very height of his reputation.

The merits of his philosophy it is not now difficult to define. He repudiates Reid's favourite doctrine of perception. He skilfully criticises the opinions of preceding writers, but very often mistakes them. His doctrine of causation, unhappily, taints his entire system, and disqualifies him from writing satisfactorily on ethical questions. And yet his power of mental analysis is unrivalled among Scottish metaphysicians. His poetic genius invests the most uninteresting subjects with beauty, and it may be added that, in Mackintosh's opinion, he has rendered important service to mental science by an examination of what he calls

secondary laws of association or suggestion, laws which must be carefully considered in order to explain the phenomena of the mind.

455. The ablest of all Reid's disciples, perhaps the ablest metaphysician of the present century, is Sir William Hamilton, late Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh. It is not possible here to analyse his writings; but his edition of *Reid*, his discussions on the philosophy of *Perception*, on Cousin's *Eclecticism*, on *Modern Logic*, etc., published in one large volume (1852), and his *Lectures on Metaphysics and Logic*, published since his death by Professor Mansel and Professor Veitch (1859), are undoubtedly among the most valuable contributions to metaphysical science in any language.

456. The modern historians of mental science, besides those already named, are William Enfield, who published an abbreviation of Brucker's *History* (1791); J. D. Morell, who represents idealistic tendencies, as Lewes represents sensationalism (*History of Modern Philosophy*, 1847, second edition); Robert Blakey, (*History of Philosophy* in four volumes, 1850); Mackintosh on the *Progress of Ethical Philosophy* (*Dissertation*, 1815), and Dr. Whewell (*Lectures on the History of Moral Philosophy*, 1838-1862).

Among those who have popularized metaphysical studies are Dr. John Abercrombie, Jonathan Dymond, Dr. Wardlaw, Dr. Payne, James Douglas (whose works are remarkably fresh and striking), Davies, Fearn, Spalding, Sewell, and Ferrier. Some of these, the last for example, may claim a high place as original thinkers.

Among living writers of eminence are Hampden, Cairns, Whewell, Wayland (of America), Archbishop Thomson, Mansel, Isaac Taylor, A. Bain, McCosh, and Morell.

Perhaps we may place under ethics with as much propriety as anywhere else the name of Whately, late Archbishop of Dublin, a man who in intellectual activity and influence has been exceeded by very few in this generation. He was born in 1787 and graduated at Oxford in 1808, having been a student at Oriel. In 1822 he was made Bampton lecturer, and preached his sermons on *The Use and Abuse of Party Feeling in Religion*. In 1825

he became principal of St. Alban's Hall, Oxford. In 1830 he was made Professor of Political Economy, and in the following year was raised to the see of Dublin. In 1821 he wrote *Historical Doubts relative to Napoleon Bonaparte*, a logical satire against historical scepticism. In 1826 and 1828 appeared his admirable treatises on *Logic* and *Rhetoric*, both having being printed in the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*. The former was attacked by Sir William Hamilton; both are popular text books of the sciences of which they treat. Whately's theological works, *Essays on some of the Difficulties in the writings of St. Paul* (1828), *Errors of Romanism* (1830), *Sermons* (1833-1836), *The Kingdom of Christ*, are all distinguished by the same qualities, —great clearness of thought and vigour of language, but with some deficiency of earnest spiritual feeling. Among his latest works are the editions of *Bacon's Essays* (1856), and *Paley's Moral Philosophy* (1859). In the last he has pointed out Paley's defects as a moralist. He is also the author of several theological treatises published anonymously, and of various tracts on political economy.

457. The progress of physical science since the close of the seventeenth century is too wide a subject and too little connected with literature to have an independent notice here. The whole is traced with great perspicuity and fulness in the *Dissertations* prefixed to the recent edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. The early history of mathematical and physical science to the time of Newton is given by Professor John Playfair (1748-1819), who occupied the chair of Natural Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh. The history of the early part of the eighteenth century is given by Sir John Leslie (1766-1832), the successor of Playfair, and the author of *An Experimental Enquiry into the Nature and Propagation of Heat* (1804). A sixth dissertation has been added by Professor J. D. Forbes (born 1808), now Principal of the United College, St. Andrews, who has continued the history from 1755 to 1850.

Special mention is due to two writers who have written at length on the philosophy of science, Sir John Herschel, and Professor Whewell. The former (born 1790), the son of the musician and eminent astronomer Sir William Herschel, has carried on with great success his father's astronomical labours.

He is the author of a preliminary *Discourse on Natural Philosophy* (1830), an exposition and commentary on Lord Bacon's writings and on the inductive system, and of *Outlines of Astronomy* (1849: fifth edition, 1858). He is admitted to be profoundly familiar with every branch of physics, while his work on the *Differential Calculus* shows him to be one of our ablest mathematicians. Dr. Whewell is author of *The History of the Inductive Sciences*, in three volumes (1837), a very able inquiry, displaying equal learning and independent power. Other names are those of Mary Somerville (born 1796), the authoress of the *Mechanism of the Heavens* (1832), *The Connexion of the Physical Sciences and Physical Geography*; C. Babbage (born 1790), the author of *The Economy of Manufactures and Machinery* (1833), a very valuable treatise translated into several European languages, and of a *Ninth Bridgwater Treatise*; Sir D. Brewster (born 1781), the author of contributions on science that would fill many volumes; Professor Michael Faraday, author of *Researches on Electricity* (1831), and of various lectures as charming in style as they are brilliant and clear in exposition. Other works in this department hardly belong to literature, though many of them are remarkable for literary merit and artistic beauty.

A somewhat fuller notice may, however, be allowed to geology, as in the previous centuries it had no existence as a science at all.

One of the earliest discoverers of modern geology was

Geology. William Smith, who in 1790 published his *General View of British Strata*, and in 1815 constructed *The Geological Map of England*. Here for the first time the crust of the earth's surface was represented as divided into strata, and it was recommended that geologists should study the fossil remains of each. In the early part of this century Dr. Buckland awakened great interest by his publication of the *Vindiciæ Geologicæ* (1820), and the *Reliquiæ Diluvianæ* (1823). In these volumes he maintained the theory of a universal deluge, and appealed in proof of it to the existence of various remains. This theory he relinquished in his *Bridgwater Treatise* published in 1836. His *Geology and Mineralogy* is still one of our best books. Buckland is the originator of the theory which traces many of the changes that have taken place upon the surface of the earth to glacial action, a theory illustrated and defended at length by Agassiz and by Professor Forbes.

One of the most instructive biographies in our day is that of Hugh Miller (1802-1856), a native of Cromarty, and at the time of his death editor of the *Witness*, an Edinburgh newspaper. Miller was originally a journeyman mason, whose first rise in life was the result of a resolute determination to avoid the drinking usages of his craft. He records that many of his fellow workmen were men of intelligence, but notes that intelligence was no safeguard against intemperance and licentiousness, though he found it generally a protection against the meaner vices of thieving and untruthfulness. The secret of all true integrity and holiness he learned to find in intelligent reverent Christianity. Miller's earliest geological work was the *Old Red Sandstone* (1841), and his latest *The Testimony of the Rocks* (1857). Among the rest may be specially mentioned *The Footprints of the Creator* (1850), and an autobiography, *My Schools and my Schoolmasters* (1854). In the *Footprints* he combats the development theory of creation, holding that it is disproved by existing fossils. In *The Testimony of the Rocks* he advocates the view that creation as it now exists was perfected after long eras of time, though the revelation of the process was given to Moses in a vision of what seemed six days. This was Whi-ton's theory, and in Miller's hands it is set forth with great beauty and imaginativeness. On the Deluge he holds with Stillingfleet, Pye Smith, and others, that it was universal as to the human race but partial as to the earth. The power of the English language to describe scientific facts with accuracy and vividness, so as to stir both the heart and the imagination, is nowhere exemplified better than in Miller's writings.

The works of Professor Sedgwick (born 1787), of Sir R. Murchison (born 1792), of Sir C. Lyell (born 1797), and of Professor Owen (born 1803), are all of great value, but are precluded from our list. Prefixed to Lyell's *Principles of Geology, being an Attempt to explain the former changes of the Earth's surface by a reference to Causes now in operation* (1830-1832) will be found a brief history of the science itself.

458. While the Puritans were defending and expounding evangelical truth, what was afterwards called the High Church party discussing rites and ceremonies, and the scholars of the seven-

teenth century preparing their polyglots and commentaries on Scripture, there was springing up a spirit of unbelief which was to exercise great influence on the literature of the eighteenth century. That spirit first showed itself in England in the days of Charles I., and animated the writings of Lord Herbert and Hobbes. Between the Revolution and the death of George II. (1688-1760), it was at its height. Since the last part of the eighteenth century it has lost power in this country, and become as a system nearly extinct. It assumed first of all the form of Deism attacking the special revelation of Christianity both in its evidence and in its doctrine, and recognised no religion but natural reason or religious instinct. Then, in Gibbon and Paine, it yielded to the moulding power of French philosophy, and became, in many of its disciples, Atheism, showing itself in nearly all as a spirit of ridicule and contempt. Later still, it has been influenced by German rationalism, which admits that there are in Christianity seeds of eternal truth which our religious consciousness must appreciate, but that these are covered over in the actual revelation with many errors both philosophic and literary.

The rise of Deism as a system dates in England from the days of Bacon. His philosophy was a protest against authority in matters of science, and an appeal to observation and experience. In Bacon and in Locke the experience to which they appealed was largely sensational. In Descartes and in some of Bacon's own disciples, even in Bacon himself when treating of mental philosophy, the experience was also intellectual, and included the instinctive utterance of consciousness; though the great founder of modern philosophy has carefully guarded against the conclusion that *religion* is to be learnt from observation of external nature or of the mind of man. This appeal to intellectual experience, *i. e.*, to reason, was called, in the seventeenth century, rationalism, and the religious doctrines which were reached by the process—a process which admits the existence of a deity and the religious convictions of the moral consciousness, but denies the specific revelation which Christianity affirms—were called *Deism*.

459. The first Englishman of any influence who advocated such a system was Lord Herbert (1581-1633), the elder brother of the poet. Though somewhat earlier than Descartes, he probably gathered impressions from French society

Lord Herbert.

during his embassy in France similar to those which moulded Descartes' philosophy. At all events, he has based his religion on natural instincts or axiomatic beliefs, as Descartes did his philosophic system. Among these axiomatic beliefs he reckons for religious purposes five—the existence of a God, the duty of worship, the necessity of piety and virtue, the efficacy of repentance, and the reality of rewards and punishments both in this life and in the next. The works in which he discusses these and kindred themes include a treatise on Truth (*De Veritate*, 1624), another on Errors (*De Causis Errorum*, 1645), the *Religion of a Layman* (*De Religione Laici*, 1663), and on the *Religion of the Heathen* (*De Religione Gentium*). The conclusions at which he arrives he defends by an examination of all religions, proving that his axiomatic beliefs are found in them all, and by an appeal to an internal illuminating power, not emotional or spiritual, but intellectual—'internal reason,' 'common sense,' or however men may please to describe it. All these axioms are self-evident, and whatever is added to them by special religions Herbert deems doubtful, and therefore without obligation. It is a curious instance of his inconsistency that while denying revelation he himself believed that he had a special revelation directing the publication of his system. The whole history he has himself described in his autobiography, published in 1764.

Herbert was answered by Locke in his *Reasonableness of Christianity* (1695), by Baxter, Halyburton, and Leland.

460. Hobbes, the philosopher of Malmesbury (1588-1679), degraded religion to a system of political expediency (see par. 336).

Hobbes. The origin of it he professed to find in man's selfish fear of the magistrate, who, therefore, had it completely under his control. Hobbes, however, exercised little direct influence on religious discussions, though in ethical questions he did great mischief. He was answered by Cudworth, Cumberland, Seth Ward, and Tenison, and his religious opinions are criticised by Leland.

461. From the Restoration, Deism existed as a recognised system. The gross immorality of the age, the opposition of the clergy as a body to political and religious freedom, the reaction in part that followed the strict-

ness of the Puritan rule, all combined to strengthen unbelief in undiscerning minds. Among the leaders of this party was Charles Blount (1654-1693), a man of good family, of small literary talent, and known in English history as the occasion of the emancipation of the English press by the abolition of the Licensing Act.^a He wrote the *Anima Mundi* (1679), the *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* (1680), and a number of speculations on the existence of light before the sun, on the question where Eve found thread to stitch her fig-leaves, etc.—addressed as letters to Hobbes and others—which he called the *Oracles of Reason* (1685). He added little to Herbert's teaching, except that the soul is material, that the world is eternal, and that punishment in a future world is inconsistent with divine benevolence—an axiomatic denial, it will be noticed, of one of Herbert's axiomatic beliefs. He was answered by Nichols in his *Conference with a Theist* (1723), and in part by his own disciple, Gildon, whose *Deist's Manual* (1703) is largely a retraction of his own earlier views.

The influence of Locke's philosophy led men with increasing zeal to examine the principles of ethics and of religion, and to exalt reason against mere authority. This exaltation of reason against authority, *i. e.*, of the reason of later inquirers against that of earlier, was productive within its proper sphere of the best results; but in religion, where reason is apt to be exalted above divine teaching, it did mischief. First appeared writers who reasserted the authority of reason to interpret all mysteries and to set aside whatever it could not interpret. The representative of this class was Toland (1669-1722). He was born an Irish Catholic, but became a Protestant. In 1696, he wrote *Christianity not Mysteriorious*, in which he discusses the principles of natural religion. Three years later he attacked the canon of Scripture in a book he entitled *Amyntor; or, a Defence of the Life of Milton*. This work was written in Holland, where the author had sought protection from prosecution in his own country. His first book—written in a vigorous style, and remarkable as a specimen of the clearness which the influence of the French models had introduced into English composition—was condemned as a nuisance by the grand juries of Middlesex and Dublin, was burned by command of the Irish Parliament, and would have been prosecuted by Convocation if the legal

^a Macaulay's *History*, iv., 352.

adviser of that body had not warned them that the prosecution was beyond their power. This opposition seems to have embittered the author's temper; it compelled him to leave England, and he resided abroad till the close of his life. He was answered by Norris of Bemerton, by Dr. Samuel Clarke, by Dr. P. Brown; and on the canon by Jones and Blackhall. The question whether reason may pronounce not only on the evidence of a revelation but on the contents of it, and the whole of the questions which modern criticism discusses on the genuineness of the books of Scripture, may be said to have originated in England with him.

On altogether different grounds Lord Shaftesbury is reckoned among infidel writers. This charge, indeed, may be abundantly substantiated from his *Memoirs*, though perhaps his other writings do not contain enough to justify it. He casts reflections on the doctrine of future rewards and punishments, as he says, to exalt virtue by making present reward her chief glory; but as was generally thought, and as his memoirs have since proved, to discredit religion. Pope told Warburton that he knew the *Characteristics* had done much harm to revealed religion, and Leland has given good reason in his fifth and sixth letters for reckoning Shaftesbury among the Deists.

462. Meanwhile, the questions which Toland raised on the genuineness of the books of the Bible, had received fresh interest from the inquiries of Dr. John Mill. The various readings of the MSS. of the New Testament had been noticed some time before by Walton in the *Prolegomena* to the *London Polyglot*, and had created great alarm in Dr. Owen's mind, though it was not till Mill's day (1707) that this alarm spread among general readers. Mill's labours and reasonings were attacked by Whitby (1710), and the argument which Whitby employed was soon used by Collins and others against revelation itself, not as needless or as uncertain, but as untrue and even as mischievous.

Anthony Collins (1676-1729) was a scholar at Eton, a student at King's College, Cambridge, and a barrister by profession, though he never practised. His first work was on the deistic controversy. He published in 1713, *A Discourse on Free-thinking, occasioned by the Rise and Growth*

of a Sect called Free-thinkers. The Deists had now received this title, and the object of the book was to maintain the right of free inquiry on all subjects moral and religious. The writer aims to prove that free thinking, *i.e.*, the rejection of all authority, is favourable to civilization, quoting in proof the growing disbelief in witchcraft, and argues that it ought to be applied to such themes as the Divine Character, the truth of Scripture, its Canon and its meaning. The whole treatise is an exaggeration of a great truth. That portion of it which discusses the state of the Text of Scripture was refuted most ably by Bentley in his *Remarks on Free-thinking*. In 1724 he published his *Discourse on the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion*, a book that originated in Whiston's *Sermons on Scripture Prophecies* (1708). In this volume he not only dwells on the uncertainty of a book revelation, but under pretence of defending Christianity, tries to show that the prophecies of the Old Testament as quoted in the New have all a mystical meaning, and are applicable to New Testament facts only ideally, not historically. Thus, as in his views on the value of free-thinking he anticipated Buckle, in his ideal interpretation of Scripture he anticipated Strauss. Collins was answered by Whiston, by E. Chandler, Bishop of Durham, in his *Defence of Christianity* (1725), by Dr. S. Chandler, a fellow-student of Butler's, a Presbyterian minister at Peckham, in his *Vindication of the Christian Religion* (1728), by Sherlock, Bishop of London, in his *Discourse on Prophecy*, and in later times by Bishop Newton and others. Nor ought we to omit from this list the *Alciphron*, or the *Minute Philosopher* of Bishop Berkeley (1732). Berkeley, to whom Pope assigns 'every virtue under heaven,' had recently returned from Rhode Island, disappointed in his hope of forming there a new settlement. His work contains a series of moral and philosophical dialogues in defence of the Christian religion, and against the free-thinkers. They discuss all the questions which Collins raised, and occupy deservedly a permanent place in our literature.

463. About the same time Thomas Woolston (1669-1733), Fellow of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, came to the aid of Collins, and after defending him, published a *Discourse on the Miracles* of our Saviour, with several *Defences*, in which he tries to show that the story of the miracles of

Woolston.

Christianity cannot be taken literally, but must be regarded as a description of Christ's power over the spiritual life in the soul of man. Twenty years before (in 1708) he had defended the allegorical interpretation of Scripture in letters of great vigour and coarseness. The humour and irreverence of his publications excited intense discussion, and Voltaire, who was then in England, and was no uninterested witness of what was occurring, states that the immediate sale of them amounted to thirty thousand copies. After being deprived of his Fellowship, Woolston was prosecuted for blasphemy at the instigation of Dr. Gibson, Bishop of London. He was found guilty, sentenced to a year's imprisonment, and a fine of a hundred pounds. This last his friends would have paid, but he was not able to find security for his good behaviour. He continued, therefore, in prison till his death, in 1733. The titles only of the books published on this controversy form a considerable pamphlet. Among the works of permanent interest which it originated may be mentioned *The Trial of the Witnesses*, by Dr. Sherlock, the *Pastoral Letters* of Bishop Gibson, and the works of Dr. Lardner.

464. The deistic controversy now assumed a somewhat different form. Toland had objected to the doctrines of Christianity—

Collins and Woolston to its evidences. It was now to Tindall.

be attacked on the ground of its practical teaching. In 1730 Matthew Tindall (1657-1733), a Fellow of All Souls, a Romanist by profession in the days of James II., and a Protestant after the Revolution, wrote his dialogue, *Christianity as old as the Creation, or the Gospel a republication of the Religion of Nature*, a book written with great care, and one that has the additional celebrity of having been answered by Butler in his *Analogy*. Tindall seeks to show that natural religion is perfect, and admits of no additions. Assuming the moral faculty to be the ground of all obligation, he reduces religious truth to morality, and holds that dogmas, positive precepts, and alleged facts, are all uncertain or even demonstrably erroneous. The last part of his work, in which he intended to show that everything really true in Christianity is a republication of the religion of nature, he did not live to complete. Among the alleged proofs of the untrustworthiness of the sacred writers is what he calls the failure of the fulfilment of prophecy, their mistakes on the ques-

tion of the speedy coming of our Lord; and the existence of precepts—those for example that command the destruction of the Canaanites—which in his judgment shock the moral instincts of men. The work of Tindall was answered by Dr. J. Conybeare (1692-1755), Bishop of Bristol, in his *Defence of Revealed Religion*, a book which Warburton describes as the best reasoned book in the world; while other points are discussed by him in some papers published in the *Enchiridion Theologicum* of Bishop Gibson; and by Dr. J. Leland (1691-1760), minister of a congregation in Dublin, in his *Defence of Christianity*.

On the other hand the views of Tindall were defended by Thomas Morgan (d. 1743) and Thomas Chubb (1679-1747).

Morgan. Morgan's principal work is *The Moral Philosopher*, a dialogue between Philalethes, a Christian Deist, and Theophanes, a Christian Jew; it was published in 1737. He insists upon the sufficiency of conscience as the only criterion in matters of religion, and denies the authority of miracles and prophecy. He rejects Judaism as a religious system, appealing to known facts in their national history as morally wrong, and to the institution of an 'elaborate ritual.' He objects to Christianity on similar grounds, denying the Atonement because not reconcileable, as he thinks, with reason, and admitting only so much of its teaching as his own moral sense approved. His attack on Judaism called forth the work of Warburton on *The Divine Legation of Moses*, and his attack on Christianity was answered by Leland in his *Divine authority of the Old and New Testament asserted*, and in his *View of the principal Deistical Writers*.

Thomas Chubb—glover and tallow chandler—was the author of a great number of tracts on religion. He allows the possibility of a book revelation, but rejects Judaism, denies the evidence of miracles and prophecy, and asserts that Christianity must be admitted only so far as our moral reason approves it. He thinks there is a marked difference between the religion of Jesus Christ and the religion of Paul; denies a particular Providence, the world being regulated by general laws without any divine interference. His *Discourse concerning Reason* was published in 1731, the *True Gospel of Jesus Christ* in 1739, and his posthumous works in 1748. Tindall, Morgan, and Chubb agree, it will be observed, in attacking the moral character of the Christian revelation, and in substituting for

revealed religion what they call the religion of nature, *i. e.*, of human reason.

465. 'There is nothing new under the sun' is the first lesson these works teach. The very questions which are now troubling our age were discussed long ago. The errors which we Nothing new. learnedly trace to Germany or to France sprang up a hundred and fifty years since in England, and they have been examined and refuted by our fathers. These works, moreover, throw light on our general literature. Butler says little of the free-thinkers of his time, nothing, indeed, by name; yet he has carefully read their writings and answered them. Some knowledge, therefore, of the works of Collins, Woolston, and Tindall is essential to a just appreciation of his matchless treatise, and the later and very different works of other apologists.

466. Amid the political agitations of 1745 infidel questions ceased to excite interest. The scepticism of Hume first promulgated in 1749, and the posthumous writings of Bolingbroke, Bolingbroke. published in 1754, were disregarded, though they became somewhat influential at a later date. Bolingbroke's works are chiefly essays and letters, and have had a certain amount of popularity from their clearness of style and vigour of argument. He possessed great power of analysis, but his objections to Christianity are set forth mainly in the style of historical disquisitions. He admits the existence of a God, but denies his Providence; he admits the possibility of a revelation, but doubts the fact. He admits that if miracles were wrought, they prove a divine revelation; but he attacks the canonical books, and suggests that they belong to a later age than the events they describe, and are therefore not trustworthy. His arguments have been answered by Lyttelton, Lardner, and Paley.

467. The scepticism of Hume is partly the result of his sensational philosophy, and partly the result of his notions of criticism. On the Divine attributes he thinks we can gather no Hume. conclusions from nature or from consciousness, the whole subject being beyond our experience, nor yet on the doctrine of Providence or of future reward and punishment,

while in his *Essay on Miracles*^a he seems to maintain that no testimony can prove a miracle, for the uniformity of the laws of nature is supported by a far wider induction than the trustworthiness of human evidence. All this he says, not in the form of absolute assertion, but the thought or the doubt is so expressed as clearly to show the spirit and aim of the author. His arguments on miracles were answered by a large number of writers,—Bishop Douglas, Adams, Dr. G. Campbell, and Dr. Chalmers.

468. Infidel writers of a somewhat later age are Gibbon, Paine, and Owen. Gibbon attacked Christianity historically, and tried to show that its success can all be accounted for from natural causes—its doctrines, its organization, its alleged miracles, the zeal of Jewish converts, and the general excellence of its morality. These causes are all real, and they reveal what has been called the mechanism of its triumphs, but not the principle of them.^b The influence of Gibbon's French training is seen in his fondness for satire and irony. Paine (1777-1809), who wrote in France during the French Convention, exhibits the scepticism of low life. Gibbon's infidelity takes the form of philosophical contempt, Paine's of political animosity; the one shows itself in ridicule, the other in bitterness. The *Rights of Man* was published in 1790, and the *Age of Reason* in 1794. In the latter, Paine attacks the Bible on the ground of its external evidence and its moral teaching. He appeals, after Fontenelle, to the vastness of the universe as a presumption that God will not interpose for a little planet like ours, and condemns, with great bitterness and coarseness, the doctrine of redemption and vicarious atonement. The question of the extent of the universe and the argument against the Gospel on that ground, was answered with great eloquence by Dr. Chalmers in his *Astronomical Discourses* (1822), and the whole subject has been revived in our own day by Whewell, Brewster, and others. Paine's attack on the general evidences of Scripture was answered by Watson in his *Apology for the Bible* (1796), as Gibbon's attack was answered by his *Apology for Christianity* (1776).

469. Robert Owen (1771-1858) was the founder of English socialism. This system, Owen based upon the theory that

^a *Essay*, x. *Works*, vol. iv

^b Farrar's *Bampton Lectures*

human nature is formed by circumstances. He advocates easy divorce and the absolute equality of property. By Owen. these two schemes he thinks temptation will be so diminished that every man will become virtuous. These views he discusses in his *Essays on the Formation of Character* (1818), and especially in his *New Moral World* (1839-1841).

470. Many of the books on Christian evidence which originated in these controversies have been already named, but it may be convenient to classify the whole. The most obvious Evidence classified. division of books on the evidences is into those that discuss the external and those that discuss the internal evidence of Scripture. The first treat of all the credentials by which a professedly inspired man seeks to substantiate his message, including the proofs of the genuineness of the writings that contain it; and the second all that is reasonable and morally beautiful in the message itself. The former is largely the object of historical evidence, and the latter of philosophical evidence—that is literary, moral, and spiritual. In the early part of the eighteenth century, it was the philosophical that was most questioned. Towards the close of the century, it was the historical. Butler's *Analogy* is the defence of the one; the works of Lardner and Paley form the defence of the other. Both Lardner and Paley, however, discuss so much of the philosophic or literary evidence as is founded on the undesigned coincidences of the inspired writers, the former in his *Credibility* (1727-1757), the latter in his *Horæ Paulinæ*. Sometimes both were questioned by the same writers, and then the defenders of the Gospel had to follow its opponents over the whole field. Modern treatises on the evidences generally discuss the entire subject.

Leaving the historical evidence of the genuineness of the books and of the general truth of the narrative, we come to the supernatural proofs of an inspired mission,—miracles, and Miracles, Prophecy. prophecy. On these we have, besides the books already mentioned, the popular treatises of the non-juror Charles Leslie, *A Short Method with the Deists*, proving the reality of the miracles, and *A Short Method with the Jews*, proving the truth of the prophecies; the *Demonstration of the Messiah* (1700), by Bishop Kidder (killed in the great storm. 1703); the *Origines Sacræ* (1701) of Stillingfleet, giving a ra-

tional account of the grounds of natural and revealed religion; the *Key to the Prophecies*, by David Simpson (1745-1799); the admirable *Discourses on Prophecy*, by J. Davison, B.D., Fellow of Oriel, a book distinguished by originality and research; the *Dissertations on Prophecy*, by Bishop Newton (1704-1782); and the *Harmony of Scripture Prophecies and History*, by John Brown of Haddington (1722-1787).

Looking at the internal proofs of the truth of Scripture, we have books that discuss the literary evidence, the *Credibility of the Gospel History*, by Dr. Lardner (1684-1768), a man whose fairness elicited the praise of Morgan and Gibbon, and to whom all parties appeal as an honourable witness; the *Horæ Paulinæ* of Paley, the *Lectures on the Pentateuch* of Dean Graves (1763-1829), the *Undesigned Coincidences* of Professor Blunt (1827), and more recent treatises by living writers.

Leaving historical evidence, we have writers who discuss moral evidence, based on the general doctrine of final causes, wherein the theologian goes hand in hand with the mere theist, as in the moral works of Boyle, Bentley, Derham, Ray, Paley in his *Natural Theology*, and the authors of the *Bridgewater Treatises*; or on the general methods of God's dealings with man, as in Locke's *Reasonableness of Christianity*, Jenkins' *Reasonableness of Christianity* (1721), Browne's *Things, Divine and Human, conceived of by Analogy* (1733), Butler's *Analogy* (1736), in the very able *Letters and Sermons* of the Balguys, father and son, in the *Sermons* of Dr. W. S. Powell (1717-1773), in the Bampton Lectures of Miller *On the Divine Authority of Scripture asserted from its adaptation to Human Nature*, and in the *Divine Government and the Typical Forms* of Dr. M'Cosh. When the inadequacy of human reason to settle these questions is discussed, we have treatises like *The Limits of Religious Thought*, by Mansel; and when the reasonableness of particular doctrines is discussed by way of evidence, we have treatises like that on the *Atoning Work of Christ*, by Dr. Thomson, now Archbishop of York. Some writers appeal to the character of the moral precepts of the Bible, of its authors, and its early believers. On the first and second of these themes, we have *A View of the Internal Evidence*, by Soame Jenyns of the Board of Trade (1703-1787); *Observations on our Lord's Conduct*, by Archbishop Newcome (1728-1800); the

* See Arnold's *English Literature*.

second volume of the *Letters* of Dr. O. Gregory (1778-1841); and the *Christ of History* of Dr. John Young. On the third we have the *History of the Effects of Religion* by Dr. E. Ryan (third edition, 1805), and the treatise of Dr. Chalmers on *Christian Evidence*. Other writers appeal to experimental and spiritual evidence—evidence based on the adaptedness of the Gospel to men's spiritual wants. To this class belong Fuller's *Gospel its own Witness*, Thomas Erskine's *Remarks on the Internal Evidence*, and Gilbert Wardlaw's treatise on *Internal Evidence*.

There is, however, another classification of books on Scripture evidences, not less interesting to the student, and more convenient for literary history.*

Another
classification.

The *first* class contain all answers to infidel treatises in detail which have only a temporary value, and which cease to circulate on the death of the book against which they are directed. Occasionally, works of this class display such intellectual power or scholarly acuteness, that they become of independent interest, and continue to be read for their own sake. Such is Bentley's answer to Collins, the *Phileleutherus Lipsiensis*. Such, on another subject, is Locke's answer to Sir R. Filmer, or Chillingworth's to Parsons the Jesuit.

The *second* class contain sermons rather than treatises, and discuss largely the moral causes of unbelief in general and the mischief of it, rather than its intellectual errors. Such works abounded in the eighteenth century, and form a large part of the pulpit literature of the age. These discourses on infidelity display often a warmth of expression which contrasts strangely with the coldness of the same writers when they are pressing home the evil of sin and the necessity of faith in Christ, and it often seems as if the preachers were more eager to denounce an absent adversary than to save the souls of those who hear them. But the fact is, that this eagerness, amounting sometimes to bitterness, was owing largely to the wide-spread alarm which the prevailing infidelity had created. Generally, the preachers attack, under the name of atheism, an admitted and fearful evil without seeming to know precisely what it was or to what degree it had extended. As a necessary consequence, they brought up antiquated forms of unbelief, Mahommedan, Jewish, and philosophical, in the hope that by examining these they might quiet

* See Arnold's *English Literature*.

men's minds and suggest answers to the doubt which they were unable to define. In nearly every volume of sermons of that day may be found homilies of this kind, earnest but vague, bent on correcting error, but more skilled apparently in defining the mistakes of previous generations than the evils of their own.

The *third* class of books on evidence include many less special than the first and less general than the last. They originated in temporary circumstances, but possess more or less of permanent interest. Instead of losing themselves and bewildering their readers by details which require familiar acquaintance with the books answered as well as with the books that answer them, the writers seize at once on the central truth of the book and repel it by means of some central truth. To this class belong Warburton's *Divine Legation of Moses* and Leland's *View of Deistical Writers*.

The *fourth* class include all works that discuss subjects rather than books, and range over the whole field of Christian evidence or thoroughly examine particular parts of that field. To this class belong Locke's *Reasonableness of Christianity*, Butler's *Analogy*, Lardner's *Credibility*, and some of the best summaries of Christian evidence of our own day.

471. Some of these apologists claim mention from their connexion with general literature, and among them Warburton and Butler are pre-eminent.

William Warburton (1698-1770), to whom Mallett addressed a pamphlet with the inscription—'To the most impudent man alive,' possessed great intellectual gifts in Warburton. rare combination. He was the son of an attorney at Newark, and commenced active life in the same profession. A strong taste for reading induced him, in his twenty-fifth year, to enter the Church, and for several years he devoted himself to study.

The first work Warburton published of any note was the *Alliance of Church and State*. This treatise appeared in 1736, and though not likely to please either party on that question, it was extensively read. His friendship for Pope, whose *Essay on Man* he defended against the censures of Crousaz, gained him influence in literary circles, and the favour of Queen Caroline, who had a quick eye for genius, raised him to the episcopal bench. Meanwhile, Pope had introduced him to Ralph Allen,

one of the worthiest and most liberal-hearted man of his day, who 'did good by stealth, and blushed to find it fame, the original of Fielding's *Squire Allworthy*; and Warburton so far profited by the introduction as to gain the hand of Allen's niece, with whom he received a large fortune.

The Divine Legation of Moses demonstrated on the Principles of a religious Deist from the omission of the Doctrine of a Future State of Reward and Punishment in the Jewish Dispensation appeared between 1738 and 1743, and is a good specimen of the vigour and scholarship of its author, as well as of his fondness for paradox. It had been objected to the Jewish religion that it nowhere revealed a future life. Warburton too sweepingly acknowledged the truth of this objection, and then asserted that therein lay the strongest argument for the divine mission of Moses. The argument is, that the Jewish religion, which imposed upon the people restraints and observances which they strongly disliked, could not have secured their submission unless there had been ample proof of its divine authority: those restraints were not enforced by military power, nor did the founder of the dispensation appeal on its behalf to a future state. This argument Warburton has sustained by a mass of curious and impressive learning. But he has often expressed himself too broadly, and has conceded more on the question of the Jews' ignorance of another life than facts justify.

The dedication of the volume 'To the Free-thinkers' does Warburton honour. He protests in it against the buffoonery and scurrility which the anti-Christian writers employed in controversy, but seems to condemn the legal prosecutions by which it had been attempted to silence them. 'No generous and sincere advocate of religion,' says he, 'can desire an adversary whom the laws have already disarmed.'

Warburton's learning and force of character gave him great authority in his own day. But posterity has not confirmed the award of his contemporaries. His notes on Shakespeare and on Pope, who left him the copyright of his works, display considerable erudition and ingenuity, but are devoid of taste.

A writer of far higher authority, who is, indeed, unsurpassed in his own department, is Joseph Butler (1692-1752).
 Butler. He was bred a Presbyterian, and received the rudiments of his education at Tewkesbury under Samuel Jones. He

afterwards entered as a commoner at Oriel College, Oxford, where he acquired the friendship of Edward Talbot, son of Dr. Talbot afterwards Bishop of Durham. Through the influence of Dr. Talbot and Dr. Samuel Clarke, Butler became successively preacher at the Rolls and rector of Stanhope. Queen Caroline, who appreciated metaphysics, secured for him the Bishopric of Bristol and, towards the close of his life, of Durham. Throughout all his course Butler preserved the unworldliness and simplicity that distinguished him at the first.

His *Analogy* was written chiefly at Stanhope, and was published in 1736. Its aim is well described in the epitaph which Southey wrote for the monument erected to Butler's memory in the cathedral at Bristol: 'Others had established the historical and prophetic grounds of the Christian religion, and that sure testimony of its truth which is found in its perfect adaptation to the heart of man. It was reserved for him to develope its analogy to the constitution and course of nature, and lay his strong foundation in the depth of that great argument, there to construct another and irrefragable proof: thus rendering philosophy subservient to faith, and finding in outward and visible things the type and evidence of those within the veil.' Four editions were printed in Butler's lifetime, and since his death the ablest writers have borne witness to the force of his reasoning and to the suggestiveness of the truths he has discussed.

The discussion of evidences is generally a sign of defective Christian life. It indicates the prevalence of unbelief and the decay of earnest religion. This remark applies with great force to the earlier half of the eighteenth century. Bishop Burnet complains towards the close of his life that there seemed 'a general conspiracy against God and religion.'^a Warburton mourned that he had 'lived to see the fatal crisis when religion had lost its hold on the minds of the people.' Dr. Owen had marked the same tendency in his age, and in 1721 a volume of his sermons was published with the recommendation of several of the most eminent ministers, in which special attention is called to the fact that 'while there was great talk about virtue and peace, Jesus Christ was laid aside as if men knew not how to make any use of Him or of living to God.' Herein men of all parties concurred. Similar views were expressed by Dr. Nichols

^a Preface to the *Life of God in the Soul of Man*, p. 3.

in his *Conference with a Theist*, by Butler in his *Analogy*, by Ditton in his *Discourse on the Resurrection of Christ*, by Howe in his *Prosperous State of the Christian Interest*, by Doddridge in his *Free Thoughts on the Decay of the Dissenting Interest, and on the most probable means of reviving it*, by Dr. Harris in his *Self-dedication*, by Dr. Watts in his *Sermons*, by Jennings in his *Discourse on Preaching Christ*, and by Dr. Guyse in his *Answer to Chandler*.

472. The protracted discussions of the early part of the eighteenth century on the subject of Christian evidence called attention to the whole subject, and have contributed indirectly to our literature. Among their other results was the foundation of lectureships at each of the English Universities and in London. One of the earliest was founded by John Bampton (1689-1751), who provided by will for the delivery of eight lectures at Oxford on subjects fitted to confirm and establish the Christian faith. The lectures were commenced in 1780, and have continued down to our own day.

The Warburton lecture was founded by Bishop Warburton under a trust created by his will and dated 1768. It was provided that three lectures should be preached every year at Lincoln's Inn, and that the same preacher should not hold the office more than four years: the subject to be Prophecy as proving the truth of the Christian religion.

Somewhat later John Hulse left estates to found an annual prize essay, and to endow the offices of Christian advocate and Christian preacher in the University of Cambridge. The Christian preacher or Hulsean lecturer was to deliver twenty sermons (now reduced to eight) every year, either on the evidences of Christianity or on the difficulties of Scripture. From the inadequacy of the fund the lectures did not begin till 1820.

Under each of these trusts valuable works have been written and published.

473. A Christianity that is busy settling its evidences is generally, as we have seen, in a low state. The defective life which such an occupation implies may be revived and deepened in three ways:—by the study of Scripture; by increased spiritual activity; and by the increase

Bampton
Lectures, etc.

Other remedies
for infidelity.

of the power, intelligence and piety of the ministry. When Paul warned Timothy against seducers that were even then waxing worse and worse, he bade him to remember Paul's own labours and teaching, and copy them; and above all to study those Scriptures that are profitable for instruction and for establishment in righteousness.

Happily all three of these remedies were applied in the eighteenth century. Amid discussions on evidence a more excellent way of silencing objection was adopted by Wesley and Whitefield out of the Church, and later by Hervey, Romaine, the Venns, Robinson, and Simeon within; by the increased attention given to the training in piety and in intelligence of the ministry under the care of Doddridge, Evans, and others; and by the devoted study of the Bible, and the increase of helps to understand it, among all classes.

Looking over the following list of the more eminent theological writers belonging chiefly to the eighteenth century, we at once note the large number that consecrated their strength to Biblical study: T. Stackhouse (*History of the Bible*, best edition by Gleig, 1817); Bishop Newton (on the *Prophecies*); Patrick, Lowth and Whitby (*Commentary*); Blayney (on *Jeremiah*); Jacob Bryant, one of the most learned laymen of the century; Dr. Kennicott (*Dissertations and Hebrew Bible*); Parkhurst (*Lexicons*, Hebrew and Greek); Archbishop Newcome (*Harmony*, and revised translation of *Ezekiel*, etc.); Bishop T. Percy (*Key*); Bishop G. Horne (on the *Psalms*); Bishop S. Horsley (on *Biblical Criticisms*, etc.); W. Paley (*Horæ Paulinæ*); T. Scott (author of one of the best *Commentaries* on Scripture); G. Wakefield (*New Testament*, best edition, 1795); Bishop H. Marsh (*Criticism*, and translation of Michaelis' *Introduction*); C. Simeon; Bishop J. Jebb (*Sacred Literature*); D'Oyley and Mant (*Commentary*); G. S. Faber (*Prophecies*, *Horæ Mosaicæ*, etc.); and T. H. Horne. These were in the Church. In other religious communities were Jeremiah Jones (author of what was long the best treatise on the *Canon*); S. Chandler (author of the *Life of David*); N. Lardner; M. Lowman (on *The Book of Revelation*, the *Hebrew Ritual*, and the *Civil Government of the Hebrews*); J. Jennings (on *Jewish Antiquity*); Dr. J. Gill (*Biblical Commentary*—specially rich in rabbinical lore); George Benson (*Paraphrase of the Epistles*,

etc.); P. Doddridge (*The Family Expositor*, etc.); T. Harmer (*Observations on Scripture*); Dr. George Campbell (on the *Gospels*, etc.); S. Macknight (on the *Epistles*, etc.); John Brown of Haddington (author of the *Self-interpreting Bible*, etc.), and his son, Dr. John Brown (author of several very valuable exegetical works); the Gerards, A. and G. (authors of *Biblical Criticism*, etc.); A. Geddes (new translation of the *Bible*); A. Clarke (*Commentary*); B. Boothroyd (*Hebrew Bible and New Translation*); Dr. Wardlaw (on *Ecclesiastes*); and Dr. J. Kitto. As we reach our own day and include living authors, these works become numerous enough to constitute a literature of themselves.

474- Nor was there less activity in other departments. Systematic theology found expounders in Dr. John Heylyn—the mystic doctor, as he was sometimes called,—whose *Theological Lectures* at Westminster Abbey (1749–1761), are rich in feeling as well as in philosophy; in Dr. John Gill, whose *Complete Body of Doctrinal and Practical Divinity* (1769), though too highly Calvinistic, displays extensive learning; in Dr. Doddridge, whose *Theological Lectures* in two volumes (1763), are clear and forcible, formed on the plan of giving all truth in succinct propositions; and Dr. John Hey, whose lectures in divinity (1796), are distinguished by great clearness and sound scholarship. To these must be added the *Christian System* of Thomas Robinson of Leicester in three volumes; the *Theological Institutes and Lectures on Divinity* of Dr. George Hill, Professor of Theology at St. Andrew's; the *Essays* of Dr. Edward Williams of Rotherham, one of the clearest and most original thinkers of the last generation; the works of Andrew Fuller, 'a prince among theologians,' as Alexander Knox and Dr. Chalmers deem him; the *Lectures on Theology* of Dr. Dick, Professor of Theology in the Associate Synod; the *Theological Institutes* of Richard Watson; the *Lectures* of Dr. Chalmers; the *Academical Lectures* of Dr. Balmer; the *Theology* of Dr. Wardlaw in three volumes, and the *First Lines* of Dr. Pye Smith. The older *Expositions* of the creed by Pearson and Burnet are still standard works in the English church, though other expositions have been published by living writers.

Polemical divinity was not less active. Conformity and Non-conformity, their rights and duties, were discussed by Edmund

Calamy, W. and T. Bennet, Bishop Gibson, Micaiah Toogood, and others. Questions connected with the kingdom of Christ and the limits of civil government, gave rise to the Bangorian controversy, so called from the fact that Dr. Hoadly, Bishop of Bangor, originated the discussion, preaching and writing with great power. The pamphlets and volumes written upon this controversy make a considerable library, and Thomas Hearne, the antiquary, has given an account of them up to 1719 in what is itself a large pamphlet.

Questions connected with the *Trinity* were discussed by Bishop Bull in his most able *Defensio Fidei Nicenæ*; by Dr. W. Sherlock in the *Vindication of the Doctrine of the Trinity*, a work not of the highest ability, nor always consistent; by Waterland in his *Vindication of Christ's Divinity*, directed against the Arianism of Dr. S. Clarke, a book of very vigorous argument, written by one of the greatest scholars of his age. The discussion was continued by the two Berrimans, and by Jones of Nayland. Questions on the atonement were raised by various Arian, Unitarian, and other writers; among whom John Taylor of Norwich, Dr. Priestley, T. Belsham and Lindsay, deserve mention; being answered by Dr. John Lee, Archbishop Magee, Dr. Wardlaw, and Dr. J. Pye Smith, in his *Four Discourses*, and in his *Messiah*.

A peculiar method of interpreting Scripture—a method that professed to find there a revelation of science and of mystic truth on human nature—sprang up with John Hutchinson. In the early part of this century it was adopted by Parkhurst, and partially by Bishop Horne, William Jones of Nayland and Romaine. It gave rise to considerable discussion. An account of it may be seen in Jones' preface to the second edition of Bishop Horne's *Life*.

Calvinistic doctrine excited controversy among writers of systems of theology. It was examined by Tomline, Bishop of Lincoln, and defended by Brine, Gill, and Booth, and in a more moderate form by Dr. Edward Williams, Thomas Scott, A. Fuller, Ryland, and James Hervey. Hervey was answered on some questions by Robert Sandeman. In our own century evidences and doctrines have been discussed with as much earnestness as in the last.

475. The seventeenth century was richer than the eighteenth

in patristic theology, but the *Ecclesiastical Antiquities* of Bingham (in ten volumes, 1710-1712, and in two volumes folio in 1726) deserve special mention. They show an immense amount of learning, combined with great judgment and candour. Robert Nelson's *Companion to the Festivals and Fasts of the Church of England* is still the best book on that subject. Sir Peter King's *Inquiry into the Constitution of the Primitive Church* (1691), and his *History of the Apostles' Creed* (1702), Whately reckons much more valuable in proportion to their size than most books studied by theologians. The former volume, which displays Presbyterian or Congregational tendencies, was answered by William Selater in his *Original Draft of the Primitive Church* (third edition, 1727). On Baptism, W. Wall, vicar of Shoreham, wrote a learned and temperate history (1705), and before publishing it asked Dr. Stennett to look over the statements he had made on the opinions of the Baptists, and see if fair exception could be taken to any of them—a spirit as favourable to good feeling as to truth. He was answered by Dr. J. Gale. Later, Robert Robinson, of Cambridge, wrote an elaborate history of the same subject (1790), besides a volume of *Ecclesiastical Researches* (1792). G. S. Faber has written able treatises on *The Primitive Doctrine of Justification* (1837), *Regeneration* (1840), and *Sacrifice* (1827). Dr. Edward Burton, Professor of Divinity at Oxford, has written learnedly on the *Heresies of the Apostolic Age* (1829), on the *Testimony of the Nicene Fathers to the Divinity of Christ* (second edition 1821), and on the *Trinity* (1831); Dr. J. Kaye, Bishop of Bristol, on the *Opinions of Justin Martyr and of Clement of Alexandria*; Dr. James Bennett on the *Theology of the Early Christian Church* (1841); and Isaac Taylor has discussed, in *Ancient Christianity*, the faith and the practices of the early Church, with special reference to the doctrines of the *Tracts for the Times*.

A complete *History of the Church*, written by J. L. Mosheim (1695-1755), was translated by Dr. Maclaine, and published in 1783. His translation is executed with good taste and eloquence, but it is less accurate than that made by Dr. J. Murdoch. Murdoch's translation was edited by Soames in 1841, with important additions on the history of the Christian Church in England, and it forms the basis of Dr. J. S. Reid's edition,

published in one volume in 1848. This history of Mosheim's excels in learning, and in the philosophic spirit with which it traces the progress of Christian sects.

Joseph Milner, head master of the grammar school at Hull, and afterwards vicar of Trinity church in that town, composed a Church history on the principle that it ought to be the history of Scriptural truth and of piety, not of everything that called itself Christian. His work extends only to the time of the Reformation. It has been continued by his brother, Isaac Milner, by Dr. Haweis, by Dr. Stebbing, and by John Scott, the son of the commentator. The recent edition of Milner by Grantham (1847) contains useful additions and corrections. A general history of the Church was also written by Priestley in six volumes (1790-1805). Lectures on the same subject were published by Dr. George Campbell (1800) and by William Jones, both of them vigorous and independent writers. The history of the earlier centuries has been written by Burton, Kaye, and Hinds; and particular portions of the history of ecclesiastical parties by Calamy, Crosby, Dr. Bogue, Wilson, Lathbury, Hardwick, and Dr. M'Crie. Among living writers may be mentioned Dr. Hook, Dr. T. Price, and Mr. Marsden.

In this department, however, Englishmen are largely dependent on German scholars, nor have we yet any English Church history to rival some of the works of Neander, Gieseler, and Hagenbach.

476. It is, however, in practical and devotional theology, and especially in sermons, that the last hundred and fifty years are richest. The sermons that belong to our literature display for the most part little genius; yet for practical sense, Scriptural fulness, and knowledge of human nature, they are surpassed by those of no other nation. Many of them, when animated in delivery by the soul of the preacher, must have been eloquent. In some few masterpieces of our greatest preachers the sentiment is profound and genuine, the imagination active, the taste chastened and pure, the sweep of intellect wide, the Scriptural knowledge full, and the insight into human nature acute and deep: they rise to the highest level, and may be compared with the sublimest teaching of ancient or of modern times. Such examples, however are rare.

Devotional
theology.

477. One of the earliest of the devotional writers of the eighteenth century is William Law, a nonjuror, who relinquished his Fellowship at Cambridge because unable to take the oaths on the accession of George I. William Law. His *Serious Call to a Holy Life* (1797) was a great favourite with Samuel Johnson and with John Wesley. Johnson tells us that he 'first learned from it to think in earnest of religion,' and praises it as the 'finest specimen of hortatory theology in any language.' Law's letters to Hoadley are admirable models of controversial writing, both for wit and argument. Gibbon, in whose family Law had been tutor, says of his writings, 'his precepts are rugged, but they are precepts of the Gospel; his satire is sharp, but is drawn from the knowledge of human life; while many of his portraits are not unworthy of La Bruyère.' A collection of his works, though not quite complete, was published in 1762, in nine volumes.

An earlier book of somewhat the same sort is *The Whole Duty of Man*, first published in 1659. It is equally remarkable for the idiomatic vigour of its style, the uncertainty of its authorship, and the defectiveness of its evangelical teaching. It has been ascribed to Bishop Fell, Archbishop Sancroft, Lady Packington, and many more; but the question remains as yet unsettled. To correct its theology, Henry Venn, of Queen's College, Cambridge, curate of Clapham, and rector of Yelling, in Huntingdonshire, wrote *The Complete Duty of Man, or a System of Doctrinal and Practical Christianity* (1764), a book that has rivalled the fame and circulation of the earlier treatise. It is written with great tenderness of feeling, and in a style remarkably artless and clear.

478. But perhaps we can give a juster conception of these writings if we sketch in brief the history of a few of the leading preachers and theologians of the last hundred and fifty years.

The year after Samuel Johnson had been compelled by poverty to leave Pembroke College (1731), the son of a tavern-keeper at Gloucester, and himself a waiter at the 'Bell Inn,' Whitefield. entered it as servitor. There he found already Charles and John Wesley, who had taken as their teacher William Law, the mystic. Whitefield had a curious history, both outward and spiritual; but at length, before he had completed his twenty-first year, the Bishop of Gloucester offered to ordain him as deacon.

He was himself unwilling to be ordained, strove, as he tells us, against it, but yielded to the advice of his friends. Forthwith he began to preach. With great fervour he proclaimed what many deemed a new doctrine—the necessity of personal regeneration—and in his first sermon ‘drove fifteen people mad,’ as a complaint lodged with the bishop affirmed. Many called him an ‘enthusiast.’ Warburton with characteristic energy, called him a ‘fanatic.’ Caring little for either charge, he went on with his work, preached sometimes forty, sometimes even sixty hours a week, visited almost every district of England, crossed the Atlantic in prosecution of his mission thirteen times, held long controversies with the Wesleys on Predestination and Election (being himself a Calvinist), and with bishops on the still more abstruse theme of the new birth. Throwing off all ecclesiastical submission, he built chapels and appointed preachers, though failing to organize a religious community. At length, amid ‘labours more abundant,’ he died in 1770, in New England.

Such an example of physical and mental energy the later centuries had not seen. Hearers of all classes were fascinated by his preaching. Hume said it was well worth going twenty miles to hear him. Foote and Garrick admired the *reality* of his teaching. Franklin, a model of economic prudence, was excited to empty his pockets into the plates at a collection sermon; while Pulteney, Bolingbroke, and Chesterfield joined the crowd in admiring the preacher: to say nothing of titled ladies who formally joined his cause and contributed largely to support it.

Out of the thirty or forty thousand sermons preached by him—many of them, however, being the same sermon repeated from forty to a hundred times—seventy-five have been handed down to us in print, and modern readers have wondered at the power that wrought in them. The secret of their strength seems to be, in part, that they teach two or three great truths—free forgiveness for the guilty, the nearness and the reality of eternity, with the awfulness of the destinies suspended on our penitence and faith—in part, that they were delivered with great warmth of feeling, and with great dramatic power, such as quickens abstractions into life, and,—in part, that ‘the hand of the Lord was with him, and therefore much people believed.’ His sermons are by no means models, but his labours and success gave a tone to much of the theological literature of the last generation.

479. Among the fruits of his preaching was John Newton. Newton's father was a master mariner, and his mother an earnest good woman who bequeathed to the strong-willed and wayward boy a rich inheritance of prayers, and of blessing. When twelve years of age he went to sea, and though frequently the subject of deep religious conviction, a stray volume of Shaftesbury's *Characteristics* seems to have overthrown his faith. After years of toil spent in a man-of-war, or amid the barracoons of the Gold Coast, he visited the West Indies in a vessel freighted with slaves. In what was then British North America, he heard Whitefield. The lessons and the tears of his mother combined with the appeals of the great preacher to touch his heart. Leisure on shipboard and afterwards at Liverpool enabled him to study Hebrew and Greek, and at last by the united efforts of Richard Cecil and Edward Young, the author of the *Night Thoughts*, he became curate of the parish of Olney in Buckinghamshire. There he formed a friendship which Cowper's genius has made immortal, became the almoner of John Thornton, and contributed largely to guide the mind of Thomas Scott the commentator. By Thornton's influence he succeeded to the rectory of St. Mary Woolnoth, Lombard Street, London, and there remained till his death in 1807. He died in the eighty-third year of his age and the forty-third of his ministry.

Newton's works are not now much read. Yet his *Omicron's Letters* and his *Cardiphonia, or the Utterance of the Heart in a real Correspondence*, are valuable records of religious feeling and often admirable expositions of religious truth. They are written in a vigorous easy style.

Through life his personal influence and usefulness were unbounded. His firm grasp of great truths, his strong will, his tender affectionate spirit, his humour, his perseverance, still benefit and influence multitudes who know those qualities only by tradition. To him India is indebted for Claudius Buchanan, and England for Thomas Scott; nor is it possible to tell how much of the character of Joseph Milner and of William Wilberforce is owing to the power he exercised over them.

480. Thomas Scott was a Lincolnshire lad, the son of a substantial grazier. It was his ambition to inherit his father's farm, but finding that his father had be-

Scott

queathed it to another of his ten children, Scott gave himself to study, meaning to be a clergyman. He became very nearly, he tells us, 'a Socinian and Pelagian, and wholly an Arminian,' and then entered the ministry of the church, being ordained by the Bishop of Lincoln. In his *Force of Truth* he has given his own history—a volume that Bishop Wilson pronounces as second, and as scarcely inferior in value, to the *Confessions* of Augustine. It is a very suggestive record of a series of mental phenomena of great interest, and may be studied with advantage by all.

The great change which his views and character underwent began while he was at Weston. He was at first 'a morose, proud, ambitious churchman,' but occasionally he went to hear Newton, his neighbour, at Olney. Deeming one of Newton's sermons to contain allusions to himself, Scott challenged the preacher to a debate on their religious differences. This challenge Newton wisely declined in letters written with great courtesy and kindness. Soon after an offer of preferment was made to Scott. This offer compelled him to consider whether he was prepared to set his hand again to the Articles which he had signed some years before. The preferment was conscientiously declined, and for three years Scott gave himself to the diligent study of the Bible and of such helps as were within his reach. He read Locke *On the reasonableness of Christianity*, Burnet's *Pastoral Care*, Soame Jenyns on *The Internal Evidence*, Samuel Clarke's *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, and Law's *Serious Call*, till at length the sermons of Hooker on *Justification*, put to flight, at once and for ever, his doubts. There, in the pages of the great advocate of the polity of the English Church, he found an announcement of this fundamental truth as fearless and as clear as in the writings of Luther or in the preaching of Whitefield, and thenceforth he became a believer in the Nicene Creed, and a follower of Augustine and Calvin, so far as he deemed them followers of Christ. In 1803 he was presented to the living of Aston Sandford, and there remained till his death in 1821.

These inquiries prepared Scott for what proved the great work of his life. A London publisher who had known him in early days suggested that a series of weekly annotations on the Bible, in a hundred successive numbers, would yield a handsome profit to them both—a hundred guineas to the author, and a few hundred more to the publisher. Scott accordingly began this work,

and in 1788 the first number appeared. Ultimately the work reached a hundred and seventy-four numbers, and the commentator received a hundred and sixty-four guineas. Meanwhile, to help the publisher, Scott had been induced to borrow 500*l.* which he lent his friend. The publisher soon failed, and after many disasters and some Chancery injunctions, a final statement of account was obtained. At the age of sixty-seven, borne down by sickness and poverty, the great commentator ascertained that 200,000*l.* had been paid 'over the counter' for his various publications, and that he himself had derived from them an income of under 50*l.* a year, that they had involved him in a debt of 1,200*l.*, and that all his wealth consisted of a warehouse of unsaleable theology. By the kind and energetic sympathy of Charles Simeon, these difficulties were overcome. His debts were paid, and a sum of 2,000*l.* rewarded him for his toils and faith.

The excellences and the defects of Scott's *Commentary* become very intelligible when this history is remembered. The author had neither great intellectual power, nor great learning. He possessed little exact knowledge of the original tongues, no familiarity with patristic or mediæval writings, or critical acumen. But, in the absence of all these qualities, he has done more justice, on the whole, to the meaning of the Bible than multitudes of commentators who have been able to boast, and justly to boast, of their mental power and wealth. He believed in the inspiration of God's Word, and in the great principle of 'self-interpretation.' He regarded the book as a message from God to all who could hear or read. He held that in all that is essential that book is its own best expositor. He compared it with itself, and repeated this process till every text brightened to his eye and impressed his heart. Of all modern expositions Scott's is the most purely scriptural. On the other hand it was written in great haste, piecemeal, often under the pressure of affliction both personal and domestic. It was therefore inevitable that with all its manifold excellences, and though in some respects one of our ablest commentaries, it has defects which seriously diminish its value.

To the same school with Scott belonged Joseph Milner—the historian of evangelical piety, Henry and John Venn, Wilberforce—statesman and author of the *Practical View of Religion*, Legh Richmond, Thomas Robinson of Leicester Charles Simeon

of Cambridge, and Henry Martyn. More or less closely linked with it were Granville Sharp, Sir Robert Grant, Lord Teignmouth, and Thomas Clarkson. These men became in various ways a power in the Church of England, and influenced much of her popular literature.

481. Out of the earnestness of this evangelical school have sprung, by a kind of magnetic induction, two schools of a very different kind. At Oxford a race of students had
 Other Schools. grown up of great classical taste and not unskilled in patristic learning. While disliking what they deemed the narrowness of the evangelical party and questioning its doctrines, they yet protested against the coldness and barrenness which they found round them. Their poet was an admirer and an imitator of Wordsworth, with a vigorous fancy and much devout feeling. Their writers have since become famous as the authors of the *Tracts for the Times*. The other school is hardly less earnest, but they claim a freedom of thought in matters of religious belief such as would have shocked the schools to which Milner and Scott, Keble and Newman belong. The representative men of these schools differ widely, but there are many who occupy what may be called neutral ground on the borders of each school, and who may be classed now with one and now with another. Each has its own literature, and is exercising no small influence on the literature of the day.

482. John Wesley, son of the rector of Epworth in Lincolnshire, was ten years older than Whitefield. While a student at
 Wesley. Oxford he and his brother Charles entered upon a course of pious study and discipline of which à Kempis and Law were the teachers, but he did not 'find peace' till a somewhat later period than his friend Whitefield. It was Luther's *Preface to the Romans* that was blessed to him in that respect. After this great change he still retained a little of the mysticism that distinguished him while a student of Law, as he also preserved in his Church order some of the Moravian views which he had learnt from Count Zinzendorf. His distinguishing qualities were great power of organization, unbounded devotedness of property and strength to the welfare of men, and a wonderful faculty of dealing with his fellows man by man, as Whitefield had the faculty of dealing with them in masses.

After labouring a short time as curate to his father, he set off as a missionary to Georgia, where he remained for about two years. On his return in 1738, he commenced field preaching, and travelled through every part of Great Britain and Ireland. For nearly fifty years he continued this work, and at his death, the number of Methodists in society throughout the world amounted to eighty thousand. They are now upwards of two millions, and they owe their organization and much of their spirit to the teaching and labours of their founder.

The biblical commentator of the Wesleyans is Dr. A. Clarke, a very able oriental scholar, and author of a good *Bibliographical Dictionary* and other works. He was educated at Kingswood School, and became famous in the department of general literature as well as of theology. The systematic theologian was Richard Watson, a man of profound mind and fine taste. His *Theological Institutes* is a standard book, and his *Sermons* are some of them among the noblest in our language.

483. While John Wesley was college tutor, he had, as one of his pupils, James Hervey, who after a while became rector of J. Hervey.

Weston Favell. He was a man of feeble health, and had been recommended to follow the ploughman as he turned up the furrow in order to smell the fresh earth. While acting on this recommendation, he asked the ploughman what he deemed the hardest thing in religion. The ploughman respectfully returned the question, excusing himself as an unlettered man. The minister replied that he thought the hardest thing was to deny sinful self. The ploughman suggested that perhaps there was something harder still, to deny righteous self. The minister pondered over the answer, and ultimately became a convert to the ploughman's creed. He had naturally a somewhat gorgeous mind, a vivid imagination, and such a fondness for superlatives, as is not now deemed consistent with good taste. Among the earliest evangelical writers who studied the graces of composition, he has written with more brilliance than simplicity; and his ornate style, though captivating to readers of small taste, is confessedly displeasing to the better educated. Yet in him this style was natural, and he was both a good and a really able man. Among books of his that were once immensely popular, may be mentioned the *Meditations on the Tombs*, and *On the Flower*

Garden.—a sort of evangelical natural theology; *Theron and Aspasia: a Series of Letters and Dialogues* on the most important subjects of personal religion. This work is really a system of divinity set forth amid the charms of most glorious landscapes and the pleasantries of kindly intercourse. For the first of these works he received 700*l.*, which he distributed in charity; the sale of both was very large. Many preachers copied his style, and those of them who had minds of the same order copied it with success. With others, as with Samuel Parr, the copy ended in such bombast as reflected undeserved contempt on the original.

Among other writers who caught the spirit of Wesley or imbibed the theology of Whitefield, though remaining in the Church, there were in Cornwall, Samuel Walker of Truro, the author of some admirable sermons; in Devon, and afterwards in London, Augustus Toplady, the author of some of our most popular hymns, 'Rock of Ages, cleft for me,' etc. In Bedfordshire there lived and laboured John Berridge. He had been a student at Clare Hall, Cambridge, had worked hard and had stored his mind with all kinds of learning. As a preacher, he was humorous, pathetic, or practical, as the case seemed to require, and he excelled in each quality. It is said that not fewer than four thousand persons were awakened to a sense of their sin in one year, under his preaching. The book by which he is best known is *The Christian World Unmasked*. In it the characteristics of his preaching still survive. There is much close dealing with conscience and no small amount of drollery. The idea illustrated throughout is that of a physician prescribing for a patient ignorant of his disease. In Lincolnshire was Thomas Adam (1701-1784), rector of Wintringham, who had been a student of Law the mystic, and who, like Westey, 'found peace' in the Epistle to the Romans. To him we owe *Private Thoughts on Religion*, detached sentences on God and Christ, on sin and faith, much less brilliant and less profound than those of Pascal, but more experimental and devout. In Yorkshire, at Haworth, a place since familiar through Mrs. Gaskell's *Life of Charlotte Brontë*, lived William Grimshaw, one of the most remarkable men of this group. In London was William Romaine (1714-1795), who began his course as Gresham professor of astronomy and editor of Calasio's *Hebrew Concordance*, into which he has contrived to put a little of his Hutchinsonian philosophy.

For nearly fifty years he was one of the lights of evangelical truth, though the times were strongly against him. When morning lecturer at St. George's, Hanover Square, he is said to have 'vulgarised the congregation and' was therefore dismissed. As evening lecturer at St. Dunstan's he was not suffered to preach till after seven o'clock, and then the churchwardens sometimes refused to light the church. Repeatedly brought into courts of law he still held his own, till at length he was made rector of St. Ann's, Blackfriars, where, for nearly thirty years, he preached his doctrines on *The Life, the Walk, and the Triumph of Faith*. During most of this time he was one of the characters of London, and those who came to town to see Garrick, ended by going to hear Romaine.

484. Men of another class, though all remarkable for their learning and power, are the Lowths, William and Robert, Bp. Richard Watson, Conyers Middleton, and Samuel Horsley. Lowth, etc.

William Lowth (1661-1732) was eminent for his classical and theological learning, and is now best known for his *Vindication of the Divine Authority and Inspiration of the Old and New Testaments* (1692), *Directions for the Profitable Reading of the Holy Scriptures*, and *Commentaries on the Prophets*. He also contributed considerably to the notes in Potter's edition of Clemens Alexandrinus and Hudson's edition of Josephus. He was chaplain to the Bishop of Winchester, and one of the prebends of the cathedral in that city. Robert Lowth, his son, was one of our ablest biblical commentators. At the age of thirty-one he was elected to the professorship of poetry in the University of Oxford, and in that chair delivered in Latin his *Prelections on Hebrew Poetry*. Later in life he became in succession Bishop of St. David's, of Oxford, and of London. His *Prelections* were translated by Gregory, and were long popular.

Dr. Richard Watson, Bishop of Llandaff, is best known for his replies to Gibbon the historian, and to Thomas Paine. To the former he addressed *An Apology for Christianity*, in answer to the chapter in his history on the rise and progress of Christianity; and when Paine published his *Age of Reason*, the Bishop replied in his *Apology for the Bible*. His controversial works are highly honourable to the manliness and candour of his spirit, and are distinguished by clearness and vigour. Besides his sermons he

has edited a collection of *Theological Tracts* written by various authors and published in six volumes. Conyers Middleton (1683-1750) received his education at Trinity College, Cambridge, and became one of the most polished classical scholars of his day. His *Life of Cicero*, published in 1741, is an English classic. At Cambridge he was Woodwardian Professor and afterwards principal librarian. On his return from Italy, in 1729, he published *Letters from Rome, showing the exact Conformity between Popery and Paganism; or, the Religion of the present Romans derived from that of their Ancestors*. It is an amusing and able book, and gave rise to much discussion. Samuel Horsley, son of the vicar of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, was educated at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, where he made great progress both in classical and in mathematical learning. In 1759 he became rector of Newington Butts; in 1777, chaplain to Dr. Lowth, Bishop of London; in 1788, Bishop of St. David's; and, at last, in 1802, Bishop of St. Asaph. As secretary of the Royal Society, he edited a quarto edition of Newton's works (1785) in five volumes. As a divine he replied to Priestley's *Corruptions of Christianity*, published valuable translations of *Hosea* and of the *Psalms*, besides a good work on *Biblical Criticism*. His sermons are good specimens of vigorous effective preaching of the clear and logical kind. Like Barrow's, they are exhaustive treatises, and are specially happy in explaining difficult passages and in teaching how to apply important theological principles. His manner was often arrogant and overbearing; his political opinions and intolerance were assailed by Robert Hall in his *Apology for the Freedom of the Press*.

485. Another history begins at Northampton—a place of considerable interest to the theologian. There the Rylands lived, father and son. The father (John C.) was a man of Doddridge, etc. considerable learning and great force of character, the author of books that are still occasionally looked into, and of *Marginalia*, that are seldom read without creating a smile. The son was Dr. John Ryland, whose character Robert Hall has sketched under the title of 'the beloved disciple.' Within a few miles of the town, at Kettering, lived Andrew Fuller, a man whose religious views coincided with Scott's, and whose masculine grasp of truth and power of setting it forth

make his volumes invaluable to the theological student. It was from that same district that Carey went to begin a work in India which has grown and extended, till God's Word is accessible to a hundred and fifty millions of people, and all religious parties have in some degree recognised their duty in relation to it.

Here, moreover, was one of the earliest Dissenting Academies—institutions which the Nonconformists supported in order to give to their ministry the education which they found it impossible to gain elsewhere. From the middle of the seventeenth century, men eminent for learning and piety had opened their houses to receive young men who wished to devote themselves to this work. In 1650, Mr. Tombes, of Bewdley, who had been a clergyman, had students under his care. At Warrington, Bristol, Kibworth, and London, others engaged in the same work. Philip Doddridge had declined the offer of the Duchess of Bedford to maintain him at Cambridge, and had studied at Kibworth under the care of David Jennings—an esteemed biblical scholar, the author of a good book on *Jewish Antiquities*. After settling at Northampton, the need of a learned ministry pressed deeply on his mind and on the minds of others. A large house was taken, and the business of instruction began. Dr. Reynolds, the chancellor of the diocese, threatened a prosecution in the ecclesiastical courts on the ground that the house was not licensed. But Doddridge found a friend in the Earl of Halifax. The Earl mentioned the matter to George II., who declared that 'in his reign there should be no persecution,' and the process dropped. The institution now prospered apace. Forty students, lay and ministerial, from different parts of the kingdom, gathered at Northampton, some of whom became eminent as men of learning and others as ministers. Through Doddridge's influence William Coward bequeathed 20,000*l.* for permanently founding a college.

The learning of Doddridge, his piety, and his catholicity were alike remarkable. He lectured on mathematics, logic, mental philosophy, and divinity. His *Family Expositor* still instructs the unlettered, helps the studies of the scholar, and edifies the devout believer. Its practical observations and its paraphrases are excellent, while it contains a large amount of criticism akin to that of the *Horæ Paulinæ*. Some of our best hymns were composed by him to be sung at the close of his sermons, and one of

the best epigrams in our language, as Johnson deems it, is from his pen, a paraphrase of his own motto, 'Dum vivimus vivamus.' His most popular book, *The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul*, was undertaken at the request of Dr. Watts. It is somewhat mechanical and legal in its tone, but it has proved on the whole the most effective religious book of the eighteenth century, as Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* is the most effective of the seventeenth—effective not only in its usefulness to individual readers, but in suggesting like books to men whose works have reached circles from which Doddridge himself was excluded. His *Life of Colonel Gardiner*, who was one of his hearers, still holds its place amongst our most popular religious biographies, and Doddridge's *Life*, by Job Orton, Dr. John Brown deemed one of the most instructive for the minister and the student.

Of Doddridge's catholicity we have abundant proofs. He corresponded with Wesley and Whitefield, with Secker and Warburton, with the Countess of Huntingdon and the 'Rational Dissenters.' Warburton reproached him, with a gentleness he always put on when addressing Doddridge, for editing Hervey's *Meditations*. Neal warned him that he was lowering Dissent by admitting to his pulpit 'crazy Whitefield.' When failing health compelled him to visit Lisbon, Warburton used his influence with the Post-office to secure for him the captain's room in the packet. He died at Lisbon, and was laid in the burying-ground of the English factory.

Among his friends, besides those already named, were Dr. Samuel Clarke, of St. Alban's, author of *A Collection of Scripture Promises*, and Gilbert West, one of the clerks of the Privy Council, and author of *Observations on the History and Evidences of the Resurrection of Christ*. Among his more eminent pupils were Benjamin Fawcett, a successor of Baxter in Kidderminster; Job Orton, Doddridge's biographer, and the author of a good volume of *Sermons to the Aged*; Andrew Kippis, one of the chief contributors to the *Biographia Britannica*, editor of the works of Lardner and Doddridge, a vigorous thinker and a hard worker; and Hugh Farmer, Mr. Coward's chaplain, and minister at Walthamstow, the author of works on *Miracles* and *Demoniacs*, that were once held in high consideration among theological students.

to be expected that Scotland should be free from excitement. Towards the middle of the eighteenth century (1740) the two Erskines, Ebenezer (1680-1735) and Ralph (1682-1751), separated from the Established Kirk of Scotland, and founded the Church of the Secession called Burghers, as others separated from them and assumed the title of Anti-Burghers. The Erskines differed from their brethren of the Establishment chiefly on the law of patronage, and their labours formed the commencement of a religious body that has never ceased to exercise influence on the theological literature of the North. Ebenezer Erskine's works, consisting of five volumes of sermons, were printed in 1762-1765. Ralph Erskine is also the author of *Gospel Sonnets*, and of numerous sermons which were published in 1760.

In 1741, during these discussions, George Whitefield visited Scotland, and was welcomed to Edinburgh by Dr. A. Webster (1707-1784), minister of the Tolbooth Church, a leading evangelical clergyman, the founder of the Ministers' Widows' Fund, and the first to attempt a census of his native country. The effect of Whitefield's visit to Cambslaug was startling. Tens of thousands were gathered together, and results were produced which many ascribed to sorcery, but which Webster recognised as the proofs of a Divine presence. The scenes of Whitefield's revivals have been frequently repeated on a smaller scale in Scotland, especially through the labours of the Haldanes and others; as the incidents of Erskine's Secession have been repeated on a much larger scale in our own day by the formation of the Free Kirk. Much of the religious literature of Scotland has been occupied with questions suggested by these movements.

Among modern Scottish divines the first place for genius and power is due to Thomas Chalmers (1780-1847). He was born at Anstruther, and was educated partly at St. Andrews, partly at Edinburgh under Professor Playfair. In 1808 he became minister of Kilmany, where his active mind found employment in lecturing on chemistry and other subjects, and in writing pamphlets on political and local questions. When the *Edinburgh Encyclopædia* was projected, Chalmers was invited to write the article on Christianity. The article was afterwards published as a separate

volume, and is one of the most eloquent defences of the Christian faith. At Kilmany his mind underwent a remarkable change. For twelve years, he tells the people, he had been trying an experiment upon them, and had failed. Now he began to be impressed with 'the utter alienation of the heart in all its desires and affections from God;' and 'reconciliation to Him became the distinct and prominent subject of his ministerial exertions;' 'the free offer of forgiveness through the blood of Christ was urged upon their acceptance;' and 'the Holy Spirit given through the channel of Christ's mediatorship to all who ask Him was set before them as the unceasing subject of their dependence and their prayers.' In the result he found that 'to preach Christ is the only effective way of preaching morality.' Thenceforward he resolved that this should be his great theme.

From Kilmany, Chalmers removed in 1815 to Glasgow, and here his fame as a preacher became diffused over England and America. In 1823 he removed to St. Andrews as Professor of Moral Philosophy, and in 1828 he was appointed Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh. There he continued to exercise, for fifteen years, a most remarkable influence, exciting in the hearts of his students the conviction that to preach successfully they must dwell chiefly on the truths on which he had insisted when leaving Kilmany, and that to labour successfully they must be the pastors as well as the teachers of their flocks.*

In 1843 Dr. Chalmers seceded from the Established Church with a large body of ministers and people, and continued one of the most active members of the Free Kirk till his death in 1847. On the 31st of May he had retired to rest in his usual health, and was found next morning dead in bed, the report of the college, to be presented that day, by his side, and his face undisturbed by a single trace of suffering.

The secret of Chalmers' power it is not difficult to describe. He had no advantages of voice, or gesture, or pronunciation; but he had deep convictions of the truth of his message, a most vigorous faculty of illustration, considerable originality of genius, and an ardour which nothing could resist. 'He buried his adversaries,' as Lord Jeffrey describes it, 'under fragments of

* 'A house-going minister makes a church-going people,' used to be one of his favourite sayings.

burning mountains;' while truth was illuminated and set forth in most impressive forms. His collected works were published during his lifetime in twenty-five volumes, and nine more were edited after his death by Dr. Hanna, his son-in-law. These last included his *Daily Readings*, the *Institutes of Theology*, the *Prelections on Butler*, etc. His *Commercial Discourses*, in six volumes, his *Astronomical Discourses*, and his book *On the Evidences of Christianity* are the works which are best known. The first are often very happy in their power of seizing a great truth and presenting it to his readers. The *Astronomical Discourses* contain many passages of great sublimity and beauty. Chalmers was a strenuous opponent of the introduction of the Poor Laws into Scotland, and contributed more to the development of a system of voluntary effort to meet the necessities of a parish, and to the efficiency of the Sustentation Fund of the Free Kirk than any man of his generation. His shrewd knowledge of his countrymen and of human nature elicited more than once the remark that he was the most 'worldly man' the on-looker had ever known.

487. The year after the Revolution of 1688, the representatives of about a hundred Baptist churches met in London, and resolved among other things to raise a fund for assisting young men who were likely to make efficient ministers. After existing for nearly a century, there entered the institution thus founded at Bristol, two students whose names have become widely known and honoured, Robert Hall and John Foster.

Robert Hall (1764-1831) was born at Arnsby, and was the son of the minister of that place, a man of earnest religious character, and known as the author of a popular religious treatise, the *Help to Zion's Travellers*. After studying at Bristol, he went, in 1781, to King's College, Aberdeen, where he had as his fellow-student Sir James Mackintosh. Both were warmly attached to the study of Greek literature: both were fond of metaphysical questions. By their class fellows they were known as 'Plato and Herodotus,' and the friendship they then formed remained through life. After a brief sojourn at Bristol as tutor, Mr. Hall became in 1790 minister at Cambridge. Here he published his first pamphlet, *Christianity consistent with the*

Love of Freedom (1791), and in 1793 appeared his *Apology for the Freedom of the Press*. In 1799 his sermon, *Modern Infidelity considered with respect to its influence on Society*, excited great attention, and was admired alike for its style, for the profoundness of its thoughts, and for the beauty of its imagery. In 1802 he published *Reflections on War*, and in 1803, *The Sentiments proper to the present crisis*. The last has all the fiery energy of a war-lyric, and is one of the most eloquent and stirring of all his compositions. The following year his mind gave way. After a short time he was restored, though only to suffer from a second attack. On his complete restoration he removed to Leicester, where he laboured for twenty years. A sermon which he preached there in 1819, on the death of the Princess Charlotte, is generally considered as one of the most touching and impressive of all his discourses. In 1826 he removed to Bristol, where he continued as pastor of the church at Broadmead till his death.

In addition to his mental suffering, Mr. Hall was subject for many years to a disease of the kidneys, which inflicted intense pain. This affliction, combined with a fastidious taste, indisposed him to write, so that his published pieces give a very inadequate conception of the vigour of his genius. Enough, however, remains to justify the estimate which all his contemporaries formed of him. He has been compared with Burke, whom he nearly equalled in grasp of mind and in practical sagacity, while he surpassed him in logical precision and in chasteness of taste; and with Mackintosh, whom he equalled in metaphysical acuteness and solid learning, while he greatly surpassed him in richness of imagination. As a preacher his humility and fervour touched a multitude of hearts who might have listened to mere oratory without any impression. A complete edition of Mr. Hall's works was published, with a life by Dr. O. Gregory, in six volumes.

John Foster (1770-1843) was a man of a very different mould, but one of the most original and forcible thinkers of his age. He was the son of a farmer who resided near Hebden Bridge, and who occasionally attended the ministry of William Grimshaw of Haworth. Foster was educated at Bristol under Joseph Hughes, the founder of the Bible Society, and after acting as minister at Newcastle, Dublin, Frome, etc., he died at

Stapleton, near Bristol. He is best known by *Essays, in a Series of Letters*, published in 1805. The subjects discussed are, 'On a man's writing memoirs of himself,' 'On decision of character,' 'On the application of the epithet Romantic,' and 'On some of the causes by which evangelical religion has been rendered less acceptable to men of cultivated taste.' In 1819 he published a volume on the *Evils of Popular Ignorance*, a book which Mackintosh pronounced one of the most original works of this century. Appended to it is a sermon on Christian Missions, which will well repay study. In 1840 were published two volumes of contributions to the *Eclectic Review*. Two volumes of *Lectures*, delivered chiefly at Broadmead, were also collected, and published in 1844-1847. His essay prefixed to Collins's edition of Doddridge's *Rise and Progress of Religion*, is one of the most characteristic and striking of all his pieces. Foster's *Life and Correspondence* has been published under the editorship of J. E. Ryland, with notices of him as a preacher by John Sheppard of Frome.

It is worth noting that both Hall and Foster were much less effective for real usefulness than many preachers of far inferior mental power. They have themselves noted this fact, and though the estimate which each formed of himself is to be received with caution—for they both had the humility and the self-renunciation of true greatness—yet the fact remains. It may suggest lessons of encouragement to less able men, as it certainly suggests important inquiries as to the qualities on which usefulness in the highest sense really depends.

488. To this same district of England belong Samuel Lavington (1726-1807) of Bideford, and William Jay of Bath (1769-1853). The sermons of the former are among the finest specimens of simplicity and tenderness: those of the latter are no less remarkable for fulness of Scripture illustration and pointed comment. Models, in other respects, may be found in the sermons of Edward Cooper (d. 1833) and of William Archer Butler (1814-1848).

THE PRINCIPAL THEOLOGICAL WRITERS OF THE EIGHTEENTH AND
NINETEENTH CENTURIES.

George Bull . . .	1634-1710	John Howe . . .	1630-1705
Daniel Whitby . .	1638-1726	Benjamin Keach . .	1640-1704
William Wall . . .	1646-1728	Robert Trail . . .	1642-1716
Robert Nelson . .	1656-1715	W. Penn . . .	1644-1718
George Stanhope .	1660-1728	D. Burgess . . .	1645-1712
White Kennett . .	1660-1728		
Thos. Wilson . . .	1663-1755	Matthew Henry . .	1662-1704
John Bingham . . .	1668-1723	William Whiston . .	1667-1752
Bishop Gibson . .	1669-1748		
Peter Browne . . .	1735	Edmund Calamy . .	1671-1732
Sir Peter King . .	1669-1733	James Peirce . . .	1673-1726
Thos. Bennett . . .	1673-1728	Thomas Halyburton .	1674-1712
Basil Kennett . . .	1674-1714	Benj. Bennet . . .	1674-1726
John Hutchinson .	1674-1737	Isaac Watts . . .	1674-1748
Bishop Hoadley . .	1676-1761	William Harris . . .	1675-1740
Anthony Collins . .	1676-1729	Daniel Wilcox . . .	1676-1733
Bishop Sherlock . .	1678-1761	Ebenezer Erskine . .	1680-1755
Thos. Stackhouse .	1680-1752	Moses Lowman . . .	1680-1752
'Whole Duty of Man'	1680	John Gale . . .	1680-1721
Bishop D. Waterland	1683-1740	Simon Browne . . .	1680-1732
Conyers Middleton .	1683-1750	Nathanael Lardner .	1684-1768
William Law . . .	1686-1761	Ralph Erskine . . .	1685-1752
John Jackson . . .	1686-1763	Jeremiah Seed . . .	1747
John Balguy . . .	1686-1748	R. Ricaltoun . . .	1691-1769
William Berriman .	1688-1749	John Leland . . .	1691-1766
Thos. Berriman . .	1689-1768	D. Jennings . . .	1691-1762
Joseph Butler . .	1692-1752	Joseph Hallet . . .	1692-1744
Bishop Warburton .	1698-1779	Jeremiah Jones . .	1693-1724
John Jortin . . .	1698-1770	Samuel Chandler . .	1693-1766
Archbishop Secker .	1700-1768	John Maclaurin . .	1693-1754
Thomas Adam . . .	1701-1784	John Taylor . . .	1694-1761
John Randolph . .	1701-1783	John Gill . . .	1697-1771
Bishop Newton . .	1704-1782	James Foster . . .	1697-1752
Philip Skelton . .	1707-1787	A. Benson . . .	1699-1763
Matthew Horbery .	1707-1773	Micaiah Towgood . .	1700-1792
Robert Lowth . . .	1710-1787	Alexander Cruden .	1701-1770
James Hervey . . .	1714-1758	Philip Doddridge . .	1702-1751
Samuel Walker . .	1714-1761	John Wesley . . .	1703-1791
John Heylyn . . .	1760	Samuel Wilson . . .	1703-1750
William Romaine . .	1714-1795	Benj. Waller . . .	1711-1782
Henry Stebbing . .	1716-1787	Hugh Farmer . . .	1714-1787
Jacob Bryant . . .	1715-1804	George Whitefield .	1714-1770
Thos. Balguy . . .	1716-1795	Thos. Harmer . . .	1715-1788
W. S. Powell . . .	1717-1773	Robert Walker . . .	1716-1783
Benj. Kennicott . .	1718-1783	Job Orton . . .	1717-1783
Bishop Hurd . . .	1720-1808	J. Blair . . .	1718-1800
Henry Venn . . .	1725-1797	John Newton . . .	1725-1807

Wm. Jones (Nayland)	1726-1800	George Campbell	1719-1796
John Parkhurst	1728-1797	John Erskine	1721-1803
William Newcome	1729-1800	James Macknight	1721-1800
Dr. Dodd	1729-1777	Alexander MacLaine	1722-1804
Thos. Percy	1729-1811	John Brown	1722-1787
Bishop Horne	1730-1792	J. C. Ryland	1723-1792
Bishop Porteous	1731-1808	Robert Sandeman	1723-1771
Bishop Horsley	1733-1806	Dr. Kippis	1725-1795
John Hey	1734-1815	Samuel Lavington	1726-1807
Bishop R. Watson	1737-1816	Samuel Stennett	1727-1795
William Paley	1743-1805	Alexander Gerard	1728-1795
Isaac Milner	1747-1797	J. Fletcher (Madeley)	1729-1785
Thos. Scott	1747-1821	Joseph Priestley	1733-1804
Samuel Parr	1747-1825	Abraham Booth	1734-1806
Thos. Robinson	1749-1813	Robert Robinson	1735-1790
Edward Tatham	1749-1834	Alexander Geddes	1737-1802
Joseph Milner	1750-1820	C. Evans	1737-1791
George Tomline	1750-1827	John Fawcett	1739-1817
Benj. Blayney	1753-1801	Joshua Toulmin	1740-1815
W. B. Kiwan	1754-1805	George Hill	1748-1820
George Wakefield	1756-1801	Edward Williams	1750-1813
Herbert Marsh	1757-1839	Thos. Belsham	1750-1829
John Venn	1759-1797	Charles Butler	1750-1832
Charles Simeon	1759-1836	Dr. Bogue	1750-1825
William Wilberforce	1759-1833	John Ryland	1753-1825
William Kirby	1759-1851	A. Alison	1757-1838
Bishop Van Mildert	1765-1836	Dr. J. Jameson	1758-1838
William Magee	1765-1831	Adam Clarke	1760-1832
Legh Richmond	1772-1827	Robert Hall	1764-1831
John Jebb	1775-1833	John Dick	1764-1833
John Davison	1777-1834	Benj. Boothroyd	1768-1836
Dr. D'Oyly	1778-1846	J. A. Haldane	1768-1851
Bishop Kaye	1780-1853	John Foster	1770-1843
Bampton Lectures begun	1780	Thos. M'Crie	1772-1835
T. H. Horne	1780-	J. Pye Smith	1774-1851
Michael Russell	1781-1848	Ralph Wardlaw	1779-1853
Edward Bickersteth	1786-1850	Dr. A. Thomson	1779-1831
Bishop Blomfield	1786-1857	Thos. Chalmers	1780-1847
Archbishop Sumner	1790-	Richard Watson	1781-1832
A. W. Hare	1793-1834	Walter Wilson	1781-1847
Edward Burton	1794-1836	Dr. John Brown	1785-1859
J. C. Hare	1795-1848	Robert Balmer	1787-1844
Benj. Fawcett	1718-1780	John Kitto	1804-1854

489. Strange as it may seem, the first complete English history that gained permanent reputation we owe to a Frenchman—
 Rapin de Thoyras. Rapin was one of those Hugue-
 History: nots whom the tyranny of Louis XIV. drove to Eng-
 Rapin, land. He reached this country in 1685, and obtained
 a small pension from William III. From considerations of economy,
 he settled at Wesel in the Duchy of Cleves, and after the labour
 of twenty years, finished his history. It was first published at
 the Hague in seventeen volumes, the last appearing in 1725,
 and was soon after translated into English by Nicholas Tyndal.
 Tyndal's translation contains also a continuation to 1760, written
 however chiefly by Dr. Birch. In writing his history, Rapin had
 the advantage of having examined Rymer's *Fœdera* and other
 collections of important documents. As a foreigner, however, he
 laboured under serious difficulties, and the earlier part of his work
 is very inexact. From the time of Henry VIII., he is more trust-
 worthy, and generally, with a slight leaning to the parliamentary
 side in the Civil War, he is free from partiality.

490. A better history in some respects is that of the nonjuring
 clergyman, Thomas Carte. By this time the conditions of his-
 torical compositions were greatly changed. The in-
 creasing exactness of learning in all subjects, the con-
 Cartes, troversies which had sprung up as to the political and personal
 character of great men, the prevalent scepticism, sometimes exces-
 sive, sometimes just, always demanding inquiry to silence it, had
 combined to raise the standard of investigation both in history
 and in philosophy. Carte seemed likely to meet this spirit of
 the age: he had all materials at his disposal, had carefully
 examined for the first time the Rolls of Parliament, while a
 good subscription list seemed to secure for him both space and
 independence. His first volume, *The History of England, by*
Thomas Carte, an Englishman, appeared in 1747, and proposed
 to be the commencement of a work of standard authority. Un-
 happily, he mentioned incidentally the cure of one Thomas
 Lovell 'by the touch of the descendant of a long line of kings,
 and immediately the loyal subjects of the house of Hanover
 took the alarm. Heaven had been represented as recognising
 the Pretender: the City withdrew its subscription, the Court
 frowned and the rest of the work was finished and published

under difficulties. The fourth volume did not appear till 1755, after the death of its author. The book is too prolix; but for copiousness of materials and general accuracy of statement, it is the best history that had as yet appeared. As a nonjuror, Carte's views on constitutional questions are to be received with great caution.

491. Before the last volume of Carte was published, a writer who had already gained celebrity in literature and philosophy by a course, it must be confessed, as eccentric as Hume. it was brilliant, undertook the, apparently, not very congenial task of writing a history of the House of Stuart. In 1754 appeared the first volume of what was afterwards to prove a history of England—the *History of the Reigns of James the First and Charles the First*, by David Hume. The second volume appeared in 1756. The *History of the House of Tudor* followed in 1759, and in 1761 two more volumes completed the work, by a kind of retrograde movement, from Julius Cæsar to Henry VII. The first volumes excited strong opposition, and sold slowly. Hume's impulse was to relinquish the work. After a while, however, it became exceedingly popular: edition followed edition, and the author was placed at the head of our English historians.

This history is, as a whole, of no high authority. Hundreds of errors have been pointed out in his narrative, some trivial, some important. He was too intolerant and too indifferent to be exact. With but little sympathy for freedom, he naturally leans to the side of government, even when it wields arbitrary power: hence his indifference to Raleigh and his fondness for James. He has no aspirations for the amelioration of the race, no appreciation of the religious principles which, in this country more, perhaps, than in any other, have controlled or influenced the course of public events. His love of paradox leads him to adopt ridiculous theories, and his pride of intellect leads him unwisely to maintain them. Yet, withal, his history is in style so fascinating and easy, in its grouping of facts so picturesque and dramatic, in its reflections so just and often profound, in its estimate of conflicting parties so sagacious, in its admissions in favour of opponents so fair, and in its protection of the interests of learning so liberal, that it will ever be regarded as an honour

to our literature. On questions that affect the interests of freedom or religion, and on all questions that require for their investigation patience and care, Hume is to be read with distrust. In other respects he is a model, differing as widely from previous annalists and compilers as the 'finished portraits of Reynolds from the rude draughts of a country artist.'

492. Meanwhile, another history was in course of publication, which the booksellers were to connect with Hume. In 1758, Dr. Smollett^a published in four volumes, *A Complete Smollett.*

History of England to the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, and afterwards continued it to the year 1765. The portion of this work from the Revolution to the death of George II., is usually printed as a continuation of Hume. The style is fluent, and the narrative is sometimes sketched with great fairness and skill, as in the history of the Rebellion of 1745-1746; but the work abounds in errors, and must have been written without the study or thought which such a publication demands.

493. The influence of style in our histories is remarkably shown in the success of Goldsmith as a historian. In 1763 he published *A History of England in Letters from a Goldsmith.*

Nobleman to his Son, which was ascribed successively to Lords Chesterfield, Ossory, and Lyttelton. Its popularity induced the author to compile a more extended history of England, and to prepare abridgments of Grecian and Roman history. These works have absolutely no authority as histories, and yet from the purity of the style and the grace of the composition they have had a most extensive sale.

494. In 1771, Dr. Robert Henry (1718-1790) announced a history of England on a new plan. He proposed to publish twelve volumes, each to be divided into seven chapters, on Henry.

the civil and military, and the ecclesiastical affairs, the laws and constitution, the literature, the arts, the commerce, and the manners of the nation during the period. He died, however, after completing the sixth volume, which brings down the narrative to the death of Henry VIII. The work was afterwards completed in 1793 by Malcolm Laing. For this history, Henry received the sum of 3200*l.* from the booksellers, and from

^a See par. 519

the Crown a pension of 100*l.* a year—a reward not due to his style or even to the accuracy of the research, but to the growing interest among all classes in the domestic life of our ancestors and in the condition of the people. Henry was the first to direct attention to these themes. His idea has been carried out with a large amount of corrected and additional information in the popular history of England by Charles Knight. ‘Mrs. Markham’s’ *History of England* is a convenient compendium of the more important results of Henry’s inquiries.

495. Two other great names as historians in this country are Robertson and Gibbon.

Robertson. William Robertson (1721–1793), a Presbyterian minister who rose to be principal of the University of Edinburgh and leader of the ‘Moderates’ in the church of Scotland, appeared as a historian in 1759. In that year he published his *History of Scotland during the Reigns of Queen Mary and James the Sixth*. In 1769 he published his *History of the Emperor Charles the Fifth*, and in 1777 his *History of America*. The first work, for which he received 600*l.*, gained him a high reputation in his own country: the second and third extended his fame throughout the civilized world. The *History of Charles the Fifth* was translated into French by M. Suard, and the *History of America*, after being warmly praised by the Royal Academy of History at Madrid, was about to be translated into Spanish when the government prohibited the translation, from a desire apparently of preventing discussion on their American administration.

The style of Robertson is not equal to Hume’s in purity or grace or simplicity, and is somewhat open to Cowper’s charge of ‘pomp and strut,’ but it excited admiration and even surprise among his English contemporaries, and is specially commended by Horace Walpole—no mean judge. His chief excellence, however, is the skill with which he masters detail and places them in a luminous order, conducive alike to perspicuity and to a philosophic estimate of causes and results. His introductory chapter in the *History of Scotland* and his first volume in the *History of Charles the Fifth* are remarkable instances of this skill; while his *History of America* will never lose its interest, so varied and accurate is the information, so graceful the narrative, so just and striking are the reflections which it contains.

496. Edward Gibbon (1737-1794), descended from an ancient family settled in Hampshire, was born at Putney. He entered Oxford with an amount of erudition, he tells us, that Gibbon.

would have puzzled a doctor, and a degree of ignorance of which a schoolboy would have been ashamed. From reading the works of Bossuet, and of Parsons the Jesuit, the author of a book^a which was the means of Richard Baxter's conversion, he became a Roman Catholic. Thereupon his father sent him to Lausanne to be under the care of a Protestant minister, M. Pavilliard, who ultimately prevailed upon his pupil to return to the Protestant church. In the latter he became 'a philosopher' as the term was then used. All religions were considered, he tells us, by the 'Roman people equally true, by the philosophers equally false, by the magistrate equally useful,' and this seems to have been his own creed. He nowhere avows his disbelief, but he attacks the Christian faith in the way which Byron has so justly described :

‘ Sapping a solemn creed with solemn sneer.

After visiting England he returned to the continent; and while at Rome in 1764 his long cherished desire to write some historical work took a definite shape from a romantic incident. ‘ As I sat mute,’ says he, ‘ amidst the ruins of the Capitol while the friars were saying Vespers in the Temple of Jupiter, the idea of writing the decline and fall of the city started in my mind.’ He came again to England, but did nothing for some years to carry out his scheme. At length after the death of his father he commenced the composition of his history. In 1776 the first volume appeared, and immediately had almost unprecedented success : three editions were at once published, and both the public and the scholars greeted the author with applause.

Meanwhile he had entered Parliament and was an earnest supporter of Lord North in the struggle between Great Britain and the American colonies ; ‘ a mute member,’ he tells us—for the great speakers filled him with despair, and the bad ones with terror—but not inactive, for he was for a time one of the Commissioners of trade and plantations. In 1781 the second and third volumes of his history appeared and then being disappointed of a place under government, and finding it needful to retrench,

^a *Bunny's Resolutions.*

he retired to Lausanne. Four years more of work enabled him to complete his history, 'and on the 27th of June, 1787, between eleven and twelve at night he wrote the last lines of the last page in a summer-house in his garden.' It is instructive to note that, though he composed the first chapter of his history three times before he was satisfied with it, and the second and third twice, *the first rough draft* of all the rest was sent to the press, and not a sheet was seen by any person but the author and the printer.

On the completion of his work he brought the manuscript to London, where it was printed in three volumes more. He then went back to Lausanne, where he resided till 1793. The French Revolution and the death of old friends made the place distasteful to him. He returned to London, and after undergoing a surgical operation died without pain, and apparently without any sense of his danger, on the 16th of January, 1794.

Gibbon's purpose originally was to review 'the state and revolutions of the Roman city' from the twelfth to the sixteenth century. But the plan was greatly extended, and now his history commences with the reign of Trajan (A.D. 98) and ends with the fall of the Eastern empire in 1452: three supplemental chapters being devoted to his original theme. It is in short *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.

The quality in this work that first strikes an intelligent reader is the extent and variety of its learning, and the skill with which the author uses it. Not only are all the events of the history of the principal countries of Europe and Asia mastered and reproduced on these pages, but there must have been mastered also all the accessories of the history, the art of war, the philosophy, the theology, the jurisprudence, the minute geography of each nation, with all the facts on manners, opinions, and public characters essential to a right appreciation of the state of society in different nations and at different times. All must have been studied with great diligence, as all have been mastered and grouped with marvellous success. The results moreover are not only set forth in clear and lucid order, but are quickened into life. The author has identified himself with everything he describes except religion, and paints scenery and manners with all the animation of a native or of an eye-witness.

Yet there are serious deficiencies. The style wants simplicity and purity: its ornateness and pomp fatigue the ear and displease

the taste. Possessing no depth of moral feeling or nobleness of sentiment, the author never touches the grander chords of the heart or creates generous enthusiasm; while his errors and his omissions give at first an impression unfavourable to his honesty and truthfulness which is not altogether without foundation. When Guizot, his French translator, first read the book, looking only at its artistic skill, he was filled with admiration. On examining it the second time, to compare its quotations with the originals and to weigh the narrative, he formed a strong judgment of its unfairness and partiality. A third reading led him to admit that the immensity of the author's research, the variety of his knowledge, and above all the soundness of his discrimination, made the book in spite of its faults one of the noblest contributions to historical science. It may be added that the notes and corrections of Guizot, of Wenck the German commentator, and of Milman are all included in the recent and best editions of Gibbon's work.

On moral and religious questions the history is very unsatisfactory. In the fifteenth and sixteenth chapters he gives an account of the growth of Christianity, which he traces entirely to secondary causes, without reference to its Divine origin, and in a way to suggest that it owes nothing to its Divine Author or to the indwelling Spirit. These chapters have often been criticised, and we are indebted to them for a volume of permanent interest, Bishop Watson's *Apology for (i.e. defence of) the Bible*. It is a more serious fault, because it pervades the book, that the author's imagination is dead to the moral dignity of the Christian system. 'There are occasions indeed when its manifestly beneficial influence compels even him to fairness, and kindles his unguarded eloquence into unusual fervour; but he soon relapses into a frigid apathy, affects an ostentatiously severe impartiality, and notes all the faults of Christians with bitter and almost malignant sarcasm.'^a Julian the Apostate is his idol; let a Christian bishop or a religious king appear, and immediately he hints at enthusiasm, or superstition, or roguery, and often his sneers or cavils 'leave their trail upon the purest virtue and the most exalted heroism.'

497. Small portions of the field of history were cultivated with

^a Milman.

special care by various authors. To William Harris (1720-1770), a dissenting minister of Devonshire, we owe memoirs of James I., Charles I., Cromwell, and Charles II.: the text is of little worth, but the notes at the foot of each page contain original documents of importance. To Lord Lyttelton we owe a *History of the Reign of Henry the Second*, published between 1764 and 1771; a somewhat dull book, but valuable for its facts. To Dr. Birch (b. 1705), Secretary of the Royal Society, we owe a volume of *Historical Memoirs and Lives*, including those of Elizabeth, Raleigh, and others. To him we are also indebted for the publication of Thurloe's *State Papers*, as is the British Museum for a large collection of literary materials. To Charles James Fox, statesman and orator (1749-1806), we owe a history of the early part of the reign of James II., with an introductory chapter which gives our constitutional history from the time of Henry VII. Fox was very scrupulous of the purity of his language, 'admitting no word for which he had not the authority of Dryden.' He took great pains to verify all his statements. The principles he advocates are noble and generous, but his history wants force and life. It was published by Lord Holland in 1808. To James Grainger we owe a *Biographical History of England* from Egbert to the Revolution, published between 1769 and 1774. It was continued by Mark Noble and by Miller to our own century.

Particular portions of Scottish history are discussed by William Tytler, of Woodhouselee (1711-1792), in his *Inquiry concerning Mary Queen of Scots*, in which he examines the history of Robertson and Hume; by Dr. G. Stuart (1742-1786) in a *History of Scotland* and in a *Dissertation on the British Constitution*, works written 'in a florid style, but disfigured, it is said, by affectation and prejudice'—of him the story is told that he declined to examine some important historical manuscripts, on the ground that he had not time to examine even all the printed materials within his reach; by Lord Hailes, who published in 1776-1779 the *Annals of Scotland* from Malcolm III. to the accession of the house of Stuart; by John Pinkerton (1758-1825) in his *History of Scotland preceding the reign of Malcolm the Third*, i.e. 1056, and in his *History of Scotland* during the reign of the

Stuarts (1796). both books displaying great research and competent learning; by Malcolm Laing, an ardent friend of liberty, in his *History of Scotland* from James VI. to Queen Anne (1800 and 1804)—‘his merit as an inquirer and judge, both of evidence and of facts, has never been surpassed, though his narrative is wanting in clearness and ease.’^a

498. Nor were other fields neglected. Between 1757 and 1771 N. Hooke produced his *Roman History*, which begins with the building of the city, and continues to the downfall of Hooke, etc. the Commonwealth. The work was patronised by Pope, and still retains its place in our literature. In 1783 Dr. Adam Ferguson (1724-1816), the friend of Robertson, and Professor, first of Natural. and then of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, published his *History of the Progress and Termination of the Roman Republic*. It is written in a style which Gray calls ‘short-winded and sententious,’ and is certainly dry, but it forms a valuable compendium, and is illustrated by many just reflections. In 1786 Dr. J. Gillies (1747-1836), historiographer royal for Scotland, published the *History of Ancient Greece*, in two volumes quarto. The work is intended to illustrate the value of hereditary monarchy, and is executed with considerable ability. It has passed through at least six editions, and still holds its place among the great books of the last century. Gillies is also the author of a history of the world from Alexander to Augustus.

One of the earliest histories of Greece, written with something like the fulness which Gibbon has used for the history of Rome, was the work of William Mitford (1744-1827). Mitford was a member of an ancient Northumberland family, and having succeeded to some landed property, he devoted his life to classical and historical study. The first volume was published in 1784, the last in 1810, and it has since passed through several editions. Byron speaks of him as praising tyrants, spelling oddly, and writing quaintly, and then adds that he is perhaps the best of all modern historians, his Greece being written ‘with great learning, labour, research, wrath, and partiality,’ these last giving earnestness and passion. Mitford is, like Gillies, an ardent advocate of monarchy against democracy. The history of Greece has been

^a *Edinburgh Review*.

written in our time with still more learning and with different political leanings by Dr. Thirlwall and by Mr. Grote.

In 1776, R. Watson, Professor of Rhetoric and Principal of one of the colleges at St. Andrew's, wrote a history of Philip II. of Spain, in continuation of Robertson's. In 1796, William Roscoe (1753-1831), a Liverpool banker, and for a short time member of parliament for his native city, published his *Life of Lorenzo de Medici*, and a little later (1805), his *Life of Leo X.* The two works give the history of the time between Gibbon's *Decline* and Robertson's *Charles the Fifth*. The former was very successful, and both have been prepared with great care. In 1779 Dr. William Russell (1741-1793), a native of Selkirkshire, who raised himself to a position in literature amid many difficulties, published his *History of Modern Europe* to the year 1763. Additions have been made to it by later writers, and it still holds its place as a standard work. In 1763-1768 Robert Orme published a *History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan* from 1745 to 1761, a full and able account, to which all later writers are indebted. The best *History of British India*, however, is that of James Mill (1773-1836), published in 1817-1818. Mill himself was a man of acute mind, and the friend of Bentham: he took also a high place among the original metaphysical thinkers and writers of his age. After the publication of his history he entered the service of the East India Company. His work has been continued to the year 1835 by the late Professor H. H. Wilson.

499. In 1736-1765 the London booksellers published a compilation called *A Universal History*. It is a work of great research, seven volumes folio being devoted to ancient history, and sixteen to modern history. It was also published in octavo in sixty volumes, and sometimes in sixty-five. The principal writers were Archibald Bower (1686-1766), a native of Dundee, educated at St. Omer's, and afterwards a convert to Protestantism, author of a *History of the Popes*; Dr. J. Campbell (1709-1775), author of *Lives of the Admirals*, and of many lives in the *Biographia Britannica*; George Sale (1680-1736), translator of the Koran; and George Psalmanazar (1679-1763), a Frenchman, who pretended to be a native of Formosa, and in proof invented

Universal
History.

a Formosan alphabet and grammar: Johnson, who knew him well, speaks of him, however, as afterwards a truthful and good man.

To these may be added Bolingbroke's *Lectures on the Study of History*, and much later George Miller's *History Philosophically Illustrated* (best edit. 1832), and Arnold's *Introductory Lectures on Modern History*, all of which discuss more or less the questions and principles which are to be kept in view in this study. 'The Philosophy of History,' as the science came to be called, is of comparatively modern origin, and is the basis of the 'Sociology' of our own times.

The last ten years of the reign of George II. are described in the *Memoirs of Horace Walpole*, son of the Whig statesman Sir Robert. In this work the secret machinery of government is keenly but not genially described. Walpole's last journal, edited by Dr. Doran, brings down the memoir from 1771 to 1783. His letters contain revelations of the same kind, but are written in a better tone, and are admirable specimens of that kind of composition. In 1775 Macpherson, the translator of Ossian, published a *History of Great Britain from the Restoration to the Accession of the House of Hanover*. This work is also of the nature of a memoir, and is intended to show the selfishness and the intrigues of the chief movers in the Revolution. Miss Burney's *Diary* gives clever sketches of the court of George III., but is for historical purposes of small value. These secret histories, it may be added, give a very unfavourable impression of the public virtue of many great men. And it may be observed generally that the minute and incidental details given by memoir writers are often more interesting and more suggestive of the great lessons of history, than the general narrative of later and probably more philosophic historians.

These facts show that in the eighteenth century history was a favourite study. No other literary labour was more remunerative, nor did any other so readily raise those who excelled in it to distinction.

500. Among the memoirs of this century, and occupying a middle place between history and biography proper, are the *Memoirs of the Reign of George the Second*, by John Lord Hervey, the Sporus of Pope, and the husband of Mary Lepell.

Hervey was a great favourite of Queen Caroline's, and has drawn one of the most humiliating pictures of court life ever given. His *Memoir* extends from 1727 to 1737, and was published in 1848 by J. W. Croker.

501. The biography also of this period is very rich, especially if we include, as we conveniently may, the earlier part of the nineteenth century. It is not possible, however, to do more than enumerate the classes into which personal memoirs are generally divided. There are (1) collections of universal biography, (2) of national biography, (3) of class biographies, and (4) individual biographies, autobiographical and otherwise.

Biographies
classified.

1. Among the earliest general biographies is the *General Biography* by Dr. John Aikin and others (1799-1815), in ten volumes—'a worthless compilation,' as Gifford somewhat too strongly calls it; the *General Biographical Dictionary*, of Alexander Chalmers (1812-1817), in thirty-two volumes, which is a much improved edition of the *London Biographical Dictionary*, of which several issues had appeared from the year 1763 downwards. In our own times we have the *Dictionary* of Rose, of Knight in his *English Encyclopædia*, and of Mackenzie. Bayle's *Dictionary* is an interesting book for those who love the biographical part of literature. It appeared in 1710, in four volumes folio, and was incorporated in the *General Dictionary, Historical and Critical*, published in ten volumes in 1734-1741.

2. Among national biographies the first place is due to the *Biographia Britannica* (1747-1766), a work of great research, but with serious omissions. The edition of Dr. Kippis (1777-1793) is much more full, but it was never carried farther than the commencement of the letter F. A good and complete biographical dictionary of eminent Englishmen is still therefore a *desideratum*.

3. Of class biographies we have many examples; Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*; Hartley Coleridge's *Lives of Northern Worthies*; Campbell's *Lives of the Chief Justices* and of the *Chancellors*; Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*; Chambers' *Lives of Eminent Scotsmen*; Cunningham's *Lives of the Painters*; Carne's *Lives of Eminent Missionaries*.

4. Among personal biographies may be mentioned, as holding

a high place, Boswell's *Johnson*, Scott's *Dryden* and *Swift*, Southey's *Nelson*, Currie's *Burns*, Hayley's *Cowper*—with the later lives by Southey and Grimshaw, all enriched with the inimitable letters of the poet,—Lockhart's *Scott*, and Carlyle's *Cromwell*. Boswell is justly regarded as the prince of biographers. Among autobiographies are Gibbon's *Memoirs*, and many besides, though in these last we are less rich than our French neighbours.

502. True biography, let it be carefully noted, is not of the outer life but of the inner—the life of the soul. It should describe the growth in intelligence and in holiness of an immortal spirit, and possesses a charm for thoughtful men beyond that of most other compositions. The mere outer life of many men, however, has often deep interest, and may exercise greater power over the destinies of nations than any material forces, whether of circumstances or of nature. Secular history, in fact, is largely the outer life of *great* men, as the history of everything holy and divine on earth is the inner life of *good* men.

503. The antiquarians of the eighteenth century are comparatively few. William Stukeley, rector of St. George's, Queen Square, London (1687–1765), wrote the *Itinerarium Curiosum*, in which he gives an account of the *Antiquities and Curiosities of Great Britain*. Edward King (1735–1801), a barrister, and author of *Observations on Ancient Castles*, and of *Munimenta Antiqua*, in three volumes folio, describes the English architecture prior to the Conquest. John Whittaker, the author of the *History of Manchester*, appends to his work a review of Celtic and Roman antiquities. Thomas Pennant (1726–1798) published an account of his tour into Scotland and Wales, and gave much antiquarian information, as well as pleasant details of natural scenery. Francis Grose (1731–1791) wrote *Antiquities of England and Wales*, which appeared in 1773, and *Antiquities of Scotland*, which appeared in 1789. Neither Pennant nor Grose is reckoned a high authority. Richard Gough (1735–1809) is celebrated both as a topographer and as an antiquary: his *British Topography, Topographical Monuments of Great Britain*, and his edition of Camden display much industry, and are deemed of great value in those departments. John Nichols (1745–1826) is

True biography what?

Antiquities.

known chiefly as the editor of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, which he conducted for nearly fifty years. He is also the author of *Volumes of Anecdotes*, and of illustrations of literature in the eighteenth century. As an antiquary he wrote the *History and Antiquities of Leicester* (1795-1811), and the *Royal Progresses of Queen Elizabeth and James the First*. Fosbrooke's *Encyclopædia of Antiquities* (1824), and Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, published with additions by Sir H. Ellis in 1808, are works of great research and value as repositories of curious information. The *Every Day Book* (1825-1827) and *The Year Book* (1832) of William Hone also contain many delineations of olden life and manners.

504. Travellers and books of travels multiply with the increasing enterprise of the age; but the eighteenth century is, on the whole, not so fruitful in proportion as the seventeenth and nineteenth. *The Voyage round the World in 1740-1744*, by George Lord Anson (1697-1762), immortalised, as Cowper says, 'by tears of heroes if not of bards,' is described by Richard Walter in 1748. The three voyages of Captain James Cook (1772-1780) have been described by Cook himself and by others who shared with him the perils and honours of his discoveries. Byron's *Discoveries on the Coast of Patagonia*, and Vancouver's *Voyages and Discoveries* are all known. The collection of voyages and travels in seventeen volumes by John Pinkerton (1758-1825), published in 1801, gives a good summary of the results of discovery up to his time.

Travels of another kind and for a different purpose were undertaken by Arthur Young, who made tours through France between 1787 and 1789 to ascertain the resources of the country and to promote by comparison the interests of agriculture in England. He commenced the *Farmer's Calendar*, to which George III. sometimes contributed, and is the author of a number of treatises on rural economy.

Towards the close of the century, an embassy was sent to China, Lord Macartney (1737-1806) being placed at its head, and Sir George Staunton (1737-1801) being appointed secretary of legation. The former published his *Journal*, and the latter his *Authentic Account of the Embassy*. Both added greatly to our knowledge of the empire and people of China.

James Bruce of Kinnaird (1730-1794) devoted many years to travelling in Abyssinia, with the hope of discovering the source of the Nile. In 1790 he published his *Travels*, and his narrative is one of great interest. At first it was received with suspicion, but later inquiry has, in substance, confirmed it. Between 1805 and 1810, Henry Salt visited the same district, though without reaching so far as Bruce had gone.

In Central Africa, one of the most successful travellers was Mungo Park (1771-1805), whose *Travels*, written in a manly style and replete with natural feeling, were published in 1799 and in 1815.

Attempts were made in 1822 to reach Central Africa from the shores of the Mediterranean by Denham, Clapperton, and Dr. Oudney. They reached Lake Tshad, and in 1826, the two former, the survivors of the expedition, published a narrative of their travels. In 1825, Clapperton again started for Africa, and succeeded in crossing the continent from Tripoli to the Bight of Benin: he died, however, in trying to reach Timbuctoo, and gave up his task to his servant, Richard Lander. For Lander was reserved the honour of discovering the course of the Niger, down which river he sailed in 1830. The account of his travels was published in three volumes by Murray, who is said to have given a thousand guineas for the copyright. A second expedition was less successful. Lander was wounded by a musket shot on the Niger and died at Fernando Po. The history of this journey was written by two officers of the expedition, Macgregor Laird and Mr. Oldfield. Already other parts of Africa had been visited and described by Mr. Bowdich in his mission to Ashantee; by the Rev. John Campbell in his *South Africa*, giving an account of his travels to Lattakoo (1819), and in Burchell's *Southern Africa* (1822). The works of Bowdich and Campbell have special interest. The discoveries of Livingstone, Krapf, Barth, and Speke, belong to our own day.

Somewhat earlier, J. L. Burckhardt (1785-1817) had visited Egypt, and had collected large materials illustrative of the state of that country. His *Journal and Letters* are of great value, and were published after his death between 1819 and 1830. John B. Belzoni also spent four years in Egypt (1815-1819), where he obtained a large collection of Egyptian antiquities, many of which are now in the British Museum. He published a *Narra-*

tive of his Operations in 1820, and soon after died on his way to Timbuctoo.

One of the most voluminous travellers, as well as one of the most instructive, was Dr. E. D. Clarke (1769-1822), the first Professor of Mineralogy in the University of Cambridge. He visited a large part of Europe and of Western Asia, and published his travels in six volumes. The facts are carefully collected, and the style is clear and polished. For these volumes the author received the sum of 7000*l.*, and they became at once popular.

Travels in classical lands received a great impulse in modern times from a work entitled *Travels of Anacharsis the Younger in Greece during the Middle of the Fourth Century before the Christian Era*. It was written in French by the Abbé Barthélemy, and gives, in connexion with fictitious history, a picture of the state of Greece in the days of Pericles, sketched with great skill and beauty. It was translated into English in 1791, and excited an enthusiastic attention to the history and geography of that country. It was followed, after a considerable interval, by Sir John C. Hobhouse's *Journey through Albania*, by Edward Dodwell's *Classical Tour through Greece* (1819), and by Sir William Gell's *Journey to the Morea* (1823). The Tour of Dodwell, especially, is an able and voluminous work.

For Italy we have the long popular but not very accurate *Tour* of Eustace, an English Catholic priest who visited that country as tutor; the *Letters from the North of Italy*, by Stewart Rose addressed to Mr. Hallam; the *Italy* of Lady Morgan (1821), a 'faithful' narrative, as Byron calls it, but wanting in delicacy; and other works by Beckford, Brockedon, etc.

Arctic discovery was promoted by the Rosses, Parry, and Franklin; eastern travel by Rae Wilson, C. James Rich, J. S. Buckingham, Dr. Madden, and John Carne; in Persia by Sir John Malcolm, Sir W. Ouseley; in Georgia and Babylonia by Sir R. K. Porter; in the Holy Land by J. L. Stephens; and in the farther East by Sir Stamford Raffles, J. B. Fraser, Lieut.-Colonel Tod, and Sir Alexander Burnes.

The travels and discoveries of our own day are certainly second to none in the last two hundred years.

A very convenient summary of information on the actual state of the world may be found in the *Modern Traveller* of Jcsiah Conder. It was published in thirty volumes, between 1824 and

1831, and has been largely popular, as many as ten thousand copies of some of the volumes having been sold. Books on the same subject were published under the same title in the previous century: the collection of Pinkerton is the completest we have for that period.

505. Cyclopædias are dictionaries not of words, but of things, and include in modern usage, arts and sciences, history, geography, biography, antiquities, and general knowledge. A modern cyclopædia is a library in epitome, with the single exception of poetry and the literature of the imagination. The importance of publications of this kind may be gathered from the fact that every principal country of Europe, except Portugal, has its cyclopædia; and that in the *Nouveau Manuel de Bibliographie* of M. Denis and others, the names of a hundred and eighty-nine cyclopædias are given as having left the press since the invention of printing.

The earliest cyclopædias in English literature were dictionaries of arts and sciences only, not of biography or of history. The first was Harris' *Lexicon Technicum; or, a Universal English Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*, and appeared in one volume folio in 1704: among its contributors was 'Mr. Isaac Newton. The first work which bore the name of cyclopædia was the famous *Cyclopædia; or, Universal Dictionary of the Arts and Sciences*, by Ephraim Chambers, published in 1728. These two volumes obtained wide circulation, and were imitated and expanded about twenty years later in the still more famous *Encyclopédie* of Diderot and D'Alembert (1751-1777), which was the first to secure a reputation in France. Chambers' was a dictionary of the arts and sciences only, and it retained that character till it reappeared in the larger and more comprehensive form of Rees' Cyclopædia in forty-five volumes. Before any of these works were published, there had appeared in France the dictionaries of Corneille, the brother of the great dramatist, and of Furetière, or from the place where it was published, of 'Frevoux;' and these appeared before the close of the seventeenth century, and were long popular, especially the last. They give an account not only of arts and sciences, but of the language. The *Encyclopædia* of Diderot added the names of places, though biography was still

excluded. It also sought not only to supply information but to direct opinion in religious, philosophical, and political matters. In a later edition of the same book, commenced in 1782, published under the name of the *Encyclopédie Méthodique* much new matter was added.

About 1770, Goldsmith wrote the prospectus of a cyclopædia, which he proposed to edit, and to which articles were promised by Johnson, Burke, and Reynolds; but the plan was not favoured by the booksellers, and was stopped by Goldsmith's death in 1774.

In 1745, M. de Coetlegon published a *Universal History of the Arts and Sciences*, and in 1754, a similar work was published by a society of gentlemen in nine volumes octavo.

In 1771 appeared the first edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, professedly written by a society of gentlemen in Scotland, though the society really consisted of Mr. William Smellie alone. Here, for the first time, *all* the details of science and art were arranged in alphabetical order—a plan of great advantage to the mere learner, though of less advantage to the student. The success of this encyclopædia, however, was not complete till in the next edition its character was changed. It was then made a cyclopædia of biography and history, and indeed of the whole circle of learning and knowledge.^a

In this wider meaning of the word, the cyclopædia had, as its precursor, the *Historical Dictionary* of Moreri;^b and earlier still, the encyclopædia of Alsted in 1620, and the *Lexicon Universale* of Hoffman in four volumes folio (1677–1683).

At Venice there appeared, in 1701, the first volume of a *Bibliotheca Universale* to be completed in forty-five folio volumes.

In English, the earliest exclusively Biographical Dictionary was commenced by Osborne in 1761. In its third edition it was edited by Alexander Chalmers, whose name has given a title to the whole work.

In Germany, Zedler planned a complete *Universal Lexicon*, which however stopped in 1754, when it reached the sixty-eighth volume. It was soon followed however, by similar works, of which the one published in 1704 under the title of *Reale Staat reitungund Conversations-Lexicon* was destined to give a name to

^a See for a history *Quarterly Review*, vol. 70.

^b Lyons, 1637.

several similar undertakings. It continued to be popular for upwards of a century, and this *Conversations-Lexicon* was made the basis of many literary enterprises. Brockhaus' *Conversations-Lexicon*, so called from the name of its publisher, was first translated into the English language (1829-1832) in the United States by Francis Lieber under the title of *Encyclopædia Americana*, and in 1841-1862 it was reprinted at Glasgow, with additional matter, under the name of *Popular Cyclopædia*. A translation of the latest edition is now in course of publication in London and Edinburgh under the name of Chambers' *Cyclopædia*. Meanwhile in America the *American Cyclopædia* by Ripley and Dana is the most successful.

The Encyclopædias published in England have been very numerous. Rees' (originally Chambers') appeared in forty-five volumes, but is generally regarded as too diffuse and commonplace. The *Edinburgh Encyclopædia* by Brewster, the *Encyclopædia Perthensis*, *Encyclopædia Edinensis*, the *Encyclopædia Londinensis*, the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana* (twenty-nine volumes, 1847), and the *British Cyclopædia* (1835-1838) have appeared in succession, and all, with the exception perhaps of the *Metropolitana*, have taken but a second place. The chief encyclopædias are the *Britannica* and the *Penny*, or as it is now called in its later issues, the *English Cyclopædia*. The latter is not a mere reprint of the *Penny* but is largely original. The biographical portion contains, for example, brief biographies of hundreds of living men, all of whom are excluded from the *Penny Cyclopædia* and from the *Britannica*. The last editions of both contain also very able articles on recent discoveries written by eminent men of our own age. Many articles from all the cyclopædias have been published separately as distinct treatises. Whately's *Logic* and *Rhetoric* for example first appeared in the *Metropolitana*, where also Richardson's *Dictionary of the English Language* was first published. The *English Cyclopædia* is also divisional, *i.e.*, it is published as four distinct works, the Biographical Dictionary of the English Cyclopædia; the Geographical Dictionary; the Dictionary of Natural History, and the Dictionary of Arts and Sciences. The *Encyclopædia Metropolitana* and the *British Cyclopædia* of Partington (1835-1838) are both divisional, and this is also the principle of the *Encyclopédie Méthodique*, a work in a hundred and sixty-six

quarto volumes of text and fifty-one volumes of plates. This French Cyclopædia took just half a century in publishing, being commenced in 1782 and finished in 1832. In magnitude it is the greatest work of its kind yet completed.

Akin to this last in size and in title is the *Encyclopédie Théologique* of the Abbé Migne, in a hundred and fifty-nine volumes issued between 1845 and 1860. It contains commentaries on Scripture, and treatises on theology, all in Latin. The same editor is now engaged in preparing a complete edition of the Greek and Latin Fathers extending to three hundred and thirty volumes, to which it is proposed to add two hundred indices. The *Encyclopédie Théologique* embraces more than ninety distinct dictionaries or cyclopædias, of which some are theological in name only.

There are no works in English that can compete in fulness with these volumes of Migne's. One of the earliest *Biblical Dictionaries* is that of Calmet, written originally in French and translated by Colson and D'Oyley (1732). It was published with important additions by Charles Taylor between 1797 and 1801. The bibliographical portion of the work shows an extensive acquaintance with Roman Catholic writers, while the references to Protestant writers are few and imperfect. The *Biblical Cyclopædia* of W. Jones was published in 1816 and had a considerable sale. The dictionaries of Kitto, Dr. Wm. Smith and Dr. Fairbairn belong to our own day, and exhibit a great advance in scholarship on their predecessors.

506. The historians of the nineteenth century are generally characterised by great care in their investigation of original records, memoirs, and Acts of Parliament, and sometimes by their style and philosophic spirit. The first effect of this investigation has sometimes been to change old opinions of public men and of important events: but as often it has confirmed them: while in other cases old opinions have been modified to represent more accurately the actual facts. Elizabeth, Cromwell, Henry VIII. have all gained or lost by this process; while both the Reformation and the Revolution have been attacked or defended with like results.

The writers who have done most to give this critical or philo-

sophic tone to history are Lingard, Turner, Mackintosh, Hallam, and Macaulay. A like sifting process has been carried on for Roman history by Niebuhr and Arnold, and for Grecian history by Mure and Grote.

507. Dr. Lingard, a Roman Catholic priest, published in 1819 three volumes of *A History of England*, and afterwards added five more, bringing down the narrative to the abdication of James II. His talents were of a high order, and he displayed great diligence in collecting and investigating much new material. There is therefore, a freshness about his narrative not often found in writings of this class. Generally he discusses controverted facts with candour (except on one subject) and acuteness, and gives the result without prolixity or confusion. His style is not unlike Gibbon's in the earlier volumes, but it becomes more easy and natural towards the close of his work. It is a deficiency of his history that it gives no comprehensive views of society and no profound reflections on human character, and for this reason it fails to rank in the highest place. On all political questions he preserves a rigid impartiality, an excellence that contrasts strangely with his bias when speaking of the Roman Catholic Church. Everywhere indeed he is calm and unimpassioned, affecting even indifference; but he displays nevertheless on this theme a want of candour and fairness which it is impossible to overlook. His earlier volumes are generally free from defects to justify this charge; nor is there much of which we can complain till he comes to the reign of the Tudors. Even then he is too skilful, too politic, or too honest to praise his own friends: he neither magnifies the virtues of Gardiner nor excuses the cruelties of Bonner; but he quietly lowers our estimate of their opponents not by sweeping conclusions but by incidental facts which he records with great simplicity and apparent fairness. He thus seeks to degrade the memory of Cranmer, and to darken the shades of the character of Elizabeth. His work was criticised by Dr. John Allen in the *Edinburgh Review*, by the Rev. J. H. Todd in his defence of the character of Cranmer, and by others. In 1826 Lingard vindicated his character as a historian, and defended himself with great calmness and skill. But he has certainly gone beyond the meaning of the authorities he has quoted, and has still more

frequently suppressed a portion of the truth. His work has passed through several editions, and has been introduced as a text-book in the universities of France.

Besides the *History of England*, Dr. Lingard is the author of a learned work on the *Antiquities* of the Anglo-Saxon Church (1809). He died in 1851, aged eighty-two.

508. Sharon Turner, a London solicitor (1768-1847), is the author of a series of works on English history which have gained S. Turner. for him no mean reputation. The first is a *History of the Anglo-Saxons* (1799), to which he devoted sixteen years of indefatigable diligence. The second is a *History of England during the Middle Ages*, extending ultimately to the reign of Elizabeth, the whole series forming twelve volumes. The earlier volumes are the best, but all display a love of truth highly commendable, and give much new interesting information on the laws and manners of the people. The great fault, especially of the later volumes, is in the style. It seems founded upon that of Gibbon, and is both pompous and intricate to a degree that often conceals the sense or excites the smile of the reader. Mr. Turner is also the author of a *Sacred History of the World* in three volumes, which contain a large amount of varied and interesting matter.

509. Sir James Mackintosh (1765-1832), claims a place in our literature as historian, metaphysician, politician, and critic. He Mackintosh. was educated for the medical profession, and had as a fellow-student Robert Hall. In 1788 he came to London and applied himself to law. In 1791 he published his *Vindiciæ Gallicæ*, in reply to Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution*. It is a remarkable specimen of historical knowledge and of logical power in a young man of six and twenty, and was received with great applause. Mackintosh confessed however, some years after, that like many other of the enthusiastic spirits of that age, he had been deceived in his hopes, and that the 'good time coming' was not yet come. In 1803, after having been called to the bar, he defended M. Peltier, a French refugee, who had been indicted for a libel on Napoleon, then First Consul. He was soon after appointed Recorder of Bombay, and after seven years of service returned to England with the usual pension of

1200*l.* a year. He now entered Parliament, and in 1827 was made by his friend Canning a Privy Councillor. As a Parliamentary orator, he gained no high position. He was an authority and an able speaker on questions of criminal law and national policy : on both subjects, he contributed to the *Edinburgh Review* articles of permanent interest. He wrote also three volumes of a comprehensive history of England for *Lardner's Cyclopædia*, besides three hundred and fifty pages of the History of the Revolution. The history was continued in *Lardner* by some writer who differs from Mackintosh even on important points. These volumes of Mackintosh are pervaded by calm and luminous philosophy, and they give important and just views of the English constitution, and of the changes through which it has passed ; but they are defective in style, and they are generally regarded as falling short of the admitted power of the writer. The work in which he has shown most power is his *Dissertation on the Progress of Ethical Philosophy*, prefixed to recent editions of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

510. One of the most learned of our constitutional writers is Henry Hallam (1778-1859). He was the son of the Dean of Wells, and was educated at Eton and Oxford, being afterwards called to the bar by the Inner Temple. As a Commissioner of Audit, he enjoyed at once competency and leisure, and devoted his time to historical and critical study. One of his earliest papers was a genial and candid criticism of Scott's Life of Dryden, published in the *Edinburgh Review* for 1808. His first historical work of importance was *A View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages* (1818), being an account of the state of Europe from the fifth to the fifteenth century. In 1827 he published his *Constitutional History of England* from the accession of Henry VII. to the death of George II., and in 1837-1838 his *Introduction to the Literature of Europe* in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. His *Constitutional History* is the best book on that subject, and his *Introduction to the Literature of Europe* is unrivalled for the justness of its criticism and the variety of its learning. He preserves in all his writings the judicial character ; and while advocating liberal principles he advocates them with great fairness without prejudice or passion. His style is grave and somewhat cold, but occasionally enriched

with imagery, grace, and feeling. His son, Arthur H. Hallam who died in 1833, is the subject of Tennyson's *In Memoriam*, and has left behind some touching *Remains* in verse and prose, which were printed in 1834. His other son, H. F. Hallam, was taken away, soon after his call to the bar, in 1850. These bereavements were felt keenly by the father, a man of warm and gentle affections. He himself died in 1859, at the age of eighty-three.

511. Thomas Babington, Lord Macaulay (1800-1859), is the author of some of the most remarkable productions of our age.

Macaulay. He was the grandson of the parish minister of Uist, and afterwards of Cardross. Lord Macaulay's father, Zachary, had been sent to Jamaica, where he was soon disgusted with the state of slavery which he found in that island, and on his return to England he became an active supporter of the plans of Clarkson and Wilberforce for the suppression of the slave trade. He married the daughter of a Bristol bookseller, and called his third son Thomas Babington, after the uncle in whose house at Rothley near Leicester the boy was born. Young Macaulay was educated at Cambridge, where he took high honours. He soon gained celebrity by his contributions to the *Etonian* and to Knight's *Quarterly Magazine*, and in 1825 wrote an able article for the *Edinburgh* on Milton—an article that bears marks of a youthful taste, but no less certainly of that genius which has made its author the most brilliant contributor to our critical literature. In 1826 he was called to the bar, and in 1830 he entered parliament. An appointment as legal adviser of the Supreme Council of Calcutta took him to India, where he was placed at the head of the commission for the reform of Indian law. The study of Indian history, to which that appointment led, produced the *Essays on Lord Clive* (1840) and on *Warren Hastings* (1841). In 1839, having returned to England, he was elected member for Edinburgh, and filled in succession the offices of Secretary at War and Paymaster of the Forces. His personal independence of character and some unpopular votes displeased some of his constituents, and he was rejected; but in 1852 he again became the representative of the Scottish metropolis without canvass or solicitation. In 1856 his failing health compelled him to leave parliament, and in the following year he was raised

to the peerage as Baron Macaulay of Rothley Temple. In 1859 he died full of honours, if not of years, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

In 1843 Macaulay published a selection of *Critical and Historical Essays* contributed to the *Edinburgh Review*, which are unrivalled among productions of this class. He excelled in all departments of criticism, especially in general literature, history, politics, and philosophy. His papers on Lord Bacon—written, it is said, on his voyage to India—on Horace Walpole, on Boswell's *Johnson*, on Addison, Byron, etc., have great literary value. His reviews of Hallam's *Constitutional History*, of Ranke's *Popes*, his sketches of Sir Robert Walpole, Chatham, Sir William Temple, Clive, and Hastings, form a series of brilliant historical pictures; while his recent contributions to the biographical portion of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* in the lives of Atterbury, Bunyan, Goldsmith, Johnson, and the second William Pitt, exhibit his powers in other and various departments.

His finest and most characteristic work is his *History of England* from the accession of James II., which he intended to bring down to a period within the memory of living men. The five volumes (1848-1861), the last being posthumous, give the history of little more than fifteen years, leaving nearly the whole of the eighteenth century untouched. The work is therefore in one sense only a fragment. Its success, however, was most extraordinary. Eleven large editions of the first volume had been called for before the second appeared, and all have been read either with intense anxiety or with intense admiration. Evidence of the careful examination of facts and documents, great logical clearness and strong sense, skill in analysing character and motives, and occasionally profound truth are manifest throughout. But the marvel of the volumes is the style, and the genius with which facts and events are grouped and described. Never was there such a combination of the good qualities of a history, sound morality, vivid fancy, rhetorical brilliance, fulness of detail, with distinctness and unity of impression. Sometimes, as may be supposed, the details are not minutely accurate; sometimes the colours are too strong, the figures even distorted, and whole classes caricatured. Penn has been charged with some one else's faults: Marlborough has a right to complain that the shades in

his portrait are deepened into blackness: there are scenes and manners of social life not more faithfully copied than some of the sketches of modern caricaturists. These facts, moreover, are signs of likes and dislikes—of a party spirit which the student sometimes fears may have coloured other pictures. The thoughtful reader may wish not seldom for something less passionate and more judicial; but it is nevertheless a marvellous work, and is fitly described ‘as one of the glories of our country and literature.’

512. Other modern treatises on history must be summarised very briefly.

Hume’s England is criticised and its errors are exposed by Brodie in his *History of the British Empire from the accession of Charles the First to the Restoration* (1822); and other writers. the heroes of the Civil War find a warm admirer in William Godwin, whose *History of the Commonwealth*, published between 1824 and 1828, contains a good deal of strong writing, though his verbose declamation is often wearying.

To Sir F. Palgrave we owe a *History of the Anglo-Saxons* (1831), a *History of the English Commonwealth* (1832), i.e. (as he uses that term) of the English community; and the *History of Normandy and of England* (1851–1857); all his works showing careful research.

To the family of the Tytlers we owe several histories. The representative of the family three generations ago was, as we have seen, ‘Revered Defender’ of Mary Queen of Scots, as Burns calls him. His son, Lord Woodhouselee, the Scottish judge, wrote a popular *Universal History* in four volumes; and his son, Patrick F. Tytler, is the author of a *History of Scotland*, built up, as he tells us, ‘upon unquestionable muniments.’

William Coxe, Archdeacon of Wells (1747–1828), is the author of a good *History of the House of Austria* (1807), and of memoirs of Sir Robert and Lord Walpole, as well as of Marlborough.

Southey has given us the *History of Brazil* in three volumes (1810), and the *History of the Peninsular War* (1823–1828), both written in easy idiomatic English; but the history of that war is that written by Colonel Napier, and published in six volumes (1828–1840). It is a model of vivid and clear narrative.

To William Smyth (1764-1849), Professor of Modern History at Cambridge, we owe *Lectures on Modern History*, written with great conscientiousness; and to his successor, Sir James Stephen, so long known as Under-Colonial Secretary, we owe *Lectures on the History of France* (1851), and various eloquent critical and historical contributions to the Edinburgh Review, some of which have been republished under the title of *Essays on Ecclesiastical Biography* (1853).

To John Dunlop (d. 1842) we owe a *History of Roman Literature*, a *History of Fiction* in three volumes, (1814) and a *History of Spain* from 1621 to 1700, all works of considerable merit, especially his *History of Fiction*.

William Cooke Taylor is known as author of a large number of popular histories—of *France* (1830), of *British India* (1842), besides Manuals of *Ancient History* (1838), and *Modern* (1838).

To the American historian, W. H. Prescott, the equal of Robertson in narration, and his superior in research, we owe the *History of Ferdinand and Isabella* (1837), the *History of Philip the Second* (1855-1858), the *Conquest of Mexico* (1843), the *Conquest of Peru* (1847), and other historical works. William Prescott is one of the most successful writers of this century; and it is said that his works have yielded between 4000*l.* and 5000*l.* a year.

Thomas Arnold (1795-1842), the well-known Master of Rugby, for a year Professor of Modern History at Oxford, and one of the most vigorous men of our age, is the author of the *History of Rome* to the end of the second Punic War. Arnold was a disciple of Niebuhr (1776-1831), who first sought to eliminate from the political chronicles of Rome the true history of the origin of that state. Arnold's *Lectures on Modern History* were published in 1843 after his death. He shares with Mackintosh and Grote the honour of illustrating ancient history by 'modern instances,' sometimes based on resemblance, oftener on contrast. Merivale's *History of Rome under the Empire* was intended to complete the history which Arnold's death left unfinished. Niebuhr's ballad-theory Sir G. C. Lewis has criticised at length in his *Inquiry into the Credibility of early Roman History* (1855). He denies that we have any materials for ascertaining the primitive history of the nations of Italy, but his scepticism in this respect is generally regarded as excessive.

The *History of the Literature of Ancient Greece*, commenced

by Müller, and continued after his death by Dr. Donaldson, appeared in 1838, and was completed in 1858. It is a valued narrative of Greek writers and of the progress of the schools of Greek philosophy. Nor must Mare's *Critical History of the Language and Literature of Greece* be omitted. It was published in 1840-1843 in four volumes, to which a fifth has since been added.

Grote's *History of Greece* extends to twelve volumes, and must have occupied, in writing, a large portion of thirty years. It begins with the earliest legendary history and closes with the age of Alexander. No other writer has so fully realised for himself and for his readers the actual history of the ancient Greek people, their manners and life.

All these investigations and discussions have modified our school histories. It is enough to mention the names of Keightley, Milner, Liddell, Schmitz, and Dr. William Smith, as diligent and successful labourers in this field.

Contributions to history have been made by a large number of living authors; among others by Alison, Burton, Carlyle, Chambers, Froude, Massey, Earl Stanhope, and Miss Strickland.

513. History is, in part, the record of human actions and of human character: it is, in part, the record of God's dealings with men. There is no subject, therefore, that more requires an intelligent Christian expositor; yet few histories have been written on avowedly Christian principles. Perhaps, if the principles are not decidedly anti-Christian, there is advantage in this arrangement; but it makes it the more important that the reader should himself keep a watchful eye on the lessons that are passing before him, and learn to see a Providence—God's hand in history—as in the cosmical arrangements of the universe he learns to see God's hand in nature.

CHAPTER VII.

THE NOVEL.

‘Poetry must be true, natural, and affecting; nay, in its most artificial array, that of pure fiction, it must be the fiction that represents truth.’—
MONTGOMERY’S LECTURES.

514. Prose Fiction: its late origin in English Literature. Its place how supplied. Early Romances, Plays, Essays. Sidney, Barclay, Hall, Godwin, Howell. *First Novel*, Robinson Crusoe. Bunyan.

515. De Foe, life, character and success of his works. Moral teaching.

516. Rapid increase of novel reading: its cause. Essayists.

517. Richardson’s life and novels: their character. 518. Fielding’s life and novels: their character. 519. Smollett’s life and novels: their character. 520. Sterne: his character and life. Novels: their influence. 521. Other Novelists, imitators of these: their character and moral influence.

522. Modern Novels classified:—

523. (a) Romances.—*Satirical*, Comic, Humorous: Swift, Irving, Dickens. 524. *Serious* and *Terrific*; Peter Wilkins, Castle of Otranto, Old English Baron, Miss Reeves. 525. Mrs. Radcliffe, her influence. Walpole. 526. Beckford. 527. Lewis. 528. Godwin, St. Leon. 529. Mrs. Shelley, Frankenstein. 530. Scott’s Monastery. Ingoldsby Legends. Croker. Mrs. Crowe. Objections to this class of Novels.

531. (b) Artistic Novels. Classified according to the power or emotion they excite—the country they describe, Scotch, English, Irish, American, Continental—the rank they describe, high-life, middle-life, low-life. Specimens of each class.

532. (c) Didactic Novels. 533. *Political*—Holcroft, Godwin, Martineau, Kingsley, Disraeli. 534. *Moral*—Rasselas, Moore’s Zeluco. 535. Miss Edgeworth. 536. Mrs. More, Mrs. Hamilton, Mrs. Brunton. 537. Recent Writers: Mrs. Hall, Miss Mulock, Miss Yonge, Miss Sewell, Warren, Mrs. Stowe. 538. Estimate of their moral teaching. The remedy of their deficiencies.

539. (d) Historical Novels: Miss Lee. Scott: his novels classified. 540. Other Writers: Collins, Bulwer Lytton, Kingsley, Grattan, James, Porter, Thackeray, etc.

541. (e) Novels of Adventure: Hope—Anastatius, Morier, Fraser, Hamilton, Marryatt, Mayne Reid, etc.

542. (f) Sensational Novels: their evils. 543. Number of Novels. 544. Estimate of their moral influence.

514. PROSE fiction is a comparatively recent product of English literature. As a delineator of manners, its place was previously supplied by such sketches as may be found in the Prologue to Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, or in the visions of *Piers Ploughman*; by the plays of Shakespeare, Jonson, and the dramatists of the Restoration, and later by the periodical papers of Addison, Steele, and the other so-called essayists. For the education of the fancy the people depended on the old metrical romances which abounded in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,^a and on translations. Among these last may be mentioned the knight-errantry romances of the sixteenth century, the novellettes of Boccaccio, and such French imitations of both as *The Palmerin in England* (Lyons, 1555; translated in 1581), *The Amadis de Gaul* (said English translations of early to be by De Herberay; translated in 1592), the novels. *Histoire des Amans Fortunés* (1558), ascribed to Margaret, Queen of Navarre; and last, though not least, the humorous writings of Rabelais. Spain, Portugal, Italy, and France were the sources whence these translations were taken. Nor have we in our older literature any original romance worthy of notice except the *Arcadia* of Sir Philip Sidney (1590). The *Argenis* of Barclay (Rome, 1622) was written in Latin, and is really a political allegory. The *Mundus alter et idem* of Joseph Hall, bishop and poet, is an imitation of the later and feebler volumes of Rabelais, and is a satire based on the supposed history of a Terra Australis. The *Man in the Moon*, a publication of Francis Godwin's (written about 1600 and published in 1638), contains some remarkably happy conjectures of modern discovery in natural philosophy, and

^a See specimens in Warton's *History of English Poetry*; and in the collections of Sir Egerton Brydges and Sir H. Ellis. Mallorye's Romance, *La Morte d'Arthur*, was first printed by Caxton (1485), and is a translation from several French romances. *The Seven Champions of Christendom*, by Johnson, is another, and is a compilation from several works. *The Turkish Spy*, the second volume of which was published in England in 1691, professes to be a translation from the Arabic through the Italian; but Hallam has given reasons for regarding

part of the work, all indeed after the first volume, as the production of an Englishman. The volumes profess to be written by an agent of the Porte who remained at Paris in disguise from 1635 to 1682. They consist of letters which give the history of the times. These letters suggested the *Persian Letters* of Montesquien and the *Jewish Letters* of Argens, probably also the *Chinese Letters* of Goldsmith, and in our own day the *Letters from Palmyra and Rome* (see par. 54c).

Howell's *Dodona's Grove* gives a history of the state of Europe, and especially of England, under the guise of the animated trees of a forest. But none of these are fictions in the modern sense;

Robinson
Crusoe, the
earliest Eng-
lish novel.

nor do we find any till we reach the days of De Foe, whose *Robinson Crusoe* occupies, not unworthily, the first place in this species of literature. The first place, I repeat; unless the reader prefer to assign that honour, as Hallam has done, to John Bunyan, whom he calls 'the father of our novelists.' In the *Pilgrim's Progress*, however, the story is so subordinate to the moral teaching that it is better to regard it as a work of theology than as a work of fiction.

515. Daniel de Foe, the true father, therefore, of the English novel, was born in 1661, and passed most of his life in London.

De Foe's
history.

He was successively hosier, tile-maker, woollen merchant, and political pamphleteer. After a busy life, in which he lost property and suffered much persecution, he abandoned business and politics, and in 1719, when, nearly sixty years of age, published his first prose fiction, *Robinson Crusoe*. The extraordinary success of this work induced him to write a number of others, and it was soon followed by *Religious Courtship*, the *History of Colonel Jack*, the *Memoir of a Cavalier*, the *History of the Great Plague in London*, etc. He wrote in all two hundred and ten books and pamphlets: after a long struggle with want and disease, he died in 1731.

The novels of De Foe, written after he had been weakened by age and by apoplexy, are a remarkable example of genius and energy; but they do not belong to the first class of

Character and
success of his
works.

prose fictions. He was defective, as Scott has remarked, in pathos, in passion, in delicacy of perception, and in delineation of character. His excellence is in the invention and relation of incidents. In the latter he uses a style of great purity, simplicity, and vigour; in the former he displays such an air of truth, while the events themselves are so natural, that it is difficult not to believe them real. His skill, indeed in feigning reality—the quality to which Dunlop^a ascribes most of

^a *History of Fiction.*

his success—is absolutely startling, and has deceived the most intelligent. Dr. Mead, the famous physician, appealed, for medical purposes, to the *Journal of the Great Plague*, and Lord Chatham recommended the *Memoirs of a Cavalier* as the most authentic account of the civil wars. His *True Relation of the Apparition of Mrs. Veal*, prefixed to Drelincourt *On Death*, not only sold an otherwise unsaleable book, but excited extensive inquiries into the alleged facts. So successfully did he ‘forge the handwriting of nature,’ as it has been called, that his banter was sometimes mistaken for serious argument. For writing *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters*, a work wherein he, himself a Dissenter, ironically recommends the stake and the gallows, he was put in the pillory. Other satirical writings were pronounced libellous, and some of all parties, both of those he attacked and those he really defended, joined in speaking of his punishment as richly deserved.

The moral teaching of De Foe in his novels is generally unexceptionable. The distinction between virtue and vice is carefully marked. But from taste or circumstances, he preferred low life. The best drawn characters of his works are pirates and thieves, while the study of them is unrelieved by those touches of nature or by that profounder insight into men’s motives which render other works of fiction, though liable to the same objection, both instructive and salutary. His *Robinson Crusoe* and his *History of the Great Plague* are exceptions to this criticism. The former, it is well known, has done much to man our navy, and has certainly fostered the shiftiness and practical skill for which Englishmen are often remarkable.

516. The success of De Foe called attention to this kind of literature, and the state of society in England at the beginning of the eighteenth century favoured the cultivation of it. Internal peace and the large increase of national wealth multiplied the number of those who read rather for amusement than for instruction. The stage had lost its attractions partly through the attack of Jeremy Collier and others, and partly through the low morality and defective genius of the dramatists of the Restoration. The popular want in this respect was met for a time by the periodical miscel-

His moral
teaching.

Rapid increase
of novel-
writing:
Its cause.

lanists. Steele with his *Tatler* (April 2, 1709, to January 2, 1711), Addison with his *Spectator* (1711-12, and again in 1714), the writers of the *Guardian* and the *Freeholder*, delighted all classes, 'adjusted the unsettled practice of daily intercourse with propriety and politeness, and exhibited the character and the manners of the age.'^a But when they had written themselves out and their style had become wearisome, or the public taste required a stronger stimulant, the experience of De Foe suggested a new provision for this intellectual appetite of the times, and Richardson, Fielding, Smollett, and Sterne, proceeded at once to supply it.

517. Richardson, a Derbyshire man, was the son of a joiner, and was himself brought up as a printer. He had an extensive business in London, and was successively printer to the House of Commons, master of the Stationers' Company (1754), and king's printer (1760). When about fifty years of age, he wrote his first novel (1741). Urged by some London booksellers to prepare a collection of familiar letters, it occurred to him that these letters would be more readable if connected with a regular narrative. This thought was acted upon, and in three months, *Pamela*, the 'true story' of a simple country girl, was published with such success, that five editions were exhausted in a single year. The book became the rage of the town. Pope praised it as likely to do more good than twenty sermons, and even Dr. Sherlock recommended it from the pulpit. In 1749 appeared his second and best work—the *History of Clarissa Harlowe*; and, in 1753, the novel in which he represents his model of 'a Christian and a gentleman,' *Sir Charles Grandison*. Richardson died in 1761, at the age of seventy-two, leaving behind him a high character for benevolence, gentleness, and—vanity.

Modern taste finds it difficult to read an eight-volumed novel. Even Lord Byron, who was fond of sensational reading, could not finish *Clarissa*. The epistolary style which Richardson adopts, and the large number of minute details with which his works abound are all against them. It must be admitted also, as Coleridge remarks, that the sensibility of his characters is excessive, and the pathos often overpowering

^a Johnson.

—qualities which Johnson, who loved strong moral painting, warmly commended. The reader, moreover, grows weary in being introduced only to great people, and cannot forget that it is in Richardson's back shop they are all created. Still Richardson has great excellences. His writings are full of pictures of the heart. 'He makes the passions move at the command of virtue.' His characters are firmly and yet delicately drawn. The story is always naturally evolved; and, as Scott puts it, 'had we been acquainted with the huge folios of inanity over which our ancestors yawned, we should have understood the delight they must have experienced from this unexpected return to truth and nature.'

518. Richardson is the originator of the novel of high life; nearly all his characters being taken from the 'upper ten thousand.' Henry Fielding, the novelist of the middle classes of society, sprang from a branch of the noble house of Denbigh. His father was a general in the army, and his mother the daughter of a judge. He was born in Shropshire in 1707. After an irregular course as law-student and dramatic author, he published his *Joseph Andrews* in 1742; in 1749, *Tom Jones*; and in 1751, his last novel, *Amelia*. He died at Lisbon in 1754, having paid a heavy penalty for the follies and excesses of his youth. In the later years of his life he gained both notoriety and experience as an active justice of the peace.

To ridicule Richardson's *Pamela*, Fielding made the hero of *Joseph Andrews* a brother of that lady, and Pamela herself he placed, more than once, in a somewhat discreditable position. This liberty Richardson never forgave. His novels. The Parson Adams of *Joseph Andrews* is one of Fielding's happiest characters. His *Tom Jones* has been pronounced by Macaulay and other critics the best English novel: and *Amelia*, whose character was sketched from Fielding's own wife, was the admiration of Dr. Johnson, who is said to have read the novel through at a single sitting. By Byron, Fielding is called 'the prose Homer of human nature;' 'nor has the world seen,' says Beattie, 'since Homer's days, a more artful epic fable.' Other writers have shown richer invention, profounder feeling, nobler virtue; but for humour, satire, freshness, vigour art in the

arrangements of incidents, and skill in the exhibition of genuine human nature without romance, the whole pervaded by a large infusion of wit and wisdom, the fruit of genius and experience, Fielding stands in this department unrivalled. Such was long the popular estimate, though it may be questioned whether modern taste confirms it. And even his best novels cannot be read aloud in any family circle ; they contain so many passages of needless and offensive coarseness.

519. Between the publication of *Joseph Andrews* and *Tom Jones*, a third novelist appeared, very different from Richardson and Fielding, and yet, like both, professedly appealing to nature and truth. Smollett was born in 1721, near Renton in Dumbartonshire, and was brought up as a medical practitioner. He entered the navy as a surgeon's mate, was with the fleet which sailed against Carthagena, and has given the history of that expedition with great force in *Roderick Random*. Ultimately he abandoned his profession, and, taking a residence at Chelsea, gave himself to literature. In 1748 he published *Roderick Random*, in 1751 *Peregrine Pickle*, in 1753 *Ferdinand Count Fathom*, in 1755 his translation of *Don Quixote*, and in 1771 his last novel, *Humphrey Clinker*. To these may be added his history of England, written it is said in fourteen months ; and an account of his travels on the Continent, in which, amid some gleams of humour and genius, are many prejudices ridiculed by Sterne in his *Sentimental Journey*. Like Fielding, Smollett died abroad, at Leghorn, in the fifty-first year of his age.

The charm of Smollett's writings consists not in their plots nor yet in well-sustained character, but in their broad humour and comic incidents. Tom Bowling in *Roderick Random*, and Commodore Trunnion in *Peregrine Pickle*, are characters indeed well sustained, and are drawn in his happiest manner, but these are exceptions. *Count Fathom* is the portrait of a complete villain, and is neither instructive nor interesting, though the character of Celinda is touchingly sketched. *Humphrey Clinker*, his last production, abounds in grave, caustic, humorous observations, and is pervaded by a tone of manly and kindly feeling. Every now and then,

moreover, he evinces a grace and pathos which Fielding never possessed. On the other hand, many of his heroes are conspicuous for libertinism and selfishness. His novels generally are disfigured by a large number of coarse and licentious passages, and occasionally, as in *Memoirs of a Lady of Quality*, a chapter inserted in *Peregrine Pickle*, in consideration of a sum of money paid to the author, the coarseness is doubly discreditable. Richardson had a moral purpose in view, and that purpose is some excuse for what in his works is of questionable tendency. But Fielding and Smollett had no such purpose. They sought merely 'to hold the mirror up to nature,'—to show the age its likeness without flattery or disguise, and apparently without any concern to improve it. It may be added that Smollett copied Le Sage, with English tastes, and has himself had many copiers.

520. Laurence Sterne is a singular example of contradictions in the literary character. A clergyman bound to teach truth and morality, he was dissolute and licentious; a sentimentalist, often shedding tears and drawing tears, he was hard-hearted and selfish in conduct; an original writer, strongly condemning literary dishonesty, he was himself eminently dishonest, and stole thoughts and illustrations by scores from Burton, and Hall, and Donne. He was born at Clonmel in 1713, was educated at Cambridge, was rector of Sutton and Stillington, in Yorkshire, and Prebend of York. To publish *Tristram Shandy*, he came to London. Two volumes appeared in 1759, two more in 1761, and two more in 1762. He then took a tour in France, and in 1765 went to Italy. To the former journey we owe some touching sketches in the later volumes (1765-1767) of *Tristram Shandy*, and among them the sketch of the poor ass with heavy panniers at Lyons; and to the latter we owe the *Sentimental Journey*. Like Archbishop Leighton he had wished to die at an inn, and in 1768, on returning to London to publish his last work, he passed away in lodgings in Bond street, with no one but a hired nurse by his bed. He was then at the height of his fame, admired as an eccentric writer and as the wittiest of boon companions.

Sterne's influence on the literature of his age was considerable; and he has had one learned imitator in our own—Southey's *Doctor* exhibiting much of the quaintness, humour, and learning

by which Sterne was distinguished. It must be admitted, too, that Brother Shandy, my Uncle Toby, the Widow Wadman, and Dr. Slop will retain their place in the popular memory as long as the kindred creations of Cervantes. But other parts of his works are no longer read. They have no interest of plot or of incident: and though the humour of his characters stirs the heart to tears as well as to laughter, and his pages contain gems of fancy, judgment and feeling, there is an air of false glitter and of positive dirtiness—a want of simplicity and of decency—that disgusts and repels his readers. The character and life of the man are well drawn by Thackeray in his *English Humourists*.

521. These masters of the modern English novel had many imitators. The stirring adventures of De Foe, the pathos and passion of Richardson, the humour and coarseness of Fielding and Smollett, the sentimentalism of Sterne, the romantic marvels and biting satire of Swift, not yet noticed, were all copied and ‘travestied’ by inferior writers. The circulating libraries swarmed with their productions, known from the place of their publication, by the title of ‘Minerva Press’ Novels. Their character may be gathered from the estimate of Macaulay. ‘The very name of novel was held in horror by religious people. In decent families, which did not profess extraordinary sanctity, there was a strong feeling against all such works. Sir Anthony Absolute—speaking at the beginning of the last quarter of the century—spoke the sense of the great body of sober fathers and husbands, when he pronounced the circulating library an evergreen tree of diabolical knowledge. This feeling on the part of the grave and reflecting increased the evil from which it had sprung. The novelist having little character to lose, and having few readers among serious people, took without scruple liberties which in our generation seem almost incredible.’^a ‘Most of their novels,’ he adds, ‘were such as no lady would have written, and many of them such as no lady could without confusion own that she had read.’

This abuse was followed by a reaction. Novels became natural without being immoral or indelicate, then moral; by-and-bye,

^a *Edinburgh Review*, July, 1843, Madame d’Arblay.

as the French revolution stirred society to its depths, political, and lastly, in the hands of the great master of modern Reaction, times—Walter Scott, historical. All these were improvements on the preceding and popular types; especially the first and the last. The moral and the political novel were less trustworthy, being as often teachers of error as of truth.

522. And now that we have reached the age of prose fiction which numbers its works by thousands of volumes, it seems desirable to classify the whole. Only let it be remembered that every principle of classification is liable to exceptions, and that many fictions might be placed under two or more classes.

Modern novel-
ists classified.

Carefully note, first of all, what a prose fiction is. It is not simply a tale, a work of imagination. It is a tale with a plan—a story with more or less loftiness of style, and fullness of detail, and connectedness of action. It is in short a fictitious history, and is to prose what the epic poem is to poetry.

The novel
defined.

Such prose epics may be divided into five classes. If the interest of the narrative turns on supernatural or very marvellous incidents, the story is called a *romance*.^{*} It is to the regular novel what the fable is to the parable, a story in the form of history, but with incidents which are from the nature of the case impossible. If the agency is natural, and the chief purpose of the writer is to exhibit character, humour, passion, sentiment, as they are found acting in common life, and he appeals throughout to the imagination or to the feelings, then the fiction is a common novel, *artistic* or *æsthetic*. If the story aims at teaching some moral or political lesson, it is *didactic* or *moral*. If it brings up and recreates historical characters and incidents, it is *historical*. If the fiction is simply a succession of adventures with unity and completeness of plan, it may be called the novel of *adventure*. To this five-fold division it is intended to adhere.

Classified in
five divisions.

523. Romantic fiction is largely illustrated in the *Thousand*

* This distinction is recognized by Scott (*Essay on Chivalry, Romance and the Drama*) and by other writers, and is in accordance with modern usage.

and *One Nights* of Eastern story, but these are beyond our province. In England it first appeared in the humorous and satirical style; the *Travels of Lemuel Gulliver* (1726), by Swift, being one of the earliest specimens. The first sketch of this work is found in *Martinus Scriblerus*, the joint production of Pope, Swift, and Arbuthnot. But Swift soon took it into his own hands, and it excited the curiosity and interest of all classes. The politicians recognised in the history of Gulliver many satirical allusions to Walpole, Bolingbroke, and the two great contending parties in the state; while common readers were fascinated by the wonders of the tale. As the story proceeds, the personal satire with which it begins grows into contempt of mankind at large. In the voyage to Brobdingnag and Lilliput the history is largely comic; and in the voyage to the Houyhnhms, the writer can depict his fellows only under the degrading form of the Yahoos. This work, and the *Tale of a Tub*—which aims at ridiculing the Roman Catholics and Presbyterians, and exalting the Lutherans ('Martin') and the English high church party, are the most remarkable writings of its author. Hallam^a thinks this last his masterpiece for energetic, idiomatic style, for biting satire, for felicitous analogy. Others give this honour to *Gulliver*. It is admitted on all hands that while in both, something is borrowed from the *True History* of Lucian, and the *Voyages of Pantagruel* of Rabelais, they are among the most original of his works. *Gulliver* is certainly in style the purest and the most carefully finished of them all. Swift's images and language are sometimes gross and disgusting, betraying a callousness of feeling not honourable to his personal character; but these qualities are so displayed as to be nearly always offensive. The reader is not attracted by them but repelled.

Later specimens of the satirical, comic, or humorous romance are not numerous. D'Israeli adopted this style in the voyage of Captain Popanilla (1828), satirizing therein the manners of our own age. Irving has used it to some extent in Knickerbocker's *History of New York* (1809), and in some of the stories of the *Sketch Book* (1820): his tale of *Rip Van Winkle* and the *Sleepy Hollow* are remarkable for their

(a)
Recent
specimens.

^a *History of Literature*, iii. 573.

delicacy and beauty. Nor less attractive, though hardly belonging to the humorous romance, are some of the *Legends of the Conquest of Granada and of the Alhambra* by the same author. In the *Chimes* (1844), the *Cricket on the Hearth* (1845), the *Battle of Life* (1846), the *Haunted Man* (1848), all by Charles Dickens, the same kind of machinery is used to promote kindly feeling among different classes of the community. They are all redolent of tenderness and humour.

524. For the most part, however, the romantic novel is serious and often terrible. One of the earliest specimens is *The Life and*

Adventures of Peter Wilkins, a Cornish man, written between 1729 and 1750. The author was long unknown, but in 1835 the sale of Dodsley's papers revealed his name, and he was found to be Robert Pultoch of Clement's Inn. The story is modelled on *Robinson*

Crusoe, and exhibits in the hero the same fortitude, patience, and ingenuity, with a depth and purity of religious feeling then rare in works of fiction. The supernatural element consists of a race of flying women, among whom the shipwrecked hero finds a home. The idea was probably taken from Bishop Wilkins' *Discovery of the New World*, and it suggested to Southey the race of the Glendoveers, the winged celestial agents in the *Curse of Kehama*. The style of Peter Wilkins is a good imitation of De Foe, but much of the story is uninteresting and tedious.

The true type of the class, however, may be best seen and studied in the *Castle of Otranto* (1764), by Horace Walpole; in the *Old English Baron* (1777), by Miss Reeves; in the *Romance of the Forest* (1791) and the *Mysteries of Udolpho* of Mrs. Radcliffe; in the *Vathek* (1784) of Beckford; in the *Monk* (1795) and the *Bravo of Venice*, by M. G. Lewis; in the *St. Leon* (1799) of William Godwin; and later, in the *Frankenstein* (1817) of his daughter Mrs. Shelley.

The *Castle of Otranto* was intended by its author as a revival of the old Gothic romance, and as a satire on novels of that class.

It professes to have been taken from the library of an ancient Catholic family in the north of England, and to be printed at Naples in 1529. With the antique, mysterious and romantic style, the modern is blended. Amid

Romances,
serious and
terrific.

Examples.
Peter Wilkins.

Castle of
Otranto.

pictures that walk out of their frames, skeletons and ghosts, we find delicate modern dialogue and chivalrous manners. Horace Walpole, the author, was the third son of the minister Sir Robert Walpole. He was born in 1717, became Earl of Orford in 1791, and died in 1797. He is now best known by his *History of Painting*, and especially by his *Letters*.

Along with the romance of Walpole is generally found the Gothic story, the *Old English Baron*, of Miss Reeves (1725-1803). Her machinery is more mysterious and more effective than that of her model, but her style is less pointed and elegant. She wrote several other novels, 'all marked,' says Scott, 'by excellent good sense, pure morality, and a competent command of those qualities which constitute a good romance.'

525. For sensational purposes, however, Miss Reeves is very inferior to Mrs. Radcliffe; the poetess, as she has been called, of romance-fiction, the 'Salvator Rosa' of the English novelists. Dark mountains, fierce storms, wild banditti, ruined castles, strong passions of love and hate, shadows from the invisible world—these are the materials of her stories, and they are so used as to create scenes which thrill and haunt the imagination. The most popular of her performances is the *Mysteries of Udolpho*, and both it and her earlier work—the *Romance of the Forest*—exhibit her powers in their full maturity. In her last work, *The Italian* (1797), the inquisition, the confessional, the monk, and the rack, are the agents of the plot, and are as impressive and appalling as the supernatural machinery of her earlier productions. She was born in London in 1764, and died in 1823.

Of this style of romance, the popularity of Mrs. Radcliffe's writings has made her well nigh the founder, as she is certainly the representative, in the popular mind. It touches the imagination, and for a time powerfully affects it. But it is entirely without moral interest, nor is there anything natural or truthful in the characters or dialogues of her novels. On the other hand, her painting of natural scenery is remarkably accurate. Though she had never visited Italy or Switzerland, she has described both with equal truth and beauty.

526. The *Vathek* of Beckford, written, as he tells us, in three days and two nights, when he was but twenty-two years of age, is an Eastern tale. The hero is the grandson of the Beckford. Caliph Haroun al Raschid ('Aaron the Just'), and is for pride, cruelty, and magnificence, the Eastern Henry VIII. He studied the occult sciences, and became, with his mother, the prey of a Giaour—a supernatural personage who plays an important part in the drama, and leads *Vathek* to destruction. The minute painting of Eastern scenery and manners, the description of the hall of Eblis, which has often been compared with the 'happy valley' of Rasselas, the humour and satire, the spirit of mockery and derision, pervading the whole are all remarkable. The volume was a favourite with Byron, and probably suggested more than one of his characters.

Beckford, the author, was born in 1759, and when he came of age, inherited a fortune of a million sterling, with large property besides. After spending nearly 300,000*l.* on his residence at Fonthill, where he lived in Oriental luxury and vice, he sold the estate, dispersed the collection of objects of art and vertu he had gathered, witnessed the ruin of the building through the fall of a great tower, and died at Bath in 1844. 'Of all the glories and prodigalities of this English Sardanapalus, this splendid romance, the work of three days, is the only durable memorial.'

527. Among Mrs. Radcliffe's most faithful imitators was 'Mat. Lewis,' whose romance of *The Monk* appeared in 1796. He had then, as he tells us in the rhyming preface, scarcely seen his twentieth year, and his production bears all the marks of youth—'except modesty.'^a The hero is Ambrosio, Abbot of the Capuchins at Madrid. He is of great repute for sanctity, and thinks himself superior to all temptation. His passions and fall form the subject of the story. He is tempted by an evil spirit in the form of a beautiful woman, and is at last carried off by Satan himself. It is, on the whole, one of the boldest hobgoblin stories of any age, and is disfigured, especially in the original edition, by passages that should never have been penned. Indeed, he was threatened with a prosecution on account of some of the scenes the volume contained, and escaped only by promising to recast those parts of

The Monk,
by Lewis.

Its character.

^a Chambers' *Encyclopædia of English Literature*.

his work in later editions. Through life he continued to write in the same strain, sometimes in verse, sometimes in the form of a drama, sometimes in tales. His *Tales of Terror*, his *Tales of Wonder*, his *Romantic Tales*, and numerous plays all bespeak the same parentage as *The Monk*, and none of them show signs of any nobler origin.

The father of M. G. Lewis was deputy-secretary of the war-office, and owner of large West Indian property. To this the

son succeeded, and in 1815 he visited Jamaica.
His death.

Of this voyage he wrote a narrative, which forms the most interesting production of his pen. The wrong done to his slaves by a tyrannical overseer induced him to visit Jamaica a second time, and he died on his voyage home, in 1818, of sea-sickness,—a martyr, it may be fairly said, to humanity and justice.

528. William Godwin, the son of a pious Nonconformist minister, and himself educated at Hoxton for the ministry, is

known chiefly as a political writer; but for one of
St. Leon, by his works he claims a place on this list. In 1799
Godwin.

appeared *St. Leon*, a story of 'the miraculous kind,' as he himself tells us. The hero attains the possession of the philosopher's stone, and by means of it secures exhaustless wealth. He at the same time learns the secret of 'the elixir of life,' by which he has the power of reviving his youth. The volume has several attractions, among which, the first place is due to the pathos and descriptive power of the author. Nor is a moral wanting: exhaustless wealth and perpetual youth are in themselves no blessing; on the hero they entail misery—on his family, ruin.

529. While Byron and the Shelleys were residing on the banks of the Lake Lemman, they agreed, during a week of rain, after

amusing themselves by reading German ghost stories,
Frankenstein, to write something in imitation of them. Byron
Mrs. Shelley.

began his *Vampire*,^a and Mrs. Shelley the romance of *Frankenstein*, 'one of those original conceptions that take hold of the public mind at once and for ever.' The work was published in 1817, and was immediately recognised as worthy of

^a Moore's *Life of Byron*.

Godwin's daughter and Shelley's wife, showing, in fact, something of the genius of both. Frankenstein, the hero, tells his own story. He is a native of Geneva, studies at Ingolstadt, and, after protracted investigation, gains the power of calling into existence a living and sentient being. He proceeds to use this power, and the being he creates becomes his terror and his plague, and, at length, his murderer. The successive steps of this narrative it is difficult to follow without awe, and all are invested with what excites sympathy and interest. Like her father, Mrs. Shelley excels in conceptions of the grand and terrible, but fails in managing and describing the incidents and feelings of common life. After the death of her husband, she devoted herself to literature, and published several works of fiction. She died in 1851, aged fifty-four.

530. Besides these specimens of the romance may be mentioned Scott's *Monastery*, in which the apparition of the White Lady of Avenel plays an important part in the development of the story, and the *Bride of Lammermoor* (1819), in which a dreadful destiny hangs over the principal agents, and seems supernaturally to impel them to their doom; *The Phantom Ship* of Captain Marryat, founded on the old legend of the Flying Dutchman; some of *The Ingoldsby Legends*, papers contributed to Bentley's *Miscellany* by the Rev. R. H. Barham, Canon of St. Paul's (b. 1788, d. 1845), who indulges in grotesque rhymes and in puns which are occasionally irreverent; *The Fairy Legends of the South of Ireland* (1825); and *The Legends of the Lakes* (1828), by Thomas Crofton Croker. Croker was a native of Cork, the birthplace of Maginn, MacLise, and many other men of note, and was one of the happiest writers on the legends of his native land. To the same class belong also Mrs. Crowe's *Nightside of Nature* (1848), a storehouse of dreams, ghost stories, and supernatural events. Her earnest undoubting style of narrative—the quality in which, as we have seen, De Foe excels, adds greatly to the impressiveness of these tales.

The objection to all tales of this class is, that they are chiefly sensational, that they foster the growth of the lowest kind of imagination, leave all that is humane and tender uninstructed; and, for the most part, do not even profess to teach a moral

lesson, nor do they act in any way for good upon the heart. To some of the *best* of the class, however, these remarks do not altogether apply.

531. Novels that belong to the class *artistic* are very numerous, and may be classified under various subdivisions and on different principles. Every fiction that has a complete plan

(b)
Artistic novels. and story, and is not a romance or a mere tale of adventure, that is not history or a lesson in morals or in politics, belongs to this class. They all aim to be artistically skilful and faithful to human nature and facts; they all

Classified. find their perfection in this skilful fidelity; but beyond this, they admit the utmost diversity. They

may be largely philosophical, 'psychological curiosities' as some one calls them; they may illustrate the workings of human

According to the powers or emotions they excite. passions and affections; they may be chiefly humorous and pathetic, sentimental and reflective, imaginative and fanciful. This is a classification of

them according to the mental qualities they display, the parts of our nature to which they appeal. Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*, and, in another way, Bulwer's *Student*, are examples of the philosophical: the interest in these cases is chiefly æsthetic. Bulwer's *Falkland* is an example of the emotional. The *Sentimental Journey*, is a novel characterised by humour tending to satire, and the *Tristram Shandy* of Sterne is a novel characterised by humour tending to pathos. In Mackenzie's *Man of Feeling* (1771) we have humour and pathos combined with sentiment; in Miss Sinclair's *Modern Accomplishments* (1836) and *Modern Society* (1837) we have sentiment and reflection; in Bulwer Lytton's *Caxtons* (1849) we have these qualities combined with profound and striking thought and careful delineation of character; in Peacock's *Maid Marian* (1822) and *Crotchet Castle* (1831) we have fancy, and wit, and sarcasm; in the *Pilgrims of the Rhine* (1834) we have imagination and fancy, with beauty and delicacy of thought.

Such is one principle of classification—a principle adopted for other purposes by Wordsworth in his poems, and by Joanna Baillie in her plays.

Or the whole may be divided into novels illustrative of English life, of Scottish life, of Irish life, of American life, of Conti-

mental life: in each class the charm consisting largely in the skill with which peculiarities of human nature are described, as influenced by national character and circumstances.

According to the life, English, Scotch, &c. they describe.

Novels of English life are such as *Our Village, or Sketches of Rural Character and Scenery* (1828-1832), by Miss Mitford; these are genuine English stories, and are among domestic fictions what *Rienzi* and the *Last Days of Pompeii* are as classic tales: *My Novel, or Varieties of English Life* (1853), and *What will he do with it?* (1858), both by Bulwer Lytton.

Scottish life is illustrated in Miss Porter's *Scottish Chiefs* (1810), in Miss Ferrier's *Marriage* (1818)—a work which Scott praises as containing some of the happiest illustrations of Scottish character; Scott's *Guy Mannering* (1815) and *The Antiquary* (1816), both rich in characters and dialogues illustrative of the middle and lower ranks of Scottish society; Galt's *Annals of the Parish* (1821), *Sir Andrew Wylie* and *The Last of the Lairds*; *The Dominie's Legacy* (1830), a collection of stories by Andrew Picken; Professor Wilson's *Trials of Margaret Lindsay* (1823); Mrs. Oliphant's *Passages from the Life of Margaret Maitland* (1849), and *Lilliesleaf* (1855), a continuation of the same story.

Irish life is illustrated in the *Tales of the O'Hara Family* (1825-1826), by John Banim; *Tales of the Munster Festivals* (1827), by Gerald Griffin; and in *The Collegians* (1829), by the same author; in *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry* (1830), by William Carleton; and in the writings of Miss Edgeworth, Lady Morgan, Lover, Lever, and Mrs. S. C. Hall.

American life is illustrated in *The Spy* (1821), *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826), *The Prairie* (1827), and the *Red Rover* (1827) of J. Fenimore Cooper; in the *Sketch Book* and other writings of Washington Irving; in the *Twice-told Tales* (1837-1842), *The Mosses from an Old Manse*, and the *House with the Seven Gables* (1851) of Nathaniel Hawthorne; in the *Minister's Wooing* (1859) of Mrs. Stowe, and in the *American Stories*, published by Miss Mitford. In *Laurie Todd, or the Settlers* (1830), by Galt, we have a Scotchman's estimate of the American character—a work unsurpassed since

De Foe's day for reality of description, knowledge of human nature, and fertility of invention; and in *The Clockmaker, or the Sayings and Doings of Samuel Slick of Slickville* (1835-1840), we have a Nova-Scotian's estimate, the whole richly spiced with shrewd, sarcastic, and somewhat coarse remarks on human nature in general and on American nature in particular.

Among the records of Continental life may be mentioned, *High-ways and By-ways* (1823), by T. L. Grattan; the *Hungarian Tales* of Mrs. Gore; *The Hungarian Castle* (1840) of Miss Julia Pardoe; the *Livonian Tales* (1846) and *Letters* (1841) of Lady Eastlake; *Don Sebastian, or the House of Braganza* (1809), by Miss Porter; *The Reign of Terror*, by Mrs. Gore; the *Nathalie* (1851) of Miss Kavanagh, and the *Villette* (1858) of Miss Brontë. Swedish life we have in the translated novels of Miss Bremer. Eastern life we have in the *Adventures of Hajji Baba* (1824-1828) of Mr. Morier, in the *Anastasius* of Mr. Hope, and in the *Eothen* of Mr. Kinglake,—this last written somewhat in Sterne's discursive style. Australian life is described by Charles Reade, in *Never too Late to Mend*; very briefly in the *Two Years Ago* of the Rev. C. Kingsley, more fully in the *Geoffrey Hamlyn* of H. Kingsley.

Another classification of novels deserves mention, as it is sanctioned by novelists themselves. They are sometimes classified as novels of high life, of low life, and of that middle rank which in English society connects the two.

According to the rank of society they describe. The novels of high life began with Richardson. He was followed by Cumberland, whose *Arundel* (1789) belongs to this class, and by many others, whose *Memoirs 'of a Lady of Quality,'* etc., have long been forgotten. They abound most, however, in our own age. Among the better known are the *Reginald Dalton* (1823) of Lockhart, who sketches student life at Oxford, and gives many pictures of English manners; the *Tremaine* (1825), the *De Vere* (1827), the *De Clifford* (1841) of Plumer Ward. In the first, we have the man of refinement—with a large amount of philosophical and religious discussion; in the second, the man of independence—with a portraiture of George Canning; and in the last, the constant man—with the history of the secretary to a cabinet minister, disclosing the rivalries and intrigues of political life. The *Mother and Daughters* (1831) of Mrs. Gore; *Women as they are* (1830), *The Cabinet Minister*, a

Tale of the Regency of George the Fourth (1839), *Cecil, or the Adventures of a Coxcomb, with Sketches of Club Life* (1841), all by the same skilful hand. In 1826 D'Israeli—author and statesman—published his first novel, *Vivian Grey*, with a second part in the following year. Like *Coningsby* and *Tancred*, this work abounds in references to public men, and in sarcastic views of character and society in high life. In 1828 Bulwer published *Pelham, or the Adventures of a Gentleman*; in the same year appeared *The Disowned*, and in 1829 *Devereux*. To the same class belong novels by Mrs. Marsh, Lady Fullerton, etc., and last though not least, the *Vanity Fair* of Thackeray.

The great majority, however, of English novels describe the manners and characters of common life and of the middle rank in society. Such are most of Fielding's: the *Vicar of Wakefield* (1766), the book which by its picturesque descriptions of the habits and feelings of daily life, first led Goethe to study English literature; such, the *Evelina* (1778) and the *Cecilia* (1782) of Miss Burney (Madame d'Arblay); the former a favourite of Johnson and Lord Byron, and said to be 'the best work of fiction that had then appeared since the death of Smollett';* destined, moreover, to effect a great revolution in novel writing; the *Canterbury Tales* (1797) of Harriet and Sophia Lee; the *Simple Story* (1791) and the *Nature and Art* (1797) of Mrs. Inchbald, the latter a favourite of Samuel Rogers; the *Old English Manor House* (1793) and other stories of Charlotte Smith, a favourite of Scott's, and an effective supporter of the authoress of *Evelina*, in bringing back novel writing to truth and nature; the *Simple Tales* (1806), the *New Tales* (1818), the *Tales of real Life* and *Tales of the Heart*, by Mrs. Opie, an authoress over whose pages Miss Sedgwick says she often wept, and to whom Lord Jeffrey awards high praise for simplicity, good sense, and pathos; the *Artless Tales* (1793-95) and other novels of Anna Maria Porter; *Sense and Sensibility*, *Pride and Prejudice*, *Mansfield Park*, and the other novels of Jane Austen. These last are the types of the novel of common life. Scott and Whately and Macanlay agree in giving her the highest praise. Scott deems 'her power of describing the involvements and feelings and characters of ordinary life, to be the most wonderful he ever met

Middle-class
life.

* Macanlay.

with;^a Whately notes her 'strong sense, intimate knowledge of human nature, concise narrative, and aim not only blameless but highly commendable';^b and Macaulay affirms of *Mansfield Park* that it is one of the best novels ever written by her sex.^c

To the novels of low life belong several of De Foe's, the *Roderick Random* of Smollett, the *Paul Clifford* (1830) and *Lucretia* (1847) of Bulwer Lytton, the *Rookwood* (1834), a history of Richard Turpin, and most of the novels of Ainsworth. Of a different type, though nominally of the same class, are *Oliver Twist* and *Barnaby Rudge*, by Dickens; *Mary Barton*, a tale of Manchester life (1848), and *Ruth* (1853), by Mrs. Gaskell; and *Adam Bede* (1859), by George Eliot.

It will at once be seen that this classification is not felicitous, and is very liable to misapprehension. 'Low life' is an ambiguous expression; and does not depend on the worldly degree or the physical condition of the characters delineated, but upon the quality of the emotions which the characters are intended to excite; whether of sympathy for what is low, or of sympathy for what is high. While, therefore, the distinction is accurate enough, when 'low life' is identical with what is degrading, it is defective in actual usage; and especially so, when the characters from low life show the qualities which make 'the whole world kin,' irradiated by touches of humour and of feeling. *Adam Bede* is a better 'gentleman than *Pelham*, and there are more 'low people' in *Vanity Fair* than in *Mary Barton*.

532. Didactic or moral novels have always some special lessons in view,—lessons which the progress and the end of the story aims to illustrate and to enforce. In this respect they differ essentially from the artistic or merely æsthetic class, which aims at the skilful or beautiful representation of things and persons, as they exist in nature and in actual life.

533. They divide naturally into political and moral. Thomas Holcroft, pedlar, Newmarket-jockey, and dramatic author (b. 1745-1809), was among the first English novelists who made their art subservient to the teaching of

^a Scott's *Diary*.

^b *Quarterly Review*, 1821.

^c *Edinburgh Review*, July, 1843.
Madame d'Arblay.

political truth. In his *Anna St. Ives* (1792), he depicts several characters with great force, but introduces them chiefly to make them vehicles for political sentiment. In *Hugh Trevor* Holcroft. (1794-1797), he traces the growth and development of the evils, which, in his judgment, spring from the existing institutions of society. During the first French revolution his name was included in the indictment against Tooke and Hardy, but no evidence was adduced against him. He died in 1803.

The next writer of this class was Godwin, whose novel, *Things as they are, or The Adventures of Caleb Williams*, was published Godwin. in 1794. He held generally the perfectibility of man, and the regeneration of society by political changes; and in *Caleb Williams* he shows how, by tyrannical power and partial laws, man becomes the destroyer of his fellows. The whole story is so rich in interest, however, that the reader forgets the politics and the satire, and thinks only of the characters and incident. In the appearance of reality, it approaches the fictions of De Foe, while it excites nobler sympathies and abounds in thought and feeling. Godwin died in 1836, a yeoman usher of the Exchequer—an office he owed to Earl Grey.

To Godwin we owe indirectly the *Anti-Jacobin* of Canning. Sir Walter Scott mentions that that statesman became a decided opponent of the new 'party of progress,' on receiving from Godwin the intimation that the admirers of the French revolution intended to make him the head of the revolution in England.

To our own day belong the writings of Miss Martineau and of the Rev. C. Kingsley. In 1832-1834, the former published her Martineau. *Illustrations of Political Economy* and *Tales of the Poor Laws*. In 1845 appeared a series of tales illustrative of the working of the game laws. In all these publications she takes her stand as the advocate of popular rights, pushed sometimes to an extreme. She belongs to a family originally of French origin, who fled to England on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. In consideration of her services as a writer on political economy, the government offered her a pension in 1840—an offer which she declined.

In *Alton Locke*, tailor and poet (1850), Kingsley illustrates the Kingsley. evils of competition and the grievances of the working classes. He shows how Alton is made a Chartist and well nigh an infidel: the remedy he thinks is to be sought

in associations of workmen for business purposes, the workmen to be at once 'masters and men.' This principle has been extensively tried in various trades; but the satisfactoriness of the results cannot yet be affirmed. In the *Blithedale Romance* (1852), by Nathaniel Hawthorne, we have the history of the socialist experiment at Brook farm and its failure. In *Yeast, a Problem* (1851), Mr. Kingsley considers more particularly the condition of the agricultural labourers, and advocates what is substantially a system of Christian socialism. In *Two Years Ago* (1857), he continues his contrasts of life and character with reference to modern events—the gold diggings in Australia, the war in the Crimea, and the institutions of the United States. Throughout all these tales there is deep pathos, strong sympathy, graphic description and vivid fancy.

In *Coningsby, or the New Generation* (1844), and in *Sybil, or the Two Nations* (1845), Mr. Disraeli makes the novel the medium for discussing party politics. Contemporaries are freely introduced, and the doctrines of 'young England' or 'the new generation' are set forth in the author's pointed and epigrammatic style.

534. The moral novel forms a large class; and probably most novelists would claim to be placed in the list. Without deciding

Moral. against this claim in any case, it is still convenient to reserve the class for novels which have a decided and obvious moral purpose. Nor is exclusion from the class a hardship. A moral purpose is no security against unsound principles, nor does it prevent writer or reader from judging erroneously of the character and motives of men. Moreover, it will be found that novels excluded from the class, for want of an obvious moral aim, sometimes teach with double force, because they set forth truth only by example, and do not inculcate it in a didactic formal style. Admission, therefore, does not of itself confer any advantage; nor does exclusion inflict any injury.

Perhaps the first place, in time, is due to Dr. Johnson for his *Rasselas, the Prince of Abyssinia* (1750), a moral tale which he wrote in the nights of a single week to defray the expenses of his mother's funeral. Johnson himself is reported to have said that if he had seen the *Candide* of Voltaire he should not have written *Rasselas*, as the two works go over

Rasselas.

the same ground.^a They picture a world full of misery and sin. But Voltaire uses the fact to excite a sneer at religion and Providence, Johnson as an argument for our faith in a coming immortality. The story is little else than a series of essays on the efficacy of pilgrimages, the state of the departed, the appearances of the dead, etc., and the eastern philosopher talks much as Johnson did in Bolt Court or at Will's. Young describes the tale as a 'mass of sense,' and its lessons are generally conveyed in language which is at once happy and impressive, and which rises sometimes into remarkable beauty and nobleness. The valley in which Rasselas resided is sketched with great poetic feeling.

One of the earliest writers of the moral novel is Dr. John Moore, the father of the hero of *Corunna*. In *Zeluco* (1786), he aims to prove that inward misery always accompanies vice; while in *Edward* (1796) he gives a model of virtue. In the former he traces with great skill the progress of depravity, and the effects of uncontrolled passion. In the latter, the excellence and happiness of virtue are less impressive, perhaps from the fact that here virtue is always *militant*; a moral argument in favour of another life. In both, the characters are well sketched, but the plots and incidents are defective. Of his novels *Zeluco* is the most popular, but Mr. Dunlop deems it inferior to *Edward*.

535. The works of Miss Edgeworth form an era in novel writing. She stimulated the genius of Walter Scott, got rid 'of the swarms of peers, foundlings, and seducers'^b which had hitherto formed the materials of prose fiction, and sought to diffuse through the whole, good sense and moral truth. With this view she wrote *Popular Tales* (1814), *Tales of Fashionable Life* (1809-1812), *Patronage* (1814), *Harrington*, intended to counteract the illiberal prejudice against the Jews, and *Ormond* (1817). In *Rosamond* (1822) and in *Harry and Lucy* (1825), she writes for the young with undiminished power and skill. In the second series of fashionable tales were included *Vivian*, to illustrate the evils of indecision, and the *Absentee*, one of the two best novels, as Macaulay thinks, ever written by women. In 1834 she published her last novel *Helen*. Here the

Miss Edgeworth.

^a Lord Brougham's *Sketch of Voltaire*.

^b Jeffrey

gradations of vice and folly and the misery that attends falsehood and artifice are drawn with great force and truth. While her aim is thus moral, it must be added that the 'rich humour, pathetic tenderness, and admirable tact'^a of her Irish portraits greatly impressed Scott's mind, and led him to do for the character of his countrymen what she had attempted so successfully for the character of her own. She was born at Edgeworthstown, county of Longford—on the same estate that Goldsmith claimed as his birth-place—and died in 1849 full of honours.

536. One of the most successful writers of the last century was Mrs. Hannah More, the friend of Johnson, Reynolds, and Burke. By her writings alone she realised about **Hannah More.** 30,000*l.*; and after devoting much time and property to the improvement in education, religion, and material comfort of the neglected district in which she and her sisters lived, she bequeathed to charitable and religious institutions no less a sum than 10,000*l.* She died in 1833, in her eighty-ninth year. Her chief novel is *Celebs in Search of a Wife* (1809), in which are many striking thoughts on domestic habits and manners, morality, and religion. Ten editions of this work were sold in one year. It is admirably written, with a pleasant vein of gentle irony and sarcasm; and several of the characters are well drawn. Her *Shepherd of Salisbury Plain*, *Parley the Porter*, and others of the *Cheap Repository Series*, have long been popular tracts.

In 1808, Mrs. Hamilton published the *Cottagers of Glenburnie*, a tale of cottage life. The scene is laid in a poor hamlet of Scotland, and the heroine is a retired English governess. **Mrs. Hamilton.** This work has been as influential in promoting domestic improvement among the rural population of the North as Dr. Johnson's *Journey* in encouraging the planting of trees. In both there is some exaggeration of colouring, but the pictures are substantially true, and the reproach was only to be wiped off by reformation. The same subject has been discussed and enforced by Miss Brewster and other writers. Mrs. Hamilton was born at Belfast in 1758; for many years after her husband's death she resided in Edinburgh. She died at Harrogate in 1816.

To the same class as the preceding belong *Self-Control* (1811)

^a Scott.

and *Discipline* (1814) of Mrs. Brunton. They are both of moral tendency and of superior merit. *Self-Control* is a Mrs. Brunton. sort of Scottish *Colebs*, and its characters are well conceived and delicately painted. The plot, however, is unskillfully managed. The high principle and purity of Laura, the heroine, give great interest to the history of her adventures. Mrs. Brunton was born in 1778 in Orkney, and died in 1818 at Edinburgh, where her husband was then residing as one of the ministers of that city.

537. And now we reach our own age, when novels professedly of a moral and religious tendency abound. Among those that deserve special mention are Mrs. Hall's *Sketches of Irish Character* (1829-1831), *Stories of the Irish Peasantry* (1840), and *Tales of Woman's Trials* (1834). In all these there is a decidedly moral tone, and her characters are hit off with great liveliness and truth. In *The Whiteboy* (1845), which is by many accounted her best novel, the lessons are both moral and political. In humour, Mrs. Hall is hardly equal to Lady Morgan, nor is her observation so exact as Miss Edgeworth's; but, in general, the simple truth and purity of sentiment that distinguish her writings impart to them an attractiveness seldom surpassed.

In the novels of Miss Mulock, the moral purpose is less marked than in some others, though it is discernible enough. She shows with great skill 'how the trials and successes of life improve or injure the character, how continued insincerity corrupts the mind, and how every event tends to strengthen and perfect a high mind, and to break the springs of a selfish one.' Her first novel was *The Ogilvies* (1849): it is 'written with deep earnestness, and is pervaded by a noble philosophy.' This was followed by *Oliver* (1850), and, among others, by *John Halifax, Gentleman* (1856).

In 1853 appeared the *Heir of Redclyffe*, by Miss C. M. Yonge. This book at once established her literary reputation, which she has maintained in her later writings—*Heart's-Ease* (1854), *Daisy Chain* (1856), and *Dynevor Terrace* (1857). Her children's books have also been exceedingly popular. The

tales of Miss Elizabeth Sewell, *Amy Herbert*, *Gertrude*, *Laneton*

Miss Sewell. *Parsonage*, etc., are all well known, and are admired

for their moral tone and their delicate pictures of character. Miss G. Jewsbury's novels, *Zoe* (1845), *Constance Herbert* (1855), *Right and Wrong* (1859); Miss Grace Aguilar's *Mother's Recompense*, and *Home Influence*; Miss Sinclair's

Miss Sinclair. *Modern Accomplishments* (1836), *Modern Society*

(1837), *Modern Flirtations* (1855); Mrs. Oliphant's *Adam Graeme of Mossgray* (1852), *Harry Muir* (1853), a tale inculcating temperance; Mrs. Wood's *East Lynne*, and Lord

Oakburn's Daughters; and the anonymous authoress of *The Maiden and Married Life of Mary Powell*, afterwards Mrs.

Milton (1851), the *Household of Sir Thomas More*, etc., all claim a place on this list, both for their literary merits and their general

tendency. Nor should the name of G. H. Lewes be omitted. In *Ranthorpe* (1847), he shows the moral influence of genius on its

possessor; and in *Rose, Blanche, and Violet* (1848), he traces the progress of character in the gay, the gentle, and the decided, de-

molishing what he deems popular fallacies, and satirising the follies of the age. In Warren's *Passages from the*

Warren. *Diary of a late Physician*, we have much strong

painting with more or less of a moral aim, and in Mrs. Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1850), with its sale of upwards of a million

Mrs. Stowe. copies, we have one of the most graphic and terrible pictures of slavery ever penned. In *Dred* (1856)

we have the same theme under another form. Mrs. Stowe is daughter of Dr. L. Beecher, a well-known American theologian;

she was born in Connecticut in 1812.

538. So far as these novels are professedly moral, they must all be tested by a Christian standard. Admitting, as we do, the

claims of the religion of the Bible, we must censure the false principles it condemns, must judge of human nature and human improvement, of the

proper motives of action, of good and evil, of the true consolations in misery, old age, and death, as it judges. Nor will our morality differ materially from that of the heathen, except, perhaps, in respect to benevolence and humanity, if it be not modified by whatever in the New Testament is intended to exercise this modifying power.

So tested, it must be confessed that many of the class of moral novels are lamentably imperfect. They omit or exclude from their moral teaching the leavening influence of Christian truth. The *good* man, whose character they sketch, is not a Christian. The gospel represents 'a change of heart, called conversion, the assurance of the pardon of sin through Jesus Christ, a habit of devotion approaching so near to intercourse with the supreme object of devotion, that revelation has called it "communion with God," a process of improvement called sanctification, a confidence in the Divine Providence that all things shall work together for good, and a conscious preparation for another life, including a firm hope of eternal felicity'^a—all this is essential to happiness; but the happiness of the novelist often requires no such elements. The evils of poverty and the dread of dying are assuaged by consolations very different from those that constitute so much of the value of inspired truth. Human nature is not the depraved thing which the New Testament describes, nor is 'the redemption that is in Christ Jesus' of such momentous importance. Unchristian motives are not uncommon; and a heroic fortitude or peaceful assurance is assigned to men in dying, neither true to facts nor just to Christianity. It is, at all events, very different in its origin and elements from what an Apostle describes—'Thanks be to God who giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ.'

To many of the novels of this class, as already enumerated, these remarks do not apply; but they are applicable to some of the most successful of them. It is this deficiency that led Robert Hall to speak of some of Miss Edgeworth's *Moral Tales* as among the most mischievous, *morally*, of any he had ever read. She, herself, indeed, is said to have defended them by stating that she took for granted the existence of the truths on which he insisted. But this plea is not satisfactory. Either her good characters who die in peace are Christian or not. If they are not, they cease to be our models: if they are, then her description leaves out of view the very principles to which they owed their goodness. Either the character is defective or the history is untrue.

The remedy for these evils it is not easy to find. They per-

^a Foster's Essay on the aversion of men of taste to Evangelical Religion, *Essays*, p. 382.

vade our *literature*—not our novels only; they meet us in daily life. All, perhaps, that can be done is, ‘to urge on the reader of taste the very serious duty of continually recalling to his mind, and if he is a parent or preceptor, of cogently representing to his pupils, the real character of the religion of the New Testament and the reasons which command an inviolable adherence to it.’^a

539. Of the historical novel, Sir Walter Scott is the founder. It is true that centuries before, the deeds of Alexander had given rise to many historical tales. It is true also that in 1784, Sophia Lee had published a tale entitled, *The Recess, or A Tale of other Times*, which is sometimes regarded as our earliest historical fiction. It refers to the reign of Elizabeth, and is a historical novel; but though long popular, it was not imitated. It stands alone till the days of the great ‘enchanter of the North.’

Of the twenty-seven novels which compose the Waverley series, twenty are historical, and these extend from the eleventh century to the eighteenth. To the eleventh century, the time of the first crusade, belongs *Count Robert of Paris* (1831). This novel, however, and ‘*Castle Dangerous*,’ were written by Scott after repeated shocks of paralysis, and are mere shadows of his former power. *The Betrothed* (1825), the *Talisman* (1825), and *Ivanhoe* (1821), refer to the twelfth century. The two latter represent parts of the history of Cœur de Lion, and the last is generally reckoned the most splendid of all his pure romances. Rebecca, the Jewess, in *Ivanhoe*, Scott himself thought his finest female character. To the thirteenth century none of his novels refer; and to the fourteenth, only the *Fair Maid of Perth* (1828), and *Castle Dangerous* (1831). The former is conceived and finished in his best style. In the fifteenth century he makes an inroad on French history, and in *Quentin Durward* (1823) he has delineated the character of Louis XI. and Charles the Bold in a way that has excited the enthusiastic admiration of French readers. In *Anne of Geierstein* (1829) the French power is seen humbled before the arms of the Swiss. The *Monastery*, and its sequel, the *Abbot*, both published in 1820, describe the state of Scotland during the

^a Foster. His admirable discussion of this whole question well deserves study.

religious wars of the sixteenth century. Both are defective in plot, and the former is disfigured by supernatural machinery; but in the *Abbot*, the character of Mary is beautifully drawn, and the scenery of the Tweed is sketched with all the author's felicity. The following year (1821), the great rival of Queen Mary, Elizabeth, was portrayed in *Kenilworth*—a work that ranks next to *Ivanhoe*.

The seventeenth century seems to have had special charms for Scott, as in it he has laid the plots of no less than five of his novels. James I. appears drawn to the life, in the *Fortunes of Nigel* (1822), where we have also an account of London life that excels for minuteness and accuracy any contemporary description. In the *Legend of Montrose* (1819) we have the veteran soldier and pedant—trained in the one capacity at Marischal College, and, in the other, in the Thirty Years' War under Gustavus Adolphus—the incomparable Dugald Dalgetty. Cromwell and his Ironsides, appear in *Woodstock* (1820). In *Peveril of the Peak* (1823), the Cavalier and the Roundhead parties of the Commonwealth are presented, the former victorious and the latter, though broken, still formidable. And in *Old Mortality* (1816), deemed by Lockhart and many others the author's best work, the Scottish Covenanters are exposed to the fire and sword of the soldiers of Claverhouse. In the reanimation of the stern and solemn enthusiasm of these heroes, it is thought that Scott took more delight than in the chivalry with which he animated the brave but dissolute Cavaliers.

Four novels belong to the eighteenth century—*Rob Roy* (1818), the *Heart of Midlothian* (1818), *Waverley* (1814), the first of the series, and *Red Gauntlet* (1824). *Rob Roy* revived all the interest in Highland scenery and manners which the *Lady of the Lake* had excited; and the character of Baillie Nichol Jarvie is one of the happiest of Scott's productions. The story belongs to the first half of the century, and contrasts the civilized Lowlanders with the wild kilted Highlanders, who still levied black mail and kept up the customs of their fathers centuries before. In the *Heart of Midlothian*, the incidents of the Porteous riots of 1736 are introduced into the story. The Duke of Argyle and Caroline, queen of George II., are associated with David Deans and his daughter Jeanie. *Waverley* is a tale of

* Lockhart.

the rising of the clans of 1745. In *Red Gauntlet*, we have the contemplated rising of the English Jacobites a few years later, with blended vigorous, pathetic writing, which embodies some of Scott's personal history and experience.

This classification gives no adequate idea of the immense variety of characters to be found in Scott's novels. In this respect they

may be fairly compared with the dramas of Shakespeare, nor can it be denied that both writers are great moral teachers often without seeming to teach.

Above all, it is due to Scott to acknowledge that, by his tales, he displaced much of the trash under which the shelves of old circulating libraries groaned, sweeping away not only the fantastic romances, but novels of questionable moral tendency which succeeded these romances and which were doing much to undermine the principles of readers of both sexes and of every age.

It is a singular illustration of the accuracy of the sketches which Scott's novels contain, that *Ivanhoe*, which is so often read for amusement, contributed to the formation of the modern school of French historians, and to the publication of Thierry's *Norman Conquest*.^a

In Scott's personal history there is something very touching and even sublime. Through unwise expenditure in some measure, but chiefly through an unhappy business partnership, he was reduced from affluence to poverty, and made liable for debts to the amount of nearly 120,000*l.* Listening to no overtures of composition with his creditors, he asked only for time; and in four years he had paid off no less than 70,000*l.* Ultimately his strength sank under his self-imposed task—but not till he had published more than enough to pay in the end every shilling he owed, and even to buy back the property he had lost. The last scenes of his life, Lockhart reading to him out of the only book a dying man cares to hear—so he himself described it—are very touching and suggestive.

540. Scott's successors in the historical novel are legion. Ancient history, mediæval history, and modern history have all been illustrated in this way. *Valerius* Lockhart, Collins, Lytton, Kingsley, etc. (1821), by J. P. Lockhart, the son-in-law and biographer of Scott, is a Roman story of the time of Trajan. He sketches

^a Vericour's *History of French Literature*, chap. i.

Roman society and the history and sufferings of the early Christians. *Antonina, or The Fall of Rome* (1850), by Wilkie Collins, is a classic romance, descriptive of the fifth century. The story is interesting, but the characters are defective. The *Hypatia* (1853) of Kingsley, gives with great beauty the history of Christianity at Alexandria in the early age of the Church. In *The Last Days of Pompeii* and in *Rienzi, the Last of the Tribunes*, Bulwer Lytton has sketched with great power the destruction of that ill-fated city, and the stirring events of the later history of mediæval Rome. To the same writer we owe *The Last of the Barons* (1843), in which we have the history of the times of Warwick, the king maker. It contains also the most beautiful of his female creations, the character of Sybil. In those remarkable books, *Palmyra, being Letters of L. M. Piso from Palmyra to his friend Marcus Curtius at Rome* (New York, 1836); *Rome and the early Christians, being Letters from L. M. Piso from Rome, to Flausta, the Daughter of Gracchus at Palmyra* (Boston 1838); and *Julian, or Scenes in Judea*, all republished in England, we have a vivid and accurate account of Palmyra and Rome in the third century, and of Judea in the days of our Lord. All these works have had a large sale in America, and by 'their fidelity and purity of style deserve the reputation they have gained.'^a

Morier gives us Eastern history in *Zohrab, the Hostage* (1832). Here is described the life of Aga Mohammed Shah who taught the Russians to beat the French by making a desert before them. Persian manners he also sketches in *Ayesha, the Maid of Kars* (1834). T. C. Grattan Thackeray. gives in the *Heiress of Bruges, a Tale of the Year 1600*, the struggles of the Flemish against Spain—a struggle in which they were aided by the Dutch under Prince Maurice; and in *Mary of Burgundy* (1833), we have G. P. R. James' view of the revolt of Ghent. To the same author we are indebted for the historical romance of *Richelieu* (1829), *Philip Augustus* (1831), *One in a Thousand, or the Days of Henri Quatre* (1835), *Attila, a Romance* (1837), *The Huguenot* (1838), and *Henry of Guise* (1839). Mr. James' original works amount to one hundred and eighty-nine volumes, and 'exhibit a faculty for describing or rather creating scenes, incidents, battles, disguises

^a *North American Review*, 1837

adventures' almost endless,^a though it must be added that the sameness of the author's style and characters is so marked as to become displeasing and even wearisome.

In Miss A. M. Porter's *Don Sebastian, or the House of Braganza* (1809), we have an interesting, though melancholy, tale of Portuguese history. In Mrs. Hall's *Buccaneer* (1832), we have revived the times of the Protectorate, Cromwell himself being among the characters. In Thackeray's *Esmond* (1852), we are introduced to Marlborough, to the Chevalier St. George, to Swift, Congreve, Addison, and Steele; we hear the gossip and witness the scenes of the Court and times of Queen Anne, as if we had lived in them. In the *Virginians* we have a tale of the days of George III., of Chesterfield, Garrick, and Johnson, with Washington, Wolfe, and the American war clearly seen in the background. In *Westward Ho!* by Charles Kingsley, we go back to the exciting era of Queen Elizabeth, and sail with Raleigh, Drake, and Hawkins, visit the Spanish main and the American continent, are present at the defeat of the Armada, and have incidents, characters, and scenery which for freshness and picturesqueness are almost

unrivalled. In Hawthorne's *Scarlet Letter* (1850), we have the Puritanism of New England with some dark shades and beautiful descriptions. In Miss Martineau's *The Hour and the Man* (1840) we have the history of Toussaint l'Ouverture and of the emancipation of Hayti. In *The Camp of Refuge* and in *The Dutch in the Medway*, the same authoress gives, for the young especially, the history of events in our own country, drawn up with great skill. In Mrs. Oliphant's *Magdalen Hepburn* (1854), a story of the Scotch Reformation, Knox is introduced, and the progress of that great religious change is carefully traced. In *Barnaby Rudge* we have reproduced the history of the Gordon Riots; and in the *Guy Fawkes*, *Tower of London*, etc., of Ainsworth we have history illustrated by descriptions of 'low life.'

541. The tales of adventure, the last class of novels, date from
 (e) *Robinson Crusoe*, though there is a long blank
 Novels of between De Foe and later popular writers of the
 adventure. same kind. *Peter Wilkins* has been already described.
 Hope. A very different volume is *Anastatius, or Memoirs*

^a Chambers' *Literature*, ii.

of a Modern Greek, written at the close of the Eighteenth Century, by Thomas Hope. The author was one of our merchant princes and a member of the Amsterdam family, who gained celebrity first of all by the publication of a folio volume on *Household Furniture* (1803), and on *Modern and Ancient Costumes* (1809-1812). Anastatius was published as a true history. The hero is a native of Chios, and has a story as various, as romantic, and as licentious as that of Don Juan. In its progress every aspect of Greek and Turkish society is sketched, while sarcasm, pathos, passion, incident, are strangely yet impressively mingled with the narrative. Fifty years ago this was a very popular book, and is still unsurpassed for Oriental wealth of description and imagination.

Another book which well illustrates Eastern manners, and is rich in incident and humour, is *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan*, by Mr. Morier (1824-1828). The hero is an

Morier.

adventurer like Gil Blas and the son of a barber at Ispahan. He mingles among all classes, and fills almost all offices from the meanest to the highest, and tells his adventures in the East and in England. As a picture of Oriental manners, it had, as Scott notes, 'a severe trial to sustain its place in comparison with the romance of Anastatius, but the public found appetite for both.' The satire was so truthful that the Minister of State of Persia, where Morier was for some time Secretary of the Embassy, was instructed by the king to complain of 'that foolish business of a book' as reflecting unduly on the Persian Court.

Similar adventures are described in *The Kuzzilbash, a Tale of Khorassan* (1828), by J. Baillie Fraser. The hero narrates his own

Fraser.

story, and tells us of captivities and battles, 'of many accidents by flood and field,' with great vigour and naturalness.

The Youth and Manhood of Cyril Thornton (1827) gives sketches of college life, of campaigns and other adventures of the author, Captain Hamilton.

Hamilton.

Towards the close of life Miss Jane Porter wrote *Sir Edward Seward's Diary*, the whole strongly marked by truth and reality.

One of the most successful writers of this class is Captain F. Marryat, R.N. Not fewer than thirty volumes attest his diligence, and nearly every volume has had a large sale. He was

himself brought up in the navy, and saw much service under Lord Cochrane and in the American and French Marryat.

As a naval author, he is the best painter of sea characters since Smollett, and the incidents of his tales are always striking. *Peter Simple* is his most amusing book. *Jacob Faithful* is one of his best. *Mr. Midshipman Easy*, *Masterman Ready*, *Frank Mildmay*, *Poor Jack*, *Percival Keene* (1842) are all popular, and are characterized by numerous incidents, nautical humours, and racy dialogue. 'He stands second' it was said—though this was twenty years ago—to no living writer, but Miss Edgeworth.' His strong sense, his utter superiority to affectation of all sorts command respect, and in his quiet effectiveness of general narrative he sometimes approaches old De Foe: his humour is natural and his knowledge of the real workings of human nature maturer than any of the band except perhaps Morier and Hook.

Other sea tales we have in *The Naval Sketch Book* (1828), *Tales of a Tar* (1830), by Captain Glasscock, R.N., full of rich phraseology and comic humour: in *Rattlin the Reever* and *Outward Bound* by Mr. Howard; in *Tom Cringle's Log* and the *Cruise of the Midge* by Michael Scott. In *Leonard Lindsay* (1843), by A. B. Reach, we have a spirited narrative of a buccaneering expedition; and in *The Green Hand, a Sea Story* (1846), by George Cupples, we have the adventures of a naval lieutenant, which are full of humorous and startling incident.

War adventures may be found in *The Subaltern* (1825), in which we have sketches of the Peninsular war, the *Chelsea Pensioners* (1829), *The Hussar* (1837), *The Light Dragoon* (1844), all by the Rev. G. R. Gleig; in *Stories of Waterloo* (1829), and the *Adventures of Captain Blake* by Captain Maxwell, in the *Adventures of an Aide-de-Camp* (1848), and the *Romance of War* (1846) by James Grant, who served for some time in the 62nd Regiment, and has since written some animated sketches of Scottish history.

In describing feats of daring and adventures, Captain Mayne Reid has earned great popularity. Among his best known works are the *Rifle Rangers* (1849), *The Desert Home* and the *Boy Hunters* (1852), *The Forest Exiles*

^a *Quarterly Review*, 1839.

^b Professor Masson, *British Novelists*, 1859.

(1854), *The Quadroon* (1856). For descriptive power, for lessons on natural history, and on self-reliance, Captain Reid deserves praise, but his tales are too improbable to seem real; they want, therefore, the quality which gives to such writings their great charm.

542. Perhaps there ought to be added to these five classes a sixth: the 'sensational' novel; a kind of composition which is to the healthy artistic or historical novel, what a fire or a murder is to common life, what injurious condiments are to our daily meals. The chief aim of this class is excitement; an aim as destructive of true art in the writer as it is mischievous to the taste and improvement of readers. But it is, probably, enough to mention the class to warn the student against it.

543. How inadequately this summary represents the novels of English literature—as far as numbers are concerned—may be gathered from the fact that since the publication of *Waverley* in 1814, some thousands of novels have been published in these islands, that in 1825 a new novel was published every fortnight and that now a new novel is published on the average twice a week. The bearing of this fact on the ethics of novel reading will be noticed below.

544. On the reading of novels there has been much discussion. The common argument that they appeal to the imagination, and that as every reader possesses more or less of this faculty they will be read, is of course true enough; as is the argument that parables are short novels, and have the sanction of 'the great Teacher' himself. These reasonings are based on human nature and on the highest example, and tend to prove that we must recognise the existence of imagination and seek to instruct men *through it*.

We may go further. Men need amusement. The mind cannot always be on the stretch. A character well drawn, an incident well told, a novel without a moral may be worth study, as are pictures by Wilkie or Webster. Novels of this class Whately praises as more free than some others from risk of mischief. This principle will, of course, restrict the use of them within

narrow limits. They are read as a *recreation*, and are as allowable and as useful as other recreations are.

Further still. When they teach historical truth, sound morality, evangelical principles, common sense, prudence, they are to be so far commended. Even with lower aims they have their place. Let them only 'beguile weary and selfish pain,' 'excite a generous sorrow for vicissitudes not our own,' 'raise the passions into sympathy with heroic struggles,' and they may be very helpful. The imaginative element that is in them makes their teaching the more impressive, and if not mischievous, they are really useful. *In fact*, however, many of them teach untrue history, imperfect morality, and an unscriptural religion; while others inspire romantic hopes and call off attention from actual duty. Even when the novelist is on the side of virtue, he is apt to trick out vice in such a garb as makes her more than a match for virtue. The precise Richardson, for example, has put into the mouth of Lovelace, entangling sophistries against virtue which Sedley, and Villiers, and Rochester, want either depth of libertinism or force of mind to invent.* All such novels, Christian principle condemns as unsuitable for general or indiscriminate reading.

Even when novels are on the whole of unexceptionable tendency there are considerations in relation to the use of them that deserve thought. On the one hand, the study of ideal excellence improves the taste, while the contemplation of suffering strengthens sympathy—the spring of benevolence. On the other, Stewart objects that though the study of excellence does improve the taste, the mere contemplation of excellence, not ending in active habits, blunts sensibility; and the sight of suffering which we are not expected to relieve really hardens. He thinks, moreover, that the elegant distresses of fiction make the mind shrink from the homely miseries of life. The 'luxury of woe' is certainly often indulged by cold hearts and seared consciences. This principle would further restrict the reading of novels to such as are fitted to create generous feeling and are likely to lead readers to act out the feelings they create.

Taking a wider view, and looking at the number of novels published and at the fact that many who read them read little else,

* Charles Lamb.

gaining from them the falsest notions of life and truth, and being enfeebled in mental power by the one-sided training they supply, it may be questioned whether novels have not done more harm than good : *mentally*, habitual novel reading is destructive of real vigour ; and *morally*, it is destructive of real kindness. The luxury needs to be carefully regulated, if it is to prove a blessing and not a curse.

CONCLUSION.

545. LESSONS—Study : Business : Books : Poetry : Style : Criticism : Influence : Civilization : Morality : Experience : Religion.

545. And now that we have traversed the five hundred years of English literature, and more hastily the five hundred years that preceded, having examined in all the productions of ten centuries, we may with advantage note a few of the lessons which are suggested by these inquiries.

(1.) It may serve to correct some mistakes to note that most of the creators of our literature were close students, and that nearly all had received a liberal education. Knowledge and invention, which many are apt to suppose enemies, are really allies. An original mind does not lose its originality by knowing—it increases it. The intercourse of mind with mind and thought with thought, is not hostile to individuality : it is helpful to it. Logic must have premises before it can reason : imagination must have types and actual existences before it can combine them into new forms : experience must furnish the seeds, and then meditation will nourish them into life and beauty. Such is the rule : study is all but essential to the noblest efforts of genius.

This principle is true of all departments of intellectual labour. The men who have done most original work—in philosophy, Bacon, Newton, Locke ; in history, Hume, Gibbon, Macaulay ; in theology, Owen, Leighton, the Puritans ; in preaching, Baxter, Howe, Henry, Bishop Hall,—were all men of good education. There are a few exceptions in all departments, but it is startling and instructive to find how rare these exceptions are. For most men, careful discipline is the essential condition of all abiding power and extensive influence.

(2.) It is worth noting how many eminent literary men have been men of business and engaged in public employments. The two pursuits have been often deemed incompatible, but Chaucer and Milton, Burnet and Locke, are examples of the combination of them. Even genius and practical talent, still more the appreciation of genius and aptness for business, may be combined. Nor has the possibility of combining them ever been more fully illustrated than in our own times.

(3.) It is a popular impression that the multiplication of books is an evil. Let men read and study our old writers, it is said, and be content with them. That the masterpieces of former times must be studied is certain; but the fact remains that each age is different from other ages, and demands a different representation of truth. The craving for new forms and the adaptation of principles to the necessities and tastes of the times are quite consistent with admiration of all excellence. Men admire the old masters in painting and in sculpture; and show their admiration, not by slavishly reproducing their works, but by cultivating the genius that produced them and then exercising it on new forms of beauty and truth. Bacon and Shakespeare, Milton and Howe, Addison and Burke, will never be superseded, and yet the more men admire them the more eager will they be to catch their spirit and infuse it into works adapted to the age.

(4.) It is instructive to mark the province of poetry and the essential condition of poetic success. In prose, anything may be said that is worth saying: poetry is allowable only when the thing to be said is worth saying better than prose can say it. Poetry therefore requires *good* thought and *strong* feeling. It moreover admits and demands qualities of style with which prose can dispense. The thought must be condensed, the imagery vivid, the feeling deep and sustained. Verse that wants these elements will fail, and the strength spent upon it is wasted. Perhaps it is worth adding that the poetry that most naturally combines these elements is lyric, and that most of our modern popular poetry takes this form.

(5.) In prose and in poetry one of the most essential qualities is *style*. Young writers need to be reminded that, while the first qualification for writing is to have something to say, something that is at once a thought and a feeling clearly defined and deeply impressed, the second qualification is to be able to say it

clearly and impressively. Without the first no man can write, and without the second no writing will live. The greatest men in our literature owe as much to their style as to their thoughts; in some departments, and in poetry especially, they owe to style even more. Truth, herself, the noblest spirit of all literature, is too often dishonoured by the mean garments in which her disciples clothe her.

(6.) In most instances we have given the characters which fame or criticism has already awarded to the great writers of our country or to their chief works. It is not desirable that the student's opinion of these writers or of their works should rest upon authority, however venerable or just. It will prove of great service if each will read some of these masterpieces for himself, beginning with those that are of universally acknowledged excellence, and educating his own taste to appreciate them. Then let him ascertain the great principles of our intellectual nature to which everything that seeks to please and instruct must be accommodated, and by-and-bye he will be able to criticise and judge for himself. The taste of the student needs cultivation as certainly as his reason or his fancy. The judgments of the masters of criticism are among the considerations that ought to form and perfect it. After it has been trained, it may become itself an authority to the student and to as many as he can convince or persuade.

(7.) Literature is largely moulded by one age, as it largely moulds the next: it illustrates the tendency of the preceding generation: it becomes a power in the following. On both grounds it deserves study and claims guidance.

(8.) In all progress, mental activity, and literature—the expression of it—hold an important place. Guizot notes that true history is the record of the succession of popular combined with individual opinions, and that without such succession of opinions there is no civilization. The educator of nations is not material law, not force, not commerce, not even sleeping or neglected truth, but the truth that men examine, and discuss, and apply—a literature based on eternal truth, but adapted to the questions and exigencies of the times.

(9.) Though literature treats largely of human passions and sin—whether history, poetry, the drama, or the novel—these subjects must be treated in accordance with certain moral and religious sanctions that shall render the delineation just and in-

structive. An essentially immoral literature is never lasting—a lesson, a consolation, and a rebuke.

(10.) The literature of our nation is an experienced teacher on nearly all the questions that have sprung up in our age. 'The thing that hath been is the thing also that shall be.' Men seem to pace round the same circle of error and of truth, nor is there a single question in theology or politics or taste that may not be examined with greater intelligence if we bring to it the light and experience of previous centuries.^a What mistakes in education, in the defence of Christianity, in ethics, in practical life, would be avoided, and what time would be saved which is now spent upon needless discussion, if men but knew how great questions had been examined and settled by their fathers.

(11.) Perhaps the most obvious lesson of all this history is that literature needs to be studied under the guidance of Christian truth, and to be carefully guarded by all who take an interest in the moral and spiritual welfare of men. The mightiest of all influences is the literature of a people. It touches every spring of action; it moulds in a thousand ways a nation's character; it colours a nation's thoughts, and sentiments, and life. Men must think: mental inactivity means stupor and degradation. To thought, literature is essential. Not even truth—physical, moral, or religious,—will secure progress unless men give their minds to it, seeking to express it, and illustrate, and apply it. Civilization is merely the result of opinion examined and discussed; the noblest form of religion is the *intelligent* submission of the heart and conscience to great spiritual truths: and mental activity is essential to both. If, therefore, it were practicable to repress thought or literature by law or by force, it is not desirable to repress it. What is left to us is to elevate its tone, to improve its character, to help men to judge of it as in the light of a Divine revelation, and as under God's eye. That all therefore who seek the religious improvement of the community, or the sound education of the young, should help them to form a just estimate of books, so that they may shun the vicious and the degrading, and cultivate the pure, and noble, and spiritual, seems the dictate of common sense. The mere announcement of the principle vindicates and proves it.

^a See par. 465.

And yet all these precautions may fail. The influence of literature is so subtle and incessant, and corrupt nature has such power of perverting even innocent sentiment, that only a healthy spiritual state upon the part of the reader will guard him against this mischief. There are *seeds* of disease all around—‘taking airs,’ as one has called them—and their power depends mainly upon the condition of the man that moves and breathes in them. A heart hating sin, a heart conscious of the peace of forgiveness, a heart striving to be holy, a heart which regards the increase of human happiness and goodness as the great end for which God himself exercises his power, and for which he means us to exercise ours, a heart that realises the dangers of the struggle with evil and that looks up to God for guidance and strength, is essential. With these elements, the study of English literature will not only improve taste, stimulate thought, quicken and deepen feeling, supply noblest sentiment and appropriate utterance, it will prove an unmixed good, invigorating the mind of the student, giving him greater powers, and fitting him for wider usefulness.

ADDENDA.

WHILE these pages have been going through the press, Mr. Grosart has shown reason for settling an old controversy, and ascribing the *Ode to the Cuckoo*, and several hymns hitherto regarded as Logan’s, to Michael Bruce: see page 225, and compare *Works of Michael Bruce*; 1865.

The name of Elizabeth Barrett Browning has been inadvertently omitted. She justly claims a high place for purity of sentiment and beauty of style, as well as for intellectual power. The *Poems of Elizabeth Barrett* were published in 1844, in two volumes, and contain many proofs of rich thought and of fervid imagination. In 1846, she became the wife of Robert Browning, the poet, and accompanied him to Italy. The outbreak of 1848 supplied themes for her next work, *Casa Guidi Windows*, in which she gives her impressions of what she witnessed from her house, the *Casa Guido*, in Florence. In 1856 she published *Aurora Leigh*, a poem or novel in blank verse giving us the history of a poet’s mind.

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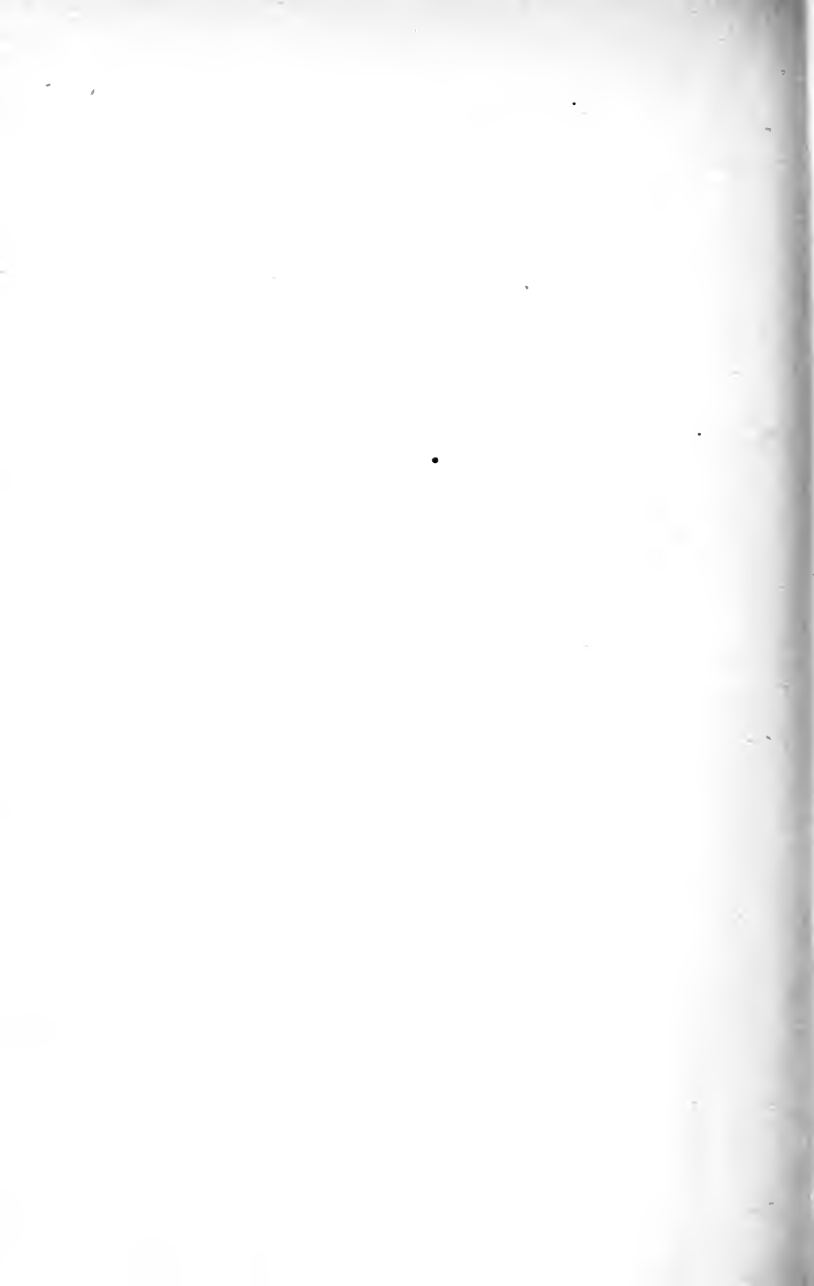
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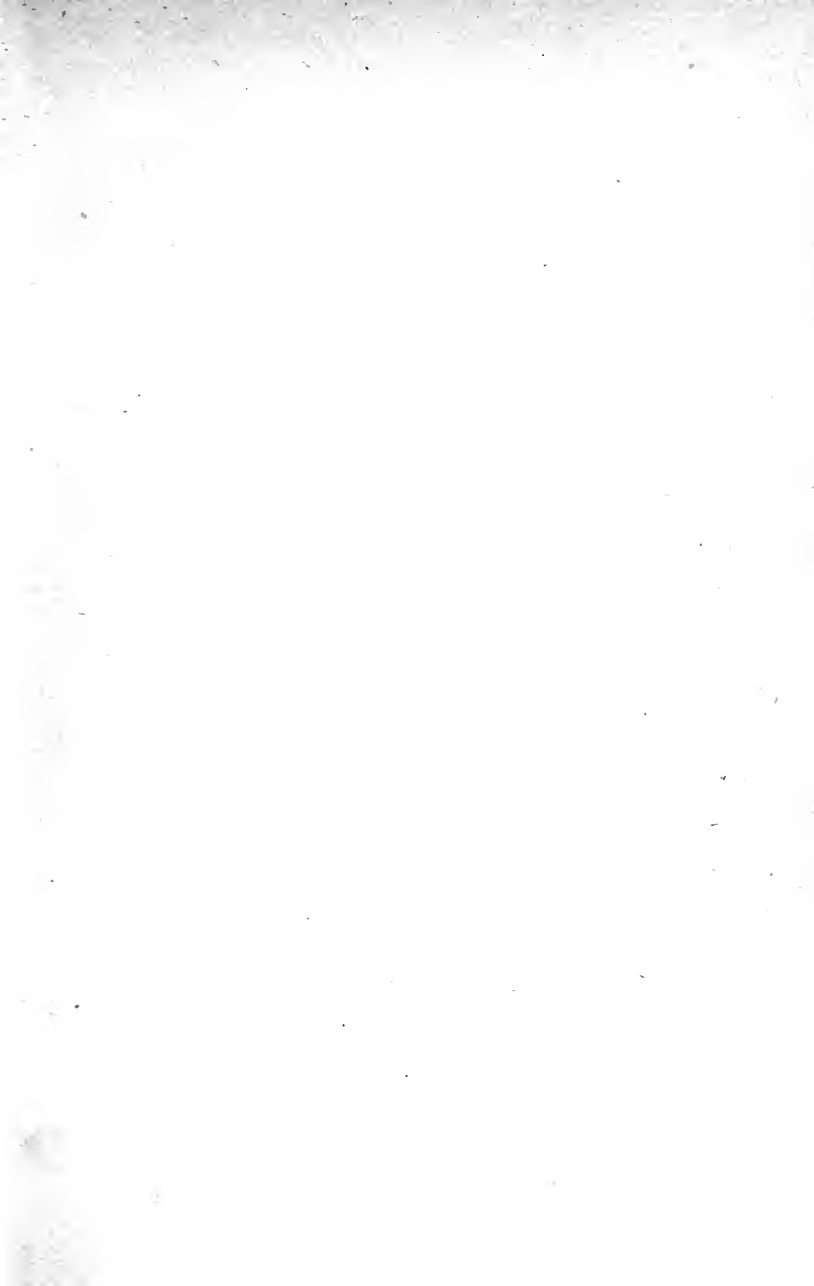
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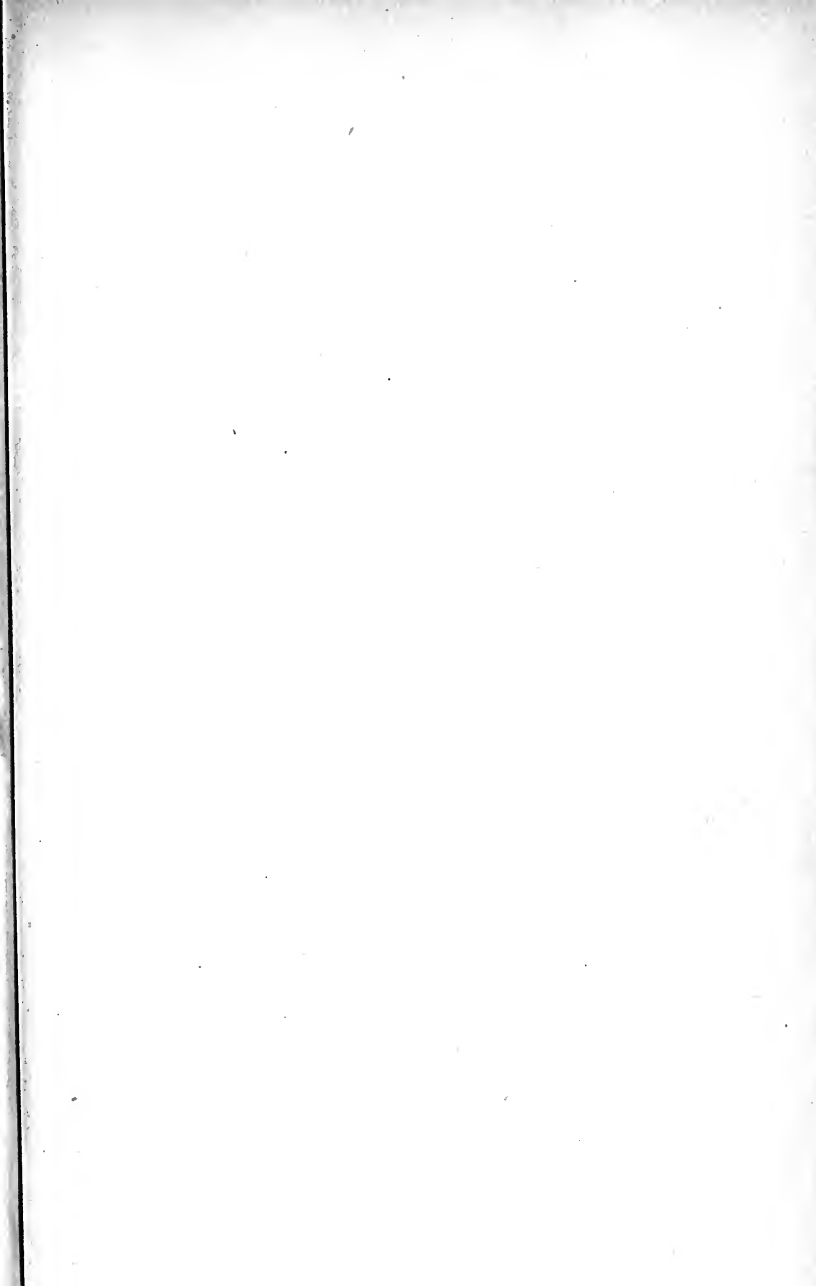
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